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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1809.



LONDON:

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## PREFACE.

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THE History of Europe for 1809 illustrates the superiority of dexterous design, and military skill over physical force, in the hands of mere empiricism, seconded by courage and valour. The maxim that understanding is better than gold was never perhaps before placed in so strong a light by the history of one year. We sicken at the recollection of great ends pursued in vain with small means, and the attainment of only little ends by means of immense magnitude. On the Tagus we see the victors fleeing before the vanquished, after a bloody battle, in which success was fruitless but of which the loss would have been total destruction : on the Danube the glorious victory at Aspern and Essling, followed quickly by the ruin of the conquerors : on the Scheldt victory and even conquest producing only calamity and disgrace : and in the north of Spain, all the resources of military courage, fortitude, and skill exhausted to secure, though with great sacrifices, the escape of an army from a situation of imminent peril, in which the ignorance and improvidence of government had involved it.

Yet a British subject would fain hope, that the high reputation for intrepidity and gallantry acquired by the  
British

British officers and soldiers in Egypt, Italy, Spain and Portugal, and wherever they were not overpowered by superiority of numbers, will not be lost to his country. It excites confidence as well as admiration in our allies, and those who may be disposed to become our allies, and in the same proportion tends to check and awe the conquering boldness of the enemy. Nor will even our discomfitures and sufferings be wholly lost, if the experience of what is past inspire greater wisdom into our future councils. Our losses, great as they are in blood and treasure, may be in some degree compensated by an augmentation of moral power, greater political prudence and sagacity, and a thorough conviction on the part of both ministers and generals, that nothing succeeds in war without a plan, a plan profoundly combined, and well digested.

The event most auspicious to the British empire, in 1809, is one of an incidental nature, and which it does not appear that government had at all in contemplation. We allude to the liberation of some islands on the west of Greece, from the oppression of France, and the restoration of the Government of the Septinsular Republic\*. This achievement followed up by such measures as may *Britannize*, as it were, all the other Grecian islands, may prevent the French interest from ever becoming paramount in that quarter. By pursuing a system of maritime and insular policy, a system not of conquest, but of friendship and alliance with the vast continent of America, and the

\* Vide Hist. of Europe, p. 228.



islands in the seas washing the coasts of Europe, it may be possible to obtain equivalents for all the usurpations of Buonaparte;—and, as far as Great Britain is concerned, to render his power, immense as it is, completely harmless.\*

Thus the year 1809, is principally characterized, by a Briton, on a consideration of present interests and views.

But on casting our eyes back over long intervals of time, and taking in the whole horizon of history, we contemplate the year 1809, chiefly as it is marked by the total downfall of Imperial Rome, both political and ecclesiastical. The venerable trunk which had hitherto continued to send out some small shoots, was finally pulled up by the long-lingering roots. So long as the power of France was in some measure balanced by that of Austria, there were still some hopes that the German, that is, what yet remained, or the shadow of the Roman Empire, might be restored. While the temporal power, dignity and splendour of the Roman pontiff remained, nay even while he was suffered to remain at Rome, he might still convoke councils, issue decrees, and appear in all respects as the head of the Roman Catholic church. Austria was humbled by the battle of Wagram, beyond all hope of her ever rising again to the rank she had held among nations. The Pope was led captive into France.

The remains of Roman arts, survive those of Roman institutions. And when the most magnificent edifices and

\* We consider it as a duty to the public, to recommend attention to the admirable Tracts of Mr. Leckie on this subject. For an account of his Foreign Affairs, &c. for 1809, see page 936 of this volume.



stupendous columns moulder into dust, the Roman name, incorporated with the progress of civilization, by the diffusion of arts and sciences, and the propagation of the christian religion, will be found long, very long, in the history of the world.

Great success in war rouses exertion of every kind. The most interesting publications of every kind for many years back have issued from the French press. It is melancholy to observe in how many instances these already own the sway of a Despot. But even this effect is worth noticing. And on the whole we have judged it proper, as our Readers will perceive, both in our last and present Volume, in what may be called the literary division of the Work, to pay proper attention, as we shall do, to our cultivated and ingenious, though now servile and crouching neighbours.

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1809.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*General Instructions to Sir John Moore, before he set out on his March to Spain.—Plan of Leading a British Army into the Heart of Spain —By whom formed.—The British Ministry deplorably ignorant both of the French Force in Spain, and the real State of that Country.—The French concentrated behind the Ebro.—The whole of their Force in Cantonments and Garrisons.—Exaggerated Accounts of the Enthusiasm of the Spaniards.—Fond Credulity of the British Ministry on that Subject, and, in Consequence of this, the most romantic projects.—The flattering Expectations of Co-operation held out to Sir John Moore utterly disappointed.—Central Junta of Spain.—Their Character, incredible Weakness and Folly—Traitors among them.—False Intelligence of the Approach of the French in great Force to Salamanca.—Measures announced by Sir John Moore under the Impression of this to the Junta of that Place.—Amazing Apathy and Indifference to public Affairs and the Fate of the Country.—Tardy and deficient Supplies to our Army.—The Situation of Sir David Baird, who had landed in Galicia, materially affected by the Defeat of the Spanish army of the North.—Design of Sir John Moore to take a Line of Positions on the Duero—Frustrated by the total Defeat of General Castanos—By this the British General determined to retreat on Lisbon—This Plan of Retreating abandoned, and why—False and treacherous Intelligence transmitted*

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*transmitted by the Civil and Military Junta of Madrid to the Commander of the British Army—Warmly seconded and supported by Dispatches from Mr. Frère—Strange Infatuation, as well as Arrogance and Presumption, of that Minister—Means by which the false Intelligence was happily counteracted.—The Force brought against Spain by Buonaparte after the Conference of Erfurth.—The bold Measures adopted by the British Commander for the Extrication of his Army, draw the whole of the French Forces from their March to Southern to the Northern Provinces.—The British Army commences its Retreat—Closely pursued by 70,000 French.—General Orders by Sir John Moore, reflecting on the Conduct of both Officers and Soldiers.—Difficulties overcome, and dreadful hardships, privations, and Losses sustained during the retreat to Corunna—Which is at last effected—Battle of Corunna.—Death and Character of Sir John Moore.—Embarkation of the British Troops for England.*

**I**T will be recollected that in our last volume\* we left Sir John Moore at Lisbon under instructions to march through Spain with his face towards Burgos: which was to be the general rendezvous of the British troops; not only then under the command of that officer, but of those with which he was to be reinforced from England. It appears from the most authentic documents† that this plan of sending a British army into the heart of Spain, to act in the plains of Leon and Castille, was formed by Lord Castlereagh and the Marquis of Romana, not only without any communication either with Sir Hew Dalrymple, then commander in chief of the British forces in Spain, or Sir John Moore, who was destined to command the army to be sent there, but also without any concert either with the Supreme and Central, or any of the provincial Juntas. The enthusiastic ardour of the Spaniards was supposed to be *universal*; and it seems to have been presumed that this patriotic ardour of the

*universal* Spanish nation, without any previous concert or arrangement, would quickly run into some form or other, in which it might aid, support, and co-operate with a British army. The manifestoes of all the provinces breathed the most exalted patriotism and determined spirit to resist the French or perish in the attempt; nor had the first efforts of the patriots been unworthy of those declarations. A number of young officers too, sent into Spain for the double purpose of exciting the people, and transmitting information to our government, conversing only with such as were of congenial sentiments, views and hopes with themselves, and caressed and flattered with Spanish rank and honours, made such reports to ministers, as they themselves, no doubt, believed to be true, and which for certain they knew to be such as ministers wished for and expected. The event proved how miserably ignorant Lord Castlereagh and the Marquis of Romana were both of the strength of

\* HIST. EUR. p. 225.

† Papers laid before both Houses of Parliament.



the enemy, and the real state of the country that was about to become the theatre of hostilities. We find Sir John Moore writing to Lord Castlereagh, from Salamanca, 24th of November 1808, as follows: "The information, of which your lordship must already be in possession, renders it, perhaps, less necessary for me to dwell upon the state of affairs in Spain, so different from that which was to be expected from the reports of the officers employed at the head-quarters of the different Spanish armies. They seem all of them to have been most miserably deceived; for until lately, and since the arrival of Mr. Stuart and Lord William Bentinck at Madrid, and of Colonel Graham at the central army, no just representation seems ever to have been transmitted. Had the real strength and composition of the Spanish armies been known, the defenceless state of the country, and the character of the central government, I conceive that Cadiz, not Corunna, would have been chosen for the disembarkation of the troops from England; and that Seville, or Cordova, not Salamanca, would have been selected as the proper place for the assembling of this army. The Spanish government do not seem ever to have contemplated the possibility of a second attack, and are certainly quite unprepared to meet that which is now made upon them. Their armies are inferior to the French even in numbers.—In the provinces no armed force whatever exists, either for immediate protection, or to reinforce the armies.—The enthusiasm of which we have heard so much no where

appears. Whatever goodwill there is, (and I believe among the *lower orders* there is a great deal) is taken no advantage of." These opinions, expressed not long after Sir John had entered Spain, he did not find any reason to retract afterwards: as will fully appear from the following narrative.

After the most important events in the peninsula, of the summer of 1808, namely, the surrender of Dupont, the flight of Joseph Buonaparte from Madrid, and the convention of Cintra, the French army retired from Madrid, and repassed the Ebro. Their force in this direction consisted of about 50,000 men, concentrated in Navarre and Biscay. They had besides, garrisons in Barcelona, Figueras, and other fortresses, amounting to above 15,000 more. In these positions they quietly waited for reinforcements which were on their march, as was announced from time to time by every foreign journal. By the 1st of November, the French Army on the Ebro was reinforced to the amount of 113,000. men. The Spaniards never had, at one time, more than 60, or 70,000 in arms. It was evident that the Spaniards must be defeated. Yet the probability, or even the possibility of this did not seem to enter at all into the contemplation of the British minister for the war department, when he gave orders that the different corps of British troops should form a junction at Burgos.

While the French rested in their cantonments behind the Ebro, expecting reinforcements and surveying at their ease the unconnected movements of the Spaniards, the Spanish and English newspapers



were full of the enthusiastic patriotism of the Spaniards. All ranks, they reported, and ages had taken up arms, were eager to rush upon their enemies, and determined to die rather than submit to a treacherous, cruel, and impious invader. Such also was the spirit of the proclamations published by the Provincial Juntas. So prevalent at this time was the conviction of the universal enthusiasm of the Spaniards, in the British cabinet, that in a memorial transmitted for the information of Sir John Moore, by the British secretary of state, it was stated, that the French armies could not enter the defiles of Asturias without exposing themselves to be destroyed even by the armed peasants. In the month of September it was considered as most probable, that the Spaniards alone would soon drive the French out of the Peninsula.—Lord William Bentinck was directed to make enquiries respecting the intentions of the Spanish government on the expulsion of the French. And directions were given, under particular circumstances, to urge the invasion, with a combined British army, of the South of France. Such was the flattering picture presented to the view of Sir John Moore, before he commenced his march, and was enabled to judge for himself.

In aid of Sir John Moore a considerable detachment from England was to land at Corunna under Sir David Baird, with whom he was to form a junction on the borders of Leon and Galicia. Sir John was charged at the same time to act in concert with the British commander-in-chief at

Lisbon, and to receive requisitions or representations, either from the Spanish government or the British minister, upon all occasions, with the utmost deference and attention. The British minister plenipotentiary to the central government of Spain, was Mr. John Hookham Frère, who had been lately appointed to that office in the place of Lord William Bentinck.

By the resignations of the three generals, Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley, which took place almost immediately on these arrangements, Sir John was liberated from a part of those embarrassments, in which so complicated a plan must have involved him, and, having become commander-in-chief as it were by accident, he was left unfettered by superiors to adopt such measures as appeared to be most proper and efficacious for giving speedy effect to the expedition.

These measures, however, necessarily produced delay. The secretary of state for the war department seems to have been wretchedly deficient in his calculations, or perhaps he had but a very vague and confused idea of the equipments necessary to a marching army. Sir John's was unprovided with carriages for the artillery or commissariat stores, or for the light baggage of the regiments. No magazines were formed on the line of march. Nor was the commissariat department in such a state as to give any great hope that these defects would be speedily or effectually remedied. It was not till the 27th of October, that Sir John Moore, above a month after he had received his appointments



appointments from Lord Castle-reagh, was enabled to quit Lisbon. The accounts of both Portuguese and British officers, sent to examine the roads, agreed in stating those leading through the mountains which form the northern boundary of Portugal to be impassable for artillery. The Spanish commissary-general had declared his inability to furnish provisions on the road by Elvas. The army was, therefore, necessarily divided. Five brigades of artillery, the whole cavalry, and four regiments of infantry, under General Hope, marched by Elvas on the Madrid road to Badajoz and Espinar: from whence they were to join the commander-in-chief at Salamanca, by the Escorial road. Two brigades of infantry, under General Paget, moved onward by Elvas and Alcantara; two brigades, under General Beresford, by Coimbra and Almeida; and three brigades, under General Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida: the total amount of the forces that left Portugal was 18,628; of which only 912 was cavalry.

The situation of Salamanca, nearly half way between Corunna and Madrid, seemed to point it out as a place where the columns of the generals Hope and Baird, moving in opposite directions, covered, as it had been promised they would, by the Spanish armies of the left and centre, might most conveniently effect their junction with the main body.

Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, but was not permitted to land till the 31st, by which time advices had been sent, and orders received from the Junta at Madrid. This

intelligence, which was communicated to Sir John Moore previously to his leaving Lisbon, gave him some idea of the sort of co-operation and assistance he had to expect from the Spanish government.

The British army in its march through Portugal, had experienced sometimes the cool civility to allies whose assistance was acceptable; but oftener a constrained hospitality towards guests whom it would be dangerous to refuse. The people, entirely destitute of public spirit, took no part in public affairs whatever. They were, besides, slothful, and altogether uninformed of what was passing in the world, and even of the political and physical circumstances of their own country. Of their ignorance, Sir J. Moore had a striking proof in the accounts they had given him of their own roads, which he found, on his arrival at Atalaia, to be practicable for artillery; a discovery which, if it had been sooner made, would have been of the utmost importance, in sparing General Hope's circuitous course by the Escorial, and thus enabling the various columns more speedily to effect their junction. These circumstances were not calculated to give the English any favourable prepossession of the people they were sent to defend. Better things, however, were to be expected from the Spaniards; and, with this impression, the army looked towards the elevated site of Ciudad Rodrigo, where it was received with shouts of "Viva los Ingleses," and a greater degree of enthusiasm than had yet been witnessed.

As Sir John Moore approached the scene of action, he gradually



acquired just notions of Spanish affairs; for he was in close correspondence with men of candour and discernment, who resided on the spot. Little was written by them of Spanish ardour and enthusiasm. Their letters, on the contrary, were filled with details of the weakness and tardiness of the Spanish Junta.

This assembly consisted of thirty-two persons, with equal powers. They were divided into four sections, or, as we would say in England, committees: one for the administration of the interior; a second for that of justice; a third for war; and a fourth for the marine. Their councils were distracted by self-interest, mutual jealousies, and discords. On the whole, they seemed to be less afraid of any foreign enemy, than of internal riots and revolution, which they set themselves by all means to obviate, and particularly by suppressing the liberty of the press. Thus they damped and chilled the spirits of the nation. Judging of what Buonaparte could do by what Spaniards were capable of, they thought it almost impossible for his army to traverse the Pyrennees in winter. Should the French have the temerity to effect such a passage, they would soon, it was believed, be famished. These notions were applicable to the resources formerly possessed by France. But the magnitude of the military preparations of their present enemy, and the celerity of his movements, confounded all their calculations.

Sir John Moore, by the close correspondence he carried on with Lord W. Bentinck, Mr. Stuart, Colonel Graham, and others, gra-

dually penetrated the disguises in which the Spanish government enveloped their affairs. A judicious plan of a campaign can be formed only by reflecting on the actual state of things, and must necessarily be hollow, and pregnant with calamity, if founded on false intelligence: yet the Spanish Juntas exerted all their finesse to deceive, not their enemy, but their ally; and they succeeded so perfectly, as to lead them to execute a plan adapted to a state of things the reverse of their real condition. Their ardent proclamations, exaggerated numbers, invented victories, and vaunted enthusiasm, could not deceive him whom it would have been useful to deceive. Buonaparte found ample means of obtaining exact information. There were traitors even among the patriots loudest in the cause of their country, who enabled him to calculate, with perfect accuracy, the precise portion of patriotism scattered throughout the kingdom of Spain.—Yet there are some facts, as Moore observes, that would almost lead one to suspect, that the Spanish Juntas, from an excess of presumption and ignorance, and a heated imagination, were so blinded, as to have misled the British cabinet unintentionally. For it is a well known fact, that, at first, they considered Spain as more than a match for France. They applied to us for arms and money only; believing they could raise more soldiers than they required. How long they continued in this infatuation is uncertain; but they appear to have acquiesced in the offer of British auxiliaries on the 26th of September.



On the 13th of November, Sir John Moore entered Salamanca; where he had leisure and opportunity to appreciate justly the state of affairs. The evidence of striking and notorious facts was fast supplying the want of official information. Every day removed some part of the veil under which blind partizans, officious spies, and zealous declaimers, covered the Spanish cause; and each removal discovered some deplorable weakness, some fatal deficiency, in which the intelligent mind might read the bane of British valour, and Spanish freedom. Accordingly, Sir John Moore was soon able to state to Lord W. Bentinck, "That things were not in that flourishing state they were represented and believed to be in, in England." And his letters, from this time, are marked with a melancholy spirit of prophecy, which too clearly foresaw the downfall of the cause he was sent to maintain.

Letters from Sir David Baird reiterated complaints of the Junta of Corunna; whose cold, suspicious conduct, tardy assistance, and exorbitant extortions, exhibited rather the narrow spirit of petty dealers, eager to make their market, and afraid of being overreached in their bargains, than the generous enthusiasm of gratitude to men who came to risk their lives in their defence.

Whatever energies might exist among the people, Sir John Moore had reason to complain, that no measures were taken by the government to call them forth into action.

Of the armies destined to cover the junction of the British forces, that of the centre, or Estremadura, under the young Count Belvidere, having rashly approached the French position at Burgos, had been routed and dispersed, as has been related in our last volume.\* Both Blake and Castanos were marching from the point of assembling. The boasted army of the latter did not amount, on the 25th of October, to above one-third of what had been given out. It was no other than "a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization, and with few officers that deserved the name. Such was the account transmitted from Calahorra by Captain Whittingham and Lord W. Bentinck.

While Sir John Moore was brooding over these disappointments, an express from Pignotelli, captain-general of the province, informed him of the advance of the French to Valladolid, within twenty leagues of Salamanca. This was a moment of difficulty, and the most melancholy apprehensions. The British general had with him only three brigades of infantry, without a single gun. His reinforcements could not arrive in less than ten days. The Spanish armies seemed to have shrunk to the opposite extremities of Biscay and Arragon, as if to leave to their enemies an open passage for the destruction of their allies.

Sir John Moore assembled the Junta of the place, and explained to them the probable necessity of a retreat on Ciudad Rodrigo. They heard him with the most provok-



ing tranquillity; and the people beheld the approaches of the French and of the English with almost equal indifference. The apathy of the people proved the inactivity of their rulers. The peasantry and lower orders were well affected to the cause of their country. But the spirit of independence evaporated in ascending to the higher ranks.

It was fortunately discovered by Sir John Moore, that the fears of Pignotelli had magnified the danger. Only 1000 French cavalry had entered Valladolid, and then retreated to Palencia next morning. None of the French infantry had, at that time, advanced beyond Burgos. Sir John Moore delivered from his alarm, had now to wait quietly the arrival of the corps under the Generals Hope and Baird; whose opposite routes did not permit him to move a step towards the one, without retreating so much from, and hazarding the safety of the other. The junction he expected to take place towards the beginning of December. This interval of leisure was dedicated to a recapitulation of those deficiencies which had continued to clog all his operations; namely, the want of an able commissariat, and of a supply of money. The succours of the Spaniards were always tardy, and always inadequate to their object. Those of the British ministry were as little to be depended upon. If any changes were made in the commissariat, they were always from bad to worse: insomuch that Sir John Moore was frequently obliged to remonstrate against a remedy which robbed him of commissaries who had at least the experience of half

a campaign, to supply their place by such as had no experience at all. The fault was in the system, and to this the remedy was not adapted. To supply the want of money, Lord Castlereagh left Sir John Moore the unfettered use of his own exertions; excusing himself from interfering with them, by stating the scarcity of silver in England. To Mr. Frère, the British general detailed his own situation; the desultory and feeble co-operation of the Spaniards, the apathy of the people, the languor and the incapacity of the government. Unfortunately, this minister had acquired his notions of Spanish politics in London, and at the feet of Mr. Canning; and his prejudices were not to be overcome by that evidence of facts, which was now accumulating from every quarter of the country. From the valley of Renedo de Caqueringa, in the mountains of St. Andero, General Leith wrote to Sir John Moore, that the army of Blake and Romana had been defeated in successive combats, since the 5th of November, and entirely dispersed. A straggling party of from 7 to 8000 alone had reached the valley of Renedo. The French occupied the country from Burgos to Reynosa.

Sir John Moore, in addition to the ruin of the British hopes in the Asturias, was mortified by seeing the fugitives from Blake's army passing without any fear of the resentment of their countrymen, who looked upon these betrayers of their country without anger, and even without emotion.

The defeat of the army of the north, rendered the situation of Sir David Baird alarming, if not immediately



mediately dangerous. The French patrols had pushed forward as far as Benevento. Sir David was at Astorga; and should the French follow up their successes by advancing through the Asturias, his rear might be endangered by the roads either of Montoredo or Lugo. The Marquis of Romana, (after the defeat of Blake, appointed captain-general of the Spanish armies) was indeed endeavouring to collect his scattered fugitives at Leon. But such assistance could not induce Sir David Baird to hazard an advance towards Salamanca, at a time when a retreat upon Portugal seemed the only measure left for the portion of the army then posted at that place. Sir David Baird, relying on intelligence received from General Blake, that the French were advancing in force from Rio Seco, had already determined on a retreat to Corunna, when Sir John Moore undeceived him in that particular, and sent him orders immediately to effect his junction.

The British commander seems to have been influenced on this occasion, partly by the accounts he had received of the march of the French towards Castanos; a movement which delivered him from all apprehensions for the immediate safety of his own army; but more especially by the extreme repugnance he had always felt to the idea of disappointing the hopes

of his country, in abandoning the Spaniards without a struggle. The pressing instances of Mr. Frère, deprecating, in the name of the Junta, all retreat upon Portugal, and that minister's mistatements as to the amount of the French force in the neighbourhood of Madrid, (whom he calculated at no more than 11,000 men) determined him to leave no possibility untried, in a case where a concurrence of adverse circumstances left nothing but possibilities to build on. By taking a line of positions on the Duero, new exertions might be awakened in the yet unsubdued provinces of the south, time would be afforded to call the dormant energies of the people into action, and to give reality and substance to the boasted, but yet unembodied levies of the Junta.

A new disaster frustrated this plan also. On the 28th of November Sir John Moore received intelligence from Mr. Stuart at Madrid, of the total defeat of General Castanos at Tudela, on the 22d.\* The question with the British army was no longer how it might serve the Spaniards, but how provide for its own safety. It was whether 29,000 British troops should be opposed to the undivided attack of 100,000 French, or whether by retiring upon their resources at Lisbon, they should preserve themselves for more fortunate times. Sir John Moore was not a moment undecided. He

\* We must here take occasion to correct an error in our account of the important battle of Tudela, Vol. L. HIST. of EUR. p. 239. The number of the Spaniards did not amount to half the number of troops, on the calculations and reports of the Spaniards themselves, there stated. Neither was General Castanos the *genius* of one army divided into three parts, and acting in concert, under the direction of one head. Blake, Palafox, and Castanos, were independent of each other.



wrote immediately to Sir David Baird to retire upon Corunna, and from thence to join him by sea at Lisbon. General Hope, who had advanced to the neighbourhood of Madrid, received orders, according to circumstances, either to rejoin the main body, or retire upon Guadarama.

Sir John Moore, then, assembling his general officers, and communicating both the intelligence he had received, and the plan he had, in consequence, adopted, told them, "that he had not called them together to request their counsel, or to commit themselves by giving any opinion on the subject. He took the responsibility entirely upon himself; and he only required that they should immediately prepare for carrying it into effect."

This plan of retreating was afterwards abandoned by Sir John Moore, for the following reasons. Within a very few days after the news of Castanos's defeat, and the total dispersion of his army, Sir John received a letter from Mr. Stuart at Madrid, stating, on the authority of Don Thomas Morla, the agent and chief ruler of the Junta, that General St. Juan, with 20,000 men, had twice repulsed the enemy at Sepulveda: that Castanos was bringing the greater part of his force from Calatuyd and Siguenza, to join him: that the enemy had only small foraging parties in Castille; and that Buonaparte was at Burgos. In addition to these statements, came letters from Mr. Frère (to whose representations the commander-in-chief had been directed to pay the

greatest deference) all of them deprecating a retreat upon Portugal; all magnifying the resources of the Spaniards; extenuating their losses; extolling their enthusiasm; and holding out the energy of the provinces as yet unassailed, as a counterbalancing consolation for the loss of those that had yielded. Such was the blind zeal of Mr. Frère, that he listened with fond credulity to the hackneyed stories of internal disturbances in France. "There is, besides, (he writes)\* a great delay in the arrival of the reinforcements which were promised the French; and which, if they had been sent, would, by this time, have composed an enormous force."—Unfortunately, Mr. Frère's means of information did not enable him to discover, that the French had already in Spain an enormous force.—"There are, besides,) Mr. Frère continues) reports that the resistance to the conscription has been much more obstinate than usual. And the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Carcassone seems to imply, that such reports cannot be wholly groundless."

The Supreme Junta, however, not trusting to the devoted exertions of the English plenipotentiary, nor even to the false statements with which Don Morla had abused that minister's understanding in despite of his eyes, dispatched, no doubt at the suggestion of the traitor Morla, Don Bentua Escalante, captain-general of the armies of Grenada, and Brigadier-general Don Augustin Bueno, to Salamanca, under pretence of concerting operations

\* In a letter to Sir John Moore, dated Nov. 30, 1809.



between the combined British and Spanish armies, and “accelerating their combined movements, and avoiding all delays, so contrary to the noble and important cause of the two nations.” The two Spanish generals corroborated the flattering statements which the British commander had before received. They were rather surprised when Sir J. Moore introduced to them Colonel Graham, who had, the night before, supped with St. Juan in his way from Madrid; whom they had represented as in possession of the pass of Somo-Sierra. St. Juan’s corps, had been charged by a body of French cavalry, and completely routed, as related in our last volume. And there was not a doubt, Colonel Graham stated, that the French army was in full march for Madrid.

Such contradictory reports may well be supposed to have determined Sir J. Moore to revert to his first resolution, rather than to induce him to trust himself to allies whose defective information exhibited proofs, if not of their treachery, at least of ignorance scarcely less culpable.

The letter which was brought by the Spanish officers from the Supreme Central Junta, as their credentials to Sir J. Moore, was dated at Aranjuez, 28th November. A few days thereafter, while Morla, who had begun to capitulate to the French, was employed

in recommending to the inhabitants submission to the conqueror, who was at the gates of Madrid,\* a dispatch, dated at Madrid, Dec. 2, 1808, and signed by the Prince of Castel Franco and Thomas Morla, was sent off to *his Excellency Sir John Moore, Commander of the Army of his Britannic Majesty*, professing to be “a true and just representation of affairs at that moment;—General Castanos’s army (it stated) amounting to about 35,000, was falling back upon Madrid in the greatest haste, to unite with its garrison. And the force which was at Somo-Sierra of 10,000, was also coming for the same purpose to that city, where nearly 40,000 men would join them. With this number of troops, the enemy’s army, which had presented itself, was not to be feared. But the Junta still apprehending an increase of the enemy’s force to unite with that at hand, hoped that his Excellency, if no force was immediately opposed to him, would be able to fall back to unite with their army, or to take the direction to fall on the rear of the enemy. And the Junta could not doubt that the rapidity of his Excellency’s movements would be such as the interests of both countries required.”

While Sir J. Moore was employed in taking into consideration this paper, which was delivered to him Dec. 5, Col. Charmilly† arrived with

\* HIST. EUROPE, p. 224.

† Formerly a colonel in the French service; at present in the pay of this country. Through his means a great part of the French colony of St. Domingo, in 1793, had been delivered to the British army, without any fighting or extraordinary expence. He has ever since manifested zeal in the cause of Britain. The suspicion of his having been in concert with Morla is entirely groundless. He never saw, or had any correspondence with Morla.



dispatches from Mr. Frère at Talavera, repeating in terms still more vehement the necessity of an advance upon Madrid, and resting the fate of Spain upon the decision of the British General.

In the mean time the people of Madrid had risen in a species of phrenzy on the constituted Authorities, erected new powers, chosen for their general the Duke of Infantado, and declared their determination to die for their country.

It was not to be expected but that such accounts from the Junta of Madrid, confirmed by the emissary of the British Minister, who had been himself an eye-witness of the popular spirit in Madrid, should make a deep impression on the mind of a British general\* desirous above all things of fulfilling the wishes of his country, and preserving untarnished the British name. Sir J. Moore accordingly determined on attempting a diversion in favour of the capital. For this purpose he ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his retreat, and advance to Benavento. And having General Hope's division within reach, he opened a communication with the Marquis Romana at Leon, and replied to the Spanish Authorities at Madrid with assurances of co-operation.

The zeal of Mr. Frère, however, would not trust entirely to the impressions which his statements, corroborated by those Don T.

Morla and Colonel Charmilly might make upon the mind of the general. He resolved to force him into his views, by desiring, that in case Sir J. Moore persisted in his intention to retreat, "Colonel Charmilly might be examined before a council of war." The general, treating this ebullition of diplomatic authority with contempt, after dismissing Charmilly, wrote to Mr. Frère an exposition and defence of his conduct, (resulting from circumstances already explored) and without further noticing the insult, prepared to give effect to his intentions by dispatching Colonel Graham to Madrid for information. The Central Junta, part of which the colonel found at Salamanca, informed him, that on the 3d of December, Castel Franco and Morla had made some sort of agreement with the French, who, on the day before, had got possession of the Buen Reteiro, and Prado of Madrid: that these officers were suspected of treachery in having refused admittance to the troops of St. Juan and Heredia: that the captain-general Castellar, and other military officers of rank, had refused to ratify the agreement, and had left the town: that the inhabitants still kept their arms; and that the French, to the amount of 20 or 30,000, remained in the Reteiro: that Castanos's army of 30,000 men, was at Guadalejera: and that St. Juan's

\* Mr. James Moore, on this subject, makes the following natural, and to those concerned, piercing observation:—"It could never enter into the conception of Sir J. M. that the two chiefs of the Junta had conspired to betray the capital of their own country, to entice the army of their allies into the power of the enemy, nor was it imaginable that the British minister could be so grossly deceived, as to send for his instruction intelligence the reverse of truth, or to require of him in so positive a manner to succour a city which had actually surrendered." *Narrat.* p. 146.



army, amounting to 12,000 men, had murdered their commander, and taken post at the bridge of Almaraz. They stated also, that the whole French army in Spain, did not exceed 70 or 80,000, and denied that any reinforcements were on their way. A part of this army, they said, was employed before Saragossa.

This representation of affairs (it is observed by Mr. Moore) is a just exemplification of the manner in which the Spanish Junta endeavoured to cover their calamities from the sight of their allies. Not being able absolutely to deny the capitulation, they softened it into a kind of agreement; adding, that the indignant inhabitants had refused to deliver up their arms, and that the French had not ventured to enter the city. They also sunk down the numbers of Buonaparte's army far below the truth, and exaggerated those of their own in the same proportion; completely disguising from the British general the relative strength of both. They seem to have placed unbounded confidence in the sole efforts of the British army, and to think the cause of Spain secure, at least not desperate, so long as it remained in the country. But they were afraid lest this army, if the real state of affairs should be known, would abandon them to themselves. It was also a part of their policy to rouse the spirit with the hopes of one province, by false or greatly exaggerated accounts of the enthusiasm and the exertions of another. This hollow, and really puerile policy, was utterly incompatible with the liberty of the press, and for this and other rea-

sons equally unjustifiable, it was one of their first acts to suppress it.

Sir John Moore neither wholly crediting nor wholly disbelieving the statement made by the members of the Junta, whom Colonel Graham had found at Salamanca, while it afforded him but small grounds for cherishing his opinion, as to the final issue of the contest, was not of a nature to induce him wholly to discontinue, or even to relax his efforts. On the one hand, Madrid after so much boasting and bustle, had made little or no resistance; suspicions of treachery were general in the armies, and among the people. These suspicions the armies seemed but too willing to use as a cloak for their own cowardice: repeated defeats had proved the defects of their soldiers; repeated mis-information, the ignorance or the treachery of the Spanish government. Yet, on the other hand, the people of Madrid (as Sir J. M. was taught to suppose) were still in arms; part of the French force was engaged in their reduction; part was occupied before Saragossa. A diversion might cover these two places, threaten the enemy's communications, give time to the scattered armies to re-assemble, and to the provinces of the South, to put forth in the common cause their best energies. At any rate a movement towards Valladolid and Baynos would cover Sir David Baird while assembling at Astorga and Benevento; and the British army would be as safe at Zamora as Salamanca. By these considerations Sir John Moore was determined; when an intercepted dispatch from Marshal Berthier



thier to the Duke of Dalmatia, prevented him, for the first time since he had been in Spain, with a correct and unvarnished statement of affairs. General Belliard had entered Madrid on the 4th of December. The news of Don Morla and Mr. Frère had been delivered to the British general on the 5th. It was now the 14th, and Sir John Moore had received no intelligence of the eventual surrender of Madrid; which the Junta, at Talavera, on the 8th, had declared to Colonel Graham to be still in arms, nay, so late as December 13. The Junta wrote from Merida in Estremadura, that the people still held out at Madrid, that the French had been beaten back, and gone to Saragossa, and that all things went on very well in Catalonia. That they should have told this story to their own general after they themselves had been chased by the French army from Talavera, which is 60 miles beyond Madrid, can be credited only by comparing it with the folly of their usual conduct.

Sir John Moore's head-quarters were now at Alæjos, where he had received a letter from the Marquis of Romana at Leon, with whom he was in communication, approving the reasons of retreat he had before intended. From Alæjos it had been projected to move on Valladolid. But the situation of Marshal Soult, with two divisions at Saldannah, and Junot at Burgos, exposed Sir D. Baird, who attacked in forming his junction. Sir John Moore accordingly, in order to unite as soon as possible with Sir David Baird, returned to Toro; from whence it

might still be possible, should Marshal Soult afford the opportunity, to strike a blow under cover of the relief expressed in the French dispatches, that the force and movements of the French upon Talavera and Badajoz, must have forced back the English army upon Lisbon.

At Toro, Sir J. Moore received accounts of the disorganized and feeble state of the Marquis of Romana's army, with which he was meditating a junction for adding vigour to his intended attack on Marshal Soult. From Toro too, Sir John Moore dispatched an account to Mr. Frere, of the intelligence he had received by the intercepted dispatches: and here he was again assailed by the harassing entreaties of the Junta, and the insulting representations of the Minister Plenipotentiary. The general, firm in his designs, and above the petty resentments of a weak mind, continued his march on Villapardo and Valderos. On the 20th of December he reached Majorca, and there, by completing his junction with Sir David Baird, united the whole British army, which now amounted to 23,000 infantry and 2000 some hundred cavalry.

On the 21st of December Sir John advanced to Sahagun, from which place Lord Paget, at the head of 400 horse, had the morning before dislodged and defeated 700 French cavalry, taking 157 prisoners with two lieutenant-colonels. It was here that Sir John Moore concerted with General Romana the plan of attack on Marshal Soult, whose forces, to the number of 18,000, were concentrated behind the River Carrion; 7000 were posted at Saldannah,



dannah, and 5000 at the town of Carrion below Saldannah. The British were collected between Sahagun, Grahal, and Villado. It was the intention of the British general to march from Sahagun upon Carrion, and thence to Saldannah by night, while Romana proceeded to the same point by Mansilla. The marquis prepared, in the best manner the defective state of his troops would permit, to co-operate in the design: for which purpose he arrived at Mansilla on the 23d, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and from thence announced his arrival to Sir John, who was to march from Sahagun the same evening.

The expectations of the army were wound up to the highest pitch. The dispositions were already made for combat, and the generals had received their instructions, when Sir John Moore received information that considerable re-inforcements had arrived to the French from Palentia. A courier from Los Santos told of the halt of the French at Talavera, and several messengers reported their advance from Madrid. The latter part of this intelligence was confirmed by an express from the Marquis of Romana.—The purport of these movements was easily frustrated by the British commander. He countermanded the advance of his troops, and determined on a retreat.

From this time to the end of the campaign, Spanish armies no more appear upon the stage; they had every where vanished from the sight of friends and foes.

It could not, nor we presume did it, excite any degree of surprise in any human breast, that such armies, and such a govern-

ment, as those of Spain, were found altogether unequally opposed to the strength and genius of Buonaparte.

If 45, or 50,000 were able, without annoyance, to maintain their positions for several months against the whole strength of the kingdom, the same strength must be utterly insufficient to resist the offensive operations of nearly 200,000. It is not easy to calculate the exact amount of the forces brought by the French emperor, after his return from the conferences at Erfurth, against the Spaniards. According to an intercepted letter from the governor of Bayonne, 78,000 were to enter Spain between the 16th of October and the 16th of November. About the same period, 15,000, chiefly from Italy, entered Catalonia; and 30,000 under Junot entered Spain in the beginning of December. The forces stationed behind the Ebro, together with the force in Barcelona and the other garrisons, amounted to 65,000, making a total of 182,000. This at least. But the French prisoners agreed in making the total of the French army in Spain, at the end of 1808, and beginning of 1809, 200,000. The right wing of this army, it will be recollected by the readers of our annual labours, under the command of Marshal Soult, penetrating by Bilboa, scattered the army of Blake in successive combats from Valma-Seda to Regnosa. The French light troops decided this contest. Marshal Bessieres, descending by the Ebro, defeated and dispersed the army of Castanos, drawn up between Tudela and Tarragona. In neither armies, respectively under the command of the



the generals Blake and Castanos, did the soldiers display, to use an expression of Sir John Moore's, common obstinacy. They fled on the first fire, and then claimed merit for having effected their escape.

It ought to be observed, in favour, though it is not a complete defence of the Spanish generals who so imprudently hazarded these engagements, that they had cautiously abstained from risking any offensive operations against the French, till they were propelled by the treachery of Morla. They have been repeatedly blamed by the ignorant for their inactivity during the autumn: whereas their greatest praise is, to have been sensible of their own weakness and inferiority, and to have shaped for themselves a course of conduct suitable to their circumstances. They were justified by the event. By the ruin of the armies under Blake, Castanos, and the young Count Belvedere, the road was cleared, and Buonaparte moved from Burgos upon the capital.

The several divisions of the French army were every where in pursuit of the flying Spaniards, when Buonaparte received information that the British army had not retreated upon Portugal, as he, (judging no doubt from what would have been his own conduct in Sir John Moore's situation,) but was threatening the Duke of Dalmatia's position behind the Carrion. The advance of the French into the southern provinces of Spain was suspended.

Orders were immediately sent to the Duke of Dalmatia if attacked, to give way, and to decoy the British to Burgos, or as far eastward as possible; and at the same time

to push on a corps towards Leon, on their left flank. And, should they attempt to retreat, he was ordered to impede this by every means in his power. But from the 22d to the 29th of Dec., Soult received strong re-inforcements: so that his army alone was much superior to the British. It was posted behind the River Carrion, between Carrion and Saldannah. Junot, the Duke of Abrantes, who had advanced from Burgos to Palentia, threatened the right flank of the British. The corps under Le Fêfre, Duke of Dantzick, which had advanced to Talavera de La Reyna in its way to Badajoz, was directed to march backward on Salamanca. Buonaparte himself, in person, on the 18th of Dec., marched from Madrid with an army consisting of 32,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry: even the division under Mortier, called the Duke of Treviso, which was on its march to Saragossa, was stopped. In a word, the whole disposable force of the French army, forming an irregular crescent, was marching in radii to environ the British. To accomplish this favourite object, Buonaparte interrupted his victorious career to the south, where there was nothing capable of resisting him. Lisbon and Cadiz, at that time, would have yielded as easily as Madrid. The bold measures that had been adopted by Sir John Moore, prevented the immediate subjugation of the peninsula. It remains to be seen, what was the plan he adopted for the extrication of his own army from its present most perilous situation.

The advanced guard of the French cavalry that Buonaparte had brought from Madrid, passed though



through Tordesillas on the 24th of December, on the same day the van of the British army left Sahagun: and both moved towards the same point, which was Benevento. The retreat of the British army began by the passage of the river Eslar. The Marquis of Romana was left in possession of the bridge of Mansilla, and the road to Leon. Sir David Baird crossed the Eslar by the ferry of Valentia, where he took post to cover the magazines at Benevento and Zamora. Sir John Moore with the remainder of the army passed by the bridge of Castro Gonsalo. These movements were masked by the cavalry under Lord Paget, who, advancing close to the positions of the enemy, fell in with, and defeated several detachments of cavalry which Buonaparte had pushed forward from Tordesillas.

At Benevento Sir John Moore for the first time since the commencement of the retreat, judged it necessary to publish general orders reflecting in the severest terms on the conduct of both officers and soldiers. The subjects of the censures were chiefly the marauding and drunkenness of the soldiers, the extreme relaxation of discipline, which appeared in various ways, and the free criticisms in which a number of officers had indiscreetly indulged their fancies and humours on military operations. "The qualities" (required by the arduous posture of affairs), said the general, "are not bravery alone, but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardship, obedience to command, sobriety, firmness, and resolution in every different situation in which they may

be placed.—It is impossible for the general to explain to his army the motive of the movement he directs. The commander of the forces, however, can assure the army that he has made none since he left Salamanca, which he did not foresee, and was not prepared for: and, as far as he is a judge, they have answered the purposes for which they were intended. When it is proper to fight a battle, he will do it, and he will chuse the time and place he thinks most fit. In the meantime, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to the discharge of their parts, and to leave to him and the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone. The army may rest assured, that there is nothing he has more at heart than their honour, and that of their country." The spirit of insubordination and disorder that prevailed in his own army was a subject of not less disquietude and anxiety to the general, than the rapid movements of the enemy. We find him again issuing general orders at Lugo, 6th January, 1809, "Generals and commanding officers of the corps must be as sensible as the commander of the forces of the complete disorganization of the army.—The commander of the forces is tired of giving orders which are never attended to: he therefore appeals to the honour and feelings of the army he commands, and if these are not sufficient to induce them to do their duty, he must despair of succeeding by any other means. He was forced to order one soldier to be shot at Villa Franca, and he will order all others to be execut-



ed who are guilty of similar enormities. But he considers that there would be no need of proceeding to such extremities, if the officers did their duty: as it is chiefly from their negligence, and the want of proper regulations in the regiments, that crimes and irregularities are committed in quarters and upon the march." It was not, it may be fairly presumed, any ordinary degree of irregularity and excess that drew from the commander in chief such heavy and repeated censures.—Sir John, in a letter dated at Benevento, 27th December, 1808, tells the Marquis of Romana, that "The people of that part of Spain seemed to be less well-disposed than those he had hitherto met with. Some of the corregidors and alcaids had of late run away from the towns, which had been the unavoidable cause of irregularities having been committed by the troops, for, says Sir John, when the magistrates are not present to give regularly, the soldier must take, and this produces a mischievous habit." From the time that our army turned from Sahagun, their footsteps were marked with robbery and insolence to the inhabitants: which was aggravated by the want of both parties understanding each others' language.

Our soldiers detested and despised the Spaniards for refusing to open their doors to the allies and defenders of their beloved Ferdinand. They were disappointed and soured at retreating from the approach of the enemy: and this they attributed to the cowardly conduct of the Spaniards, by whom they considered themselves to have been betrayed. The Spanish peasantry

and villagers, again, poor, and destitute of every thing beyond mere necessities, were but ill disposed to share their pittance with men whom they hated, and even abhorred as heretics, whom they dreaded as guests, and whom they now conceived to be abandoning them to all the fury of an enraged enemy. Such wants and sentiments on either side, engendered all the bitterness which marked the intercourse of the two nations during the remainder of the campaign.

Before Sir John Moore quitted Benevento, about 5 or 600 of Buonaparte's imperial cavalry crossed a ford below the town, and attacked the English pickets, who immediately assembled to the amount of 220 men under brigadier general Stewart, retired slowly, disputing every inch of ground, and repeatedly charging through the enemy's squadrons, till the arrival of Lord Paget with the 10th hussars; who, together with the pickets, drove the enemy into the river, killing or wounding 55, and taking 70 prisoners: among whom was the young general Le Fèvre, commander of Buonaparte's imperial guard. Buonaparte is said to have viewed the action from a lofty hill, about a league from Benevento.

Here Sir John Moore detached general Crauford with 3,000 chosen troops on the road to Orense. Had he neglected this precaution, Buonaparte might have sent a light corps by this road, headed the British columns, and obstructed their retreat. Besides, there was great reason to apprehend that the whole army could not have been



been provided with subsistence had it remained united.

General Crauford proceeded undisturbed to Vigo, while the other columns pursued their march through deep snows across the dreary plains of Leon to Astorga: where the British general found the town filled, and the road encumbered with the straggling army of Romana, who, having abandoned the position and bridge of Mansilla without breaking it down, according to his instructions, was going to Orense.—The Duke of Dalmatia having crossed the Eslar at Mansilla, quietly entered Leon. His intention most probably was, to occupy Astorga before the arrival of the British. In this, however, if this was his intention, he was disappointed, by the skill and promptitude of Sir John Moore.

The British commander uniting his army with the division of Sir David Baird from Valentia, proceeded on the 30th of December, on Villa Franca and Lugo. At Astorga all the superfluous camp equipage was destroyed, and all the sumpter mules, horses, &c. that could not keep up with the columns, abandoned. On the march from hence the military chest was sacrificed. Barrels full of dollars were staved and precipitated over rocks, into ravines, dens, and rivers. From Astorga to Lugo the road lay for the most part through bleak mountains covered with snow, affording so scanty a supply of provisions that the

troops were sometimes 2 days without tasting any food. During this march the extremes of vice and misery seemed to meet. In some of the villages the unburied dead bodies of the inhabitants lay outstretched before the doors of their own houses, from which they had been driven by the unrelenting soldier urged by his own necessities, to perish with cold and hunger. In others no traces of inhabitants were to be found. Stragglers from different corps plundered the different magazines, commissariat stores, and cellars, and afterwards lay intoxicated by the way-side mixed with the sick and those overcome with fatigue, to be trampled under feet or mangled by the sabres of the enemy's cavalry.\* Besides the terrible example above noticed in a letter from Sir John Moore to the Marquis of Romana, of a soldier shot at Villa Franca, other warnings were held up by the general, not less impressive. Several stragglers who had been hacked and hewed by the French troopers, were led through their respective corps as examples of the consequences of drunkenness and disobedience to orders.

Buonaparte having been joined by the Duke of Dalmatia at Astorga, after reviewing his troops to the amount of 70,000 men, had dispatched these divisions, under three marshals, in pursuit of the English army. Continual skirmishing took place between the French advanced and the British rear guard, commanded by Sir

\* The child of a woman, who had died of hunger and fatigue, was found clinging and trying to draw sustenance from the cold breasts of his lifeless mother.—A soldier of a Highland regiment took the infant, carried him along with him, and now protects and calls him his child.



John Moore in person, who took his measures so well as always to repel his assailants.

Sir John Moore offered battle to Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, before Lugo. This the duke did not think fit to accept, conceiving, probably, that he was playing a surer game by endeavouring to envelope and destroy the British on their march.

While Sir John Moore was resting his troops at Betanzos, he received a letter from Mr. Frère, dated at Seville, the 28th of December, informing him of his endeavours "to persuade the government to take some steps for securing the great towns, instead of relying upon the defence of military positions with peasants dressed in uniform." He added, "that in La Mancha, there seemed to be a *beginning* of something like enterprize; and that orders had been sent for putting Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, and Astorga, into a state of temporary defence." But what a falling off is here, from a nation glowing with loyalty and enthusiasm to "a *beginning* of something like enterprize;" and orders to defend a few towns, all of which, soon afterwards, opened their gates to the first patrols of the enemy. This scheme of fortifying the great towns had been mentioned in a letter from Mr. Frère, dated the 14th of December. He there suggests this, as a means of opposing a thousand barriers to a "deluge of panic," of which, he was once afraid, he saw the beginning in Spain. The same gentleman, in answer to a letter of Sir John Moore's, insinuating the advantage to the

British government of possessing Cadiz, states that, though still sanguine as to the issue of the contest, he had himself thoughts of thus preparing for the worst; though he deemed it dangerous to suggest to the Junta any other idea than that of living or dying on Spanish ground: a plain proof that his official dispatches were not always consonant with his own cool judgment; and that his reports, instead of being a faithful statement of facts, were only a statement of his own wishes, or those of the English cabinet.

On the 11th of January, the British army marched from Betanzos to Corunna; having now traversed two hundred and fifty miles of mountaineous and difficult country, in the face of an enemy immensely superior in numbers: very often without food or shelter, drenched with rain, and worn out with cold and fatigue: Yet still unbroken, presenting every where an undaunted front to the enemy, who had not to boast of having won a single trophy. As yet, however, they were not in safety; very few transports having arrived from Vigo, owing to contrary winds. The position of Corunna was bad; and the enemy were assembling on the heights which surround it. There were not wanting generals who advised Sir John Moore to offer terms to the Duke of Dalmatia, for the purpose of being allowed to embark in safety. But the British general was determined not to accept of any terms, which (to use his own expression) would be in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country.

There were three ports at which the



the army might have been embarked: Vigo, Ferrol, and Corunna. The distance from Astorga to Vigo was too great; and, besides, there was not at Vigo any military position. The jealousy of the Spaniards would not have admitted the English into Ferrol, and farther, the roads were too narrow and winding for transports to ride in safety from an enemy on shore. The peninsula of Betanzos, Sir John Moore had reason to hope would afford a position for defending the embarkation, and was also so much nearer, that had not contrary winds detained the transports two days longer at Vigo, the army would have been embarked unmolested. As this was not the case, the general prepared for action, by occupying a small chain of hills, a short distance from Corunna. The enemy occupied a more extended chain in his front; and a valley, with the village of Elvina, separated the two armies. From the 13th to the 15th, the embarkation of the sick, the artillery, horses, &c. was going on: the enemy in the meantime, gradually drawing round, and skirmishing with our out-posts.

On the 16th of January, 1809, when orders had been issued for the embarkation of the whole army, General Hope reported from his post, that the enemy's line were getting under arms: Sir John flew to the field, where the pickets were engaged, and beheld the French descending from the hills in four columns, two of which threatened the right of the British line, composed of Sir David Baird's division; upon whose right the rifle corps formed a chain across

the valley, which united it with General Frazer's division: the whole stretching in an oblique direction towards Corunna.

Sir John Moore perceiving that the great effort of the enemy would be directed against Lord W. Bentinck's brigade, and General Manningham's, which composed Sir David Baird's right wing; had ordered General Frazer to move up, and General Paget to support Lord W. Bentinck with the reserve. The two lines moved on under a shower of balls, and on their closing, the general, perceiving his right to be outflanked, ordered the 4th regiment which composed it, to refuse itself, and form an obtuse angle with the other half of the regiment: a manœuvre which was performed to the general's entire satisfaction; the soldiers at the same time commencing a heavy flanking fire. The 50th and 42d, which composed the remainder of Lord W. Bentinck's brigade, charged gallantly, and drove the enemy from the village of Elvina with great slaughter. Sir John Moore was in the act of ordering up the guards to support the brave Highlanders, when he received his death wound by a cannon ball on the shoulder, and was conveyed from the field, in a blanket, by six soldiers of the 42d. Sir David Baird had already left the scene of action from a severe wound in his arm. The soldiers, however, undismayed by the loss of their leaders, maintained the advantages they had gained on the right, and continued to repulse the repeated attacks of the enemy on their centre and left, until night left them masters of the field. Not more than 15,000



British were engaged, of whom about 7 or 800 were killed or wounded. The French engaged in this battle were estimated at 20,000, and consisted, in part, of the regiments sent back from Portugal to the ports of France nearest to Spain, by the convention of Cintra: their loss was reckoned at about two thousand. General Hope, on whom the chief command devolved, took advantage of the success which had been obtained to embark the army, before it should be overwhelmed with the increasing numbers of the enemy.

The boats were all in readiness, and the previous measures were so well concerted, that nearly the whole army were embarked during the night.

Though the French had no disposition to renew the engagement, when the morning of the 17th rose, and they saw that the British troops were gone, they pushed on their light troops to the heights of St. Lucia; in the forenoon they got up some cannon to a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. Several of the masters were so much frightened, that they cut their cables, and four ships ran aground. The troops of these ships were put on board others, and the stranded vessels burnt. The rest of the fleet quitted the harbour. At two o'

clock, General Hill's brigade, which had been stationed as a corps of reserve on a promontory behind the town, began to embark under the citadel; and during that night, and the following morning, General Beresford, who commanded the rear-guard, of about 2000 men, for covering the embarkation, sent off all the sick and wounded whose condition admitted of their being removed:—Lastly, the rear-guard itself got into the boats; and the whole of the embarkation was completed by the 18th of January, 1809, without interruption\*.

In this retreat the British army lost all its ammunition, all its magazines, above 5000 horses, and 5 or 6000 men. But still above 20,000 were computed to have been re-landed safely in England.

Thus Sir J. Moore, by a rare union of natural sagacity, military skill, firmness of mind, vigilance and circumspection, decision and promptitude of action, extricated the British army with great glory, and with far greater loss than was to be expected, from a situation in which the imprudence of both the British and Spanish governments, the puerile and frantic interference of some individuals, and the treachery of others had involved it:—Whatever may be the

\* The report of Lieutenant General Hope to Lieutenant General Sir D. Baird, off Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809—*Appendix to Chronicle*, 423. This is one of the most beautiful, that is, the most simple, clear, intelligible, and interesting compositions of the kind that we have ever seen from the pen of any modern commander, and may even bear to be compared with those of Julius Cæsar. Most, nay almost all military officers of all nations, by attempting to describe every thing, describe nothing in a satisfactory manner. Their descriptions are crowded with such a number of subordinate officers and subordinate actions, that the principal lines or features are obscured and lost. We sincerely pity the historian to whom Buonaparte may hereafter give it in charge to write a history of his wars from his bulletins.



final result of the contest, Sir John Moore's plan of operations, and its execution, actually saved Spain from complete subjugation at that time. He drew Buonaparte from the south to the north; ruined his equipments, diminished the number of his army, and so harrassed his troops as to prevent the possibility of making any progress for several months. The breathing time afforded by these means, and by the Austrian war, was employed by the Spaniards in recovering from their terrors. In the weak defence made in parliament by Mr. Canning for Mr. Frère, whom he had so injudiciously selected as the British minister plenipotentiary in Spain, and clothed with such extravagant powers, some dark insinuations were thrown out against the conduct of the general. The hint was instantly seized by some of the hirelings of administration, who, after an eager search for a fault in the conduct of the campaign, pretended that he ought to have defended the passes of Gallicia. But those who possess the slightest knowledge of military affairs, by casting their eyes on the map, will see at once, that had this been attempted, Buonaparte, by his numerous corps, would easily have sent detachments round into the rear, blocked up the communication with the sea, and thus have surrounded the British army.

It appears that exclusive of small passes and mule paths, there was a practicable road for the French not 30 miles distant from that which the English had taken. Under these circumstances, Sir

John Moore knowing that another road was open which he did not dare to occupy\*, as it would have been dangerous to have divided so small an army, did not delay an hour more than was absolutely necessary, the retreat of the army. And it is a fact, that a Spanish battalion made good their way through small passes or mule-paths, on their march to join the Marquis of Romana.

Besides, this province of Spain is so destitute of provisions, that though Sir David Baird, in conformity to the orders repeatedly sent him by Sir John Moore when he first entered Gallicia, attempted to form magazines; little more could be collected than what was required for the daily subsistence of the troops; and the country was quickly so exhausted, that some hundreds of the Marquis of Romana's men were actually famished in the neighbourhood of Astorga. From this dearth, chiefly, Sir John Moore was compelled to detach from his small army, General Crauford with three thousand men; and to send them to Vigo by Orense. Unless then, the troops could have subsisted upon snow, it was impossible for them to remain in that country;—we have not heard of any military man maintaining the propriety of an attempt to make a stand at the passes of Gallicia, except Colonel Charmilly.

While General Moore was conveyed in the manner above-mentioned from the field, Captain Harding observing that his sword incommoded him, attempted to un-

\* Count Cherbot, and several other English officers travelled this very road during a heavy fall of snow, on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of January.



buckle it: "It is as well as it is," said he, "calmy: I had rather it should go out of the field with me." He was so sensible of his approaching dissolution, that he said to the surgeons who offered their assistance, "You can be of no service to me: go to the soldiers, to whom you may be useful. —You know," said he to his friend Colonel Anderson, "that I have always wished to die this way. I hope the people of England will be satisfied: I hope my country will do me justice." The remainder of his moments were consecrated to tender remembrances, and enquiries about the fate of his friends. He was buried in his uniform upon the ramparts of Corunna; where a monument to his memory has been since raised by the Marquis Romana.\* A monument also, in consequence of an address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, was ordered to be erected to his memory in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, commander in chief of the British army, which he had raised to a state of the most distinguished excellence, while he was not more attentive to discipline and good order, than to the comfort of the soldiers and the good of their families, in the general order issued by his command, after the return of the army from Spain, bestows on its late commander the following just and elegantly simple praise. "The life of Sir John

Moore was spent among the troops. During the season of repose his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier. In war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour! And by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory. His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory. And the commander in chief feels that he is paying the best tribute to his memory, in thus holding him up as an *example to the army*."

It is not to be supposed that this *encomium* would have been made on Sir John Moore by any commander in chief, at all under the influence, or of the same party with the ministers of the day, from whom the general had repeatedly met with slights and injustice, and who had discovered and loudly declared, that he had found all things in Spain the very reverse of what the ministry had represented them to be; and, in short, advised them to send no more troops to Spain. The animating breath of justice is to an army what that of liberty is to a state. The Duke of York, therefore, elevated by his royal dignity far above ministerial cabals and interested views, did not hesitate to hold up Sir John Moore, though as it were in the teeth of certain ministers, as an *example to the army*.† It is not necessary to

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\* Vide Chronicle, p. 375.

† A very intelligent, as well as gallant, military officer, (the Hon. Captain St—e, in his *Cursory View of the Late Administration*) says: "That the whole of this order is so beautiful, that it deserves to be retained in the memory of every military man. It

not



go far back in the history of the Duke of York's predecessors in the high and important office of commander in chief, to illustrate the evils that may arise to the army, when the person who holds it is not above an understanding with the heads of political parties, and even factions.

There are some points in the account that has been just given of Sir John Moore's campaign in Spain, such as the extreme ignorance of the British ministry and their agents of the real state of Spain, the imbecility of the Junta, and the treachery of many Spaniards of the higher ranks—there are many things in our account of this campaign that might well appear incredible, if they were not authenticated by so great a profusion of official documents, and by the official correspondence of Sir John Moore, arranged into a kind of digressive or miscellane-

ous narrative, in which, however, the main object is kept still in view by Mr. James Moore, the general's brother, whose publication on the present subject has been our principal, though by no means our only, guide. Yet we are well assured, that the passages in that correspondence, bearing the hardest on the conduct of both the British and Spanish government, have been suppressed.

The campaign in Spain was allowed on all hands, with the exception of weak insinuations above noticed, to have been conducted by Sir John Moore with great glory to himself, his army, and his country; and with it no small advantage to the cause of Spain. But the conduct of the parties who planned the expedition, became one of the principal objects of discussion in the British Parliament which was assembled early in 1809.

not only teaches the duty of a soldier, but inspires a laudable ambition of deserving the same just but simple praise:—That any man so capable as the Duke of York, of appreciating merit; beloved by that army that owes to him its present superiority and consideration; honoured by his King and Father, to whom he has ever demonstrated the most affectionate respect as a son, and never deviating attachment as a subject; blessed by the widows and orphans of thousands, whose only legacies were the unfading laurels they left their grateful country.—That such a man should have fallen from his high situation by an imprudent connection, is a most awful lesson to the present generation. Yet services such as the Duke's, should make every feeling mind wish to draw a veil over private indiscretion. For did the French nation, when it raised the undissenting voice of gratitude for the blessings conferred on them by their Henry IV, malignantly recollect that every moment of his existence, not devoted to his country, was passed in the society of the fair Gabrielle?"

*A Cursory View of the Late Administration, p. 16. 23.*



## CHAP. II.

*Meeting of the Imperial British Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Address in Answer, moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bridgewater, and seconded by Lord Shelfield—Opposed by the Earl of St. Vincent—Some parts of the Address approved and some disapproved by different speakers.—Animadversions on the Address, particularly in as far as it related to the Affairs of Spain and Portugal, by the Earl of Grosvenor, Lord Grenville, the Earl of Moira, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire.—The Address defended by the Earl of Liverpool—Agreed to in the House of Commons.—An Address moved by the Hon. Mr. F. Robinson, and seconded by Mr. F. B. Lushington—Animadversions on the Address, particularly to what related to Spain, by Mr. Ponsonby—The Address defended in all its parts by Lord Castlereagh—Agreed to.*

THE session of the imperial British Parliament which assembled on the 13th of Jan., was opened by commissioners who stated, in the name of his Majesty, to the Lords and Commons, the reason that had determined him to reject certain proposals, which were directed to be laid before both Houses, for a negociation with the governments of Russia and of France. It had been required, that his Majesty should consent to commence the negociation by abandoning the cause of Spain, which he had so recently and solemnly espoused. His Majesty continued to receive from the Spanish government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain; and so long as the people of Spain should remain true to themselves, his Majesty would continue to them his most strenuous assistance and support. His Majesty had renewed his engagements to the Spanish nation: which engagements had been reduced in-

to the form of a treaty of alliance.—Whilst his Majesty contemplated with the liveliest satisfaction the achievements of his forces in the commencement of the campaign in Portugal, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally from the presence and oppressions of the French, his Majesty most deeply regretted the termination of that campaign by the armistice and convention, of some of the articles of which his Majesty felt himself obliged to declare his disapprobation.—His Majesty relied on the disposition of his parliament to enable him to continue the aid afforded by his Majesty to the king of Sweden. That monarch derived a peculiar claim to his Majesty's support in the present exigency of his affairs, for having concurred with his Majesty in the propriety of rejecting any proposal for negociation in which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party.—The commissioners had received his Majesty's command, most especially to recommend to parliament, in consideration



ration of the immense interests at stake in the war now carrying on, that they should proceed with as little delay as possible, to consider the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army.\*

An Address to his Majesty, which was an echo to the Lord's Commissioners speech, was moved by the Earl of Bridgewater, and seconded by Lord Sheffield. But the Earl of St. Vincent rose, and said, That the Address just read was such, that no man who had a veneration for his sovereign, or a love for his country, could ever assent to. Some parts of it, which went to express a determined hostility to the common enemy, and a firm resolution to carry on the war against him, all must approve. But when he adverted to the manner in which that opposition to him had been conducted on the peninsula of Europe, it was wholly impossible not to express both sorrow and indignation. He would assert it in the face of the country, and in the face of the world, that it was the greatest disgrace that had befallen Great Britain since the days of the Revolution; and this he openly declared, whether he took into consideration the manner in which the war was carried on in Portugal, or the way in which our troops had been sent there. Transports were hired, and great merit was to be attributed, forsooth, to ministers in providing these transports. But the public ought to be undeceived upon that head; there was not a tittle of merit in the case; it was only going to market, and offering a little

more than the market price, and transports were to be obtained in abundance. He wished, however, to notice the important services to which these transports were eventually applied; "why truly," said his lordship, "they were at last employed to convey the rascally ruffians whom Junot commanded, to that part of France which was nearest the boundaries of Spain, that they might, as speedily as possible, be again brought into action, with more effect, against our soldiers. So that those devils," added his lordship, "are at this moment harassing the rear of our retreating army." The impolicy of sending British troops to Portugal he always disapproved; but the result of the war there he was disgusted with: and then the delay that prevailed before we sent a man from thence towards Spain, was disgraceful. In fact it would seem as if ministers had not even a geographic knowledge of the country through which our troops were to pass, insomuch that they ought to go again to school, to make themselves masters of it. But their ignorance of that species of knowledge, one would suppose, was official; for a "Heaven-born Minister," just after he first came into power, asked whether Port Mahon was in Europe or not? and the persons at present in power manifested just the same local ignorance, when they sent an army to traverse a wild and inhospitable country, at the very commencement of the rainy season, to drink new wine, and to be overwhelmed with disease as well as fatigue.

\* See the whole speech, State Papers, p. 738.



So little confidence did he place in these men, that he was decidedly of opinion, that unless they were removed, the country would be lost. The Convention of Cintra could not be considered, without feeling sentiments of alarm, as well as indignation, rising in the mind; the more especially when he observed the cold-blooded treaty, that gave up a contest with the ships of an enemy, upon a compromise so unworthy the nation's character. There was a time, when such old-fashioned words as "sink, burn, and destroy," were understood and exercised: but now we are to negotiate to be ships' husbands, and to take possession by bargain and barter, instead of by battles, by bravery, and by balls; we are to hold ships in trust by contract, and not in right by conquest. We had Princes of the blood, all of whom are bred to arms. Why, he asked, were not some of these illustrious persons employed to lead our armies; they had made the science of war their study from their childhood? If they were not to be employed, he was at a loss to ascertain for what purpose they were bred to arms. There was a distinguished person near him (Earl Moira) who had the confidence of the people, who had the love of the soldiery, and who possessed the esteem of his majesty: why was not such a person as that nobleman employed? The reason was evident—it was because management prevented it. But was it to be supposed that because a Court of Enquiry had deemed no further investigation necessary, that therefore there ought to be no investigation? Whenever he looked at

the terms of the Convention; whenever he reflected on the decision of that court, he could not avoid exclaiming, that the decision so announced was a blot upon the country. Whenever he heard of councils of war being called, he always considered them as cloaks for cowardliness; so said the brave Boscawen, and from him he imbibed the sentiment which time and experience had completely confirmed. At Vimiera we gained a victory, and in the moment that our soldiers were flushed with conquest, recourse was had to a council of war: that, he presumed, could only have been necessary, or indeed apologised for, in the moment of defeat. Upon what principle, therefore, such an expedient was resorted to, he, for one, accustomed to other methods, could not account. They only who acted in it could explain it. Just the same opinion he entertained of the Court of Enquiry; it was a shield to ward off investigation from ministers themselves; but he trusted that their lordships would not be prevented from making a scrupulous investigation of it in their own way. He knew the character of the Portuguese exceedingly well. They, excepting the city of Lisbon, were as brave people as any upon the continent of Europe, and, officered with British soldiers, would have presented an undaunted front to Frenchmen. Why was not that expedient made use of? Ministers ought to have known their value, and if they did not, their ignorance was inexcusable. If that house did its duty, they would immediately proceed to the foot of the throne, and there tell the sovereign the bold truth



truth, that if he did not remove them, he would lose the country. These were the sentiments of his heart; he spoke them as a solemn duty, which he found himself bound to express. It was probably the last time he should trouble their lordships, and with that, said the noble admiral, I wish your lordships a good night. (At these words the noble earl instantly walked out of the house.)

The Earl of *Grosvenor* admitted that there was not much in the address to admit a diversity of opinion. He cordially approved of that part of the speech which expressed a determination to give all possible assistance to the Spaniards, so long as they should continue to be true to themselves. He did not despair of the Spanish cause, provided that the vast means of this country were employed in the manner best calculated to distress and embarrass the enemy. He also concurred in that part of the speech which expressed disapprobation of the Convention of Cintra.—His lordship severely censured that military arrangement, by which a British army was sent into the heart of Spain, when it should have been sent to the foot of the Pyrenees. It should have been sent to a situation, where it could not be exposed to the possibility of being obliged to retreat.

Lord Viscount *Sidmouth* approved of continuing to support Spain as long as any hopes remained. But he was not prepared to thank his Majesty for a treaty of the conditions and engagements of which he was wholly ignorant.

Lord Grenville observed, that it was the constant practice, until the present administration came into office, to refrain, both in the speech and in the address, from calling upon parliament to deliver any decided opinion approving of past measures, the documents relating to which were not in the possession of the House, or expressing a determination to support any future system, the details of which had not been communicated. With respect to the policy of sending a British army to Spain, he did not mean to say, that there might not be circumstances under which it might be expedient to send British troops into Spain, but during the last summer there was no prospect that ought to have induced any reasonable man to send a British army into the interior of Spain. He did not mean, however, to apply his observation to naval co-operation, by sending fleets with troops to annoy particular parts of the coast, to keep the enemy in a constant state of alarm, and to obtain partial advantages.—With the Pyrenees unlocked, and the road between Paris and Madrid as open as that between Paris and Antwerp, there was nothing that could justify our sending into the interior of Spain 30 or 40,000 British men to meet an army of 200,000. “I can compare such a measure,” said his lordship, “only to the far-famed march to Paris,\* to which it is fully equal in its wildness and absurdity. It is perfectly clear that it must rest with the Spanish people themselves to maintain their independence, and that with-

\* Recommended in 1793 by the present Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, in the House of Commons.



out that spirit amongst themselves no army that we could send would be of any avail. They adopted a system, which was published in the early part of the summer, under the title of 'Precautions,' and which contained a most excellent plan of defence adapted to the peculiarities of the country, and calculated to harass and annoy an invading army, and to wear them down by a continued system of partial attack, without incurring the risk which must necessarily attend a pitched battle with regular and veteran troops. This system was the best which could be adopted by that country, under its then circumstances, and might have produced a great effect upon the enemy, whose troops would have been continually harassed and fatigued, whilst the Spaniards, taking advantage of the peculiarities of their country, would have incurred little immediate risk, and would have gained a knowledge and attained a discipline which might have subsequently qualified them to contend in the field with the regular troops of France. This excellent system we forced them to abandon, by sending into the interior of the country a British army : it then became impossible for the Spaniards to leave our army to fight their battles by itself; our army would, of course, proceed in the manner and according to the usual routine of a regular army ; and thus the Spaniards were forced on to engage in pitched battles, at a period when they were not competent, with regular troops, whilst the British army, too small to cope with the great superiority of troops brought into the field by France, can only retreat. In this way, my lords, I

contend that the sending a British army into the interior of Spain has been actually injurious to the cause of the patriots in that country.

In what manner have they afforded the aid of which they now so much boast? Setting aside for a moment the consideration of the general question of the policy or impolicy of sending British troops into the interior of Spain, it may be said, that there was a time when a British force of 30 or 40,000 men might have contributed to obtain a great temporary advantage, which, whatever effect it might have had upon the ultimate fate of the war, would at least have enabled the Spaniards to arrange their defence, and to mature their preparations. It may be said that there was a period of the contest when the French having been driven from Madrid, and forced to take refuge in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, a British force, sent there at that particular crisis, might have driven the French beyond the Pyrenees, and placed in the hands of the Spaniards the keys of their country, which they might then have been enabled to defend under infinitely more advantageous circumstances than they had since been placed in. It might be said, that this case did, from peculiar circumstances, actually occur. Allowing it to be so, how was it taken advantage of? One might have supposed, that, to make the proper use of such an advantageous conjuncture of affairs, our troops would have been sent to the port nearest the scene of action, and from whence they might be marched, in the shortest time, to the spot where their services were most wanted. But, instead of the nearest



nearest port, the farthest seemed to have been chosen, and the troops were sent to Lisbon. They are there employed in compelling the French to evacuate Portugal, who could not have held it if Buonaparte could not conquer Spain, and who must get possession of it if he does; and afterwards remain there for two months before they march to join the Spaniards. The moment was urgent, the occasion was pressing, every thing depended upon promptitude of action, and taking advantage of a small portion of time; and yet two months pass away before the army is even put in march to join the Spanish troops; and the general who commanded in chief, in giving an account of his conduct, says, that no arrangement was determined upon for putting the army in march. The transports which ought to have conveyed our troops are used to convey the troops of the enemy; and our army, compelled to make a long march over land, are too late for any effective purpose, and the enemy triumphs in the capital of Spain before even a British musket is fired. The Spanish people may truly reproach us, "You promised us protection and assistance; you induced us to engage in the dangerous warfare of pitched battles, quitting our more desultory mode of warfare, but more secure to ourselves and more harrassing to the enemy; and now the oppressor lords it in our capital, plunders our property, and puts to death our nobles, whilst not a single British musket has yet been fired." Most unfortunate is it that our army should be placed in such a situation which must necessarily give rise to apprehension. The di-

lemma stated by my noble friend (Lord Sidmouth,) most aptly applies to ministers upon this subject: either they did or they did not know that a British army, sent into the interior of Spain, would have to encounter the whole disposable force of France. If they did know it, by what infatuation could they have been induced to place an army in a situation in which no rational men would ever have thought of placing it? If they did not know it, then they must confess that they were wholly ignorant of the resources of France—that they were wholly ignorant that the ruler of France had the resources of the greater part of Europe at his command—that they were wholly ignorant that France had a large army which could be brought to bear upon any given point. With this view of the subject, it is, of course, impossible that I can concur in applauding the past measures adopted by ministers with respect to Spain; nor can I concur in supporting the system proposed to be adopted for increasing the army, with the view of sending more troops to Spain, for this must be the object, or the expression means nothing; although I do not mean to deny, that with the evils with which we are now surrounded, the increase of our regular force is a necessary measure. From the approbation, however, which is implied of their conduct, and their wise and vigorous system, I must decidedly dissent, contending, as I do, that there has been neither wisdom nor vigour in their measures.

Lord Grenville said, that there was one most important topic which he thought it his duty to press on the attention of their lordships, though



though no notice was taken of it either in the speech or in the address; he meant the present state of our relations with the United States of America—So also did many of the speakers, in opposition to ministry, in both Houses, on various occasions. But into their discussions on this subject, on such occasions, when the subject was not formally before the Houses, it would be both endless and idle to enter. It is remarkable that the debates were more than ordinarily keen, on the side of opposition, when the subject related either to America or to Ireland.

The Earl of *Liverpool* said, that with regard to the affairs of Spain, the address only proposed to give his Majesty a general assurance of support in maintaining the cause of the Spaniards as long as that nation proved true to themselves. In what way this support had been given, or how it was in future to be administered, would be a subject of distinct and detailed consideration: nor would the House, by now agreeing to the address, pledge themselves to approve of those particular engagements which had been contracted. All that they were now called upon to do, was, to record a public avowal of their determination not to desert that cause which the government and the country had espoused, and in which it was, in consequence of reverses, even become a more sacred duty to persevere. Those who inferred that the cause was desperate, from those disasters which had already happened, reasoned upon a most imperfect view of the relative situation of the parties engaged in the contest. And he entreated those who were in-

clined to despond, to consult the records of history, and to review those instances of nations who had been compelled to struggle for their independence in circumstances similar to those in which the Spaniards were now placed. There it would be found that nations, after maintaining struggles for ten or twenty years, in the course of which they had been almost uniformly worsted in battle, had eventually succeeded, in spite of the triumphs of their adversaries, in securing the object for which they contended. It was difficult to conceive any situation which would better warrant hopes of ultimate success, than that of Spain at this day.—It appeared a little extraordinary to Lord *Liverpool*, that Lord *Grenville* should have objected to the policy of the expedition to Portugal, which was almost the only point of the coast which was, at the time, in the possession of the enemy. A large force had been prepared with unexampled expedition, and in its application ministers had taken the advice, not only of military men of high reputation, but had consulted the Spaniards themselves, who, both in the north and south, had recommended the reduction of General Junot's army, as the most acceptable service, that it was in our power to perform. The consideration due to an ancient and faithful ally, he admitted to have had considerable influence with his Majesty's ministers, in undertaking the deliverance of Portugal. He requested also the noble lord to bear in mind, that at the time when our expedition sailed, and which he seemed to think might have acted with greater advantage in the north



north of Spain, the passage from Paris to Madrid was as open as it is now; and that the French army was in possession, not only of the passes of the Pyrennees, but of a large district in the South of Spain.—In consequence of the evacuation of Portugal, the Spaniards had been delivered from a large force which, by acting in their rear, might have embarrassed and impeded all their future operations. Lord Liverpool also defended the *equipment* of the expedition to Portugal, which, in every respect, and specifically in the proportion of cavalry and artillery with which it was accompanied, was perfectly competent to execute the service on which it was sent. Neither, he contended, had there been one moment's unnecessary delay in the march of our army from Portugal. If it did not proceed to Spain immediately after the conclusion of the convention, it was because no central government had then been established, and it was impossible to arrange any plan of operations with the provincial Juntas.

The Earl of Moira disapproved of many paragraphs in the address, but would still refrain from moving any amendment. He particularly insisted on that which referred to the armistice and convention, concluded in Portugal, and took occasion to explain the opinion which he had delivered upon it as a member of the Court of Inquiry. He concurred, indeed, with his colleagues in saying, that no further military proceeding should be had in that matter: and he had emphatically made use of the word 'military,' on the occasion. As far as the officers, who took a part in the transaction, were engaged, he would re-

peat it, that they had behaved with unquestionable zeal and firmness. They might have perhaps imputed to them an error in judgment; but, circumstanced as they were, their error was not such as fell within any infraction of the articles of war; it was rather an error imputable to his Majesty's ministers, and to the manner in which they had prepared and sent out the expedition.—The address also alluded to further aid to be afforded to Sweden. Should it not be inquired how that aid was to be applied? Was the further assistance, to be hereafter granted to Sweden, to be applied in the manner in which we had hitherto afforded that support? What, in fact, had been done for Sweden, that in the least contributed to give her any material assistance? From her adherence to our alliance, she had already lost almost half of her territory, and was now exposed to the severest fate. We were as much bound therefore to attend to Sweden as to Spain. Looking to the unfortunate peninsula, where our principal exertions were said to have been directed, what was the situation of affairs there? Did the address at all indicate the feelings of this House, or of any man in the kingdom on that weighty subject? The noble earl had said, that the Spaniards would not accept our proffered assistance. Was the fit application made to them? Where was the question asked? At the extremity of the kingdom farthest removed from the scene of danger. Supposing an enemy were to enter Scotland; would an ally, anxious for our protection, take an army to Penzance, and inquire of a council there, if he could



could give the inhabitants of that remote quarter protection? But, he was warranted from the evidence before the Court of Inquiry to say, the aid was applied for, not for Galicia, but for the Pyrenean frontiers. What was the situation of the French at that time? Buonaparte, in the plenitude of self-confidence, had imprudently distributed his forces in small divisions all over the kingdom. The natives rising throughout the provinces, indignant at the perfidy of their enemy, were competent to the utter destruction of these scattered legions. What was then our duty? It was to interpose 50,000 men between Spain and France, which would be increased to 150,000 by the zeal of the natives. This immense army, organized and disciplined as it would have been, blended with British regulars, would take possession of the passes, and the consequence would have been, that not a Frenchman could have entered or quitted Spain, unless he had cut his way through this prodigious force. It was not enough to drive the French out of Spain, not a subject of Napoleon should have passed the frontiers, unless exchanged as a prisoner. Then would have been the moment to have called on Austria, and to have told her, that her existence depended upon immediate hostility against France—to have informed her, that the British forces, supported by their ally, were hovering, like a dark storm, on the summits of the mountains, and would pour onward in a torrent, to spread devastation in the plains beneath, the moment she should declare her purpose. All these golden oppor-

tunities had been lost by the gross mismanagement of his Majesty's ministers. Nor could he concur in the address in what respected the Convention of Cintra. The speech of the commissioners was designed to screen from accusation the real culprits. He had said, in common with his colleagues, that there was no ground for any further military inquiry; but this was not saying that there was no ground for inquiry at all.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire*, while he approved of the exertions made by ministers in favour of the Spanish Patriots, could not refrain from expressing his disapprobation of the manner in which our gallant troops had been employed.—The address was agreed to; and the Earl of Liverpool gave notice that, on Monday, he should move the thanks of the House to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the other officers and troops for the victory of Vimiera.

On the same day an address to his Majesty, in answer to the lords commissioners speech, was moved in the House of Commons, after a number of prefatory observations on the different subjects touched on, or alluded to, in the speech by the Honourable Frederick Robinson.—This motion was seconded by Mr. S. B. Lushington. Among other remarks Mr. Lushington observed, that the faith of Great Britain, solemnly pledged to Spain and Sweden, ought to be religiously observed, and that the preservation of that faith, in all cases of difficulty and trial, was the surest tower of safety to this country, and the best hope of deliverance to the rest of the world. If we should desert the cause

of



of Spain even whilst the Spaniards continued true to themselves, with what confidence could we hope for our own safety? With nations, as with individuals, punishments followed fast upon the footsteps of dishonour.

Mr. Ponsonby rose, not to oppose the address, but, in the present awful circumstances, to make some observations, and offer some opinions, which he conceived to be of importance to the honour and security of the country.—His Majesty last year concluded a treaty, by which it was stipulated, that if the King of Sweden should be attacked by his neighbours, this country should concert with that sovereign, as to sending out an auxiliary force to his aid.—How far there had been anything of concert—How far there had been anything of council—How far there had been any mutual communication, or common understanding, between the government of this country and his Swedish Majesty, in conformity with the treaty, we might form some judgment by the expedition of Sir John Moore and his army sent out in the course of the last summer.—What was the result of that expedition? Was it because Sir John Moore was kept in ignorance of the mutual counsel and concert of the two governments: or was it because there did not exist in the councils of his Majesty's ministers either method, system, or design, that that officer, without a single musket being fired, or one battalion of it being formed in order of battle before an enemy, was compelled actually to make his escape from Stockholm in disguise? Mr. Ponsonby proceeded to arraign the attack on

Copenhagen.—If that rash and inglorious expedition had not taken place, the Danish navy would now consist of ships of war blocked up in the ports of Denmark, instead of being converted, as it now was, into a more active and successful means of hostility against our commerce, than the navy of any power in Europe. Had the assault on the navy of Denmark deprived it of the services of a single sailor? No. Ministers contented themselves with taking away their ships of War. Had their marine continued safe, it would have absorbed those exertions of their numerous seamen which were employed in a predatory warfare against our commerce. This was another instance, besides that of the expedition to Sweden, of that ministerial vigour which was to characterize the government of those now entrusted with the confidence of the crown.

After these transactions in the north of Europe, Mr. Ponsonby proceeded, the affairs of Spain next engrossed the attention of the world. The government of France having made its iniquitous attempt upon the Spanish nation, an opportunity of ardent hope to this country, and of probable deliverance to Europe, presented itself, such as we had not witnessed since the revolution of France in 1789. This was an event of the greatest importance, an event big with the greatest consequences, and which demanded the greatest attention of the King's ministers: they, and they only, were capable of forming a just opinion concerning it. It was impossible to conceive that such a country as Great Britain could view such passing events



with indifference, or without taking a very prominent part in their direction. The question for those entrusted with the management of our concerns, was to obtain the necessary knowledge, and to bestow upon it, when acquired, the most mature consideration. It is upon this principle the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, with respect to the war in Spain, in my opinion, is to be appreciated. It is in the recollection of this House, that we were first acquainted with the exertions of the Spanish people a very short time previous to the prorogation of Parliament. The right honourable gentlemen opposite at that period studiously avoided to make any communication on that subject to this House. They had determined to apply to their own credit, all the glory and advantage, which the cause of Europe may derive from their co-operation with the Spanish people. They, and they alone, were aware of the wishes and objects of that nation; all that was known, was known by them; all that was done, was done by them; all that was advised, was advised by them. When, therefore, the Spanish nation undertook to resist the power and usurpation of France, and when the government of this country had determined to co-operate in that effort, the natural course of duty was to decide on the system best calculated to insure the important object. We had to recollect, that if Spain was successful in its struggles, such an event would not only, in its immediate effects, prove highly beneficial, both to them and Great Britain, but that the relative power of France would have been considerably diminished. Had we

succeeded in placing upon the throne of Spain, a prince hostile to the present dynasty of France, and friendly to this country for its services in its cause, the designs of France against the peace and independence of Europe would have vanished into air.—When, therefore, such consequences hinged upon the decision of our counsels, ministers should have been comprehensive in their views, and energetic in carrying them into execution. The most prominent object for their consideration, was the nature of the warfare which was most likely to be successfully carried on by the Spanish people:—Whether it was to be conducted in the field, according to the modern system of military tactics in Europe, or whether it was to be considered as a kind of desultory attack by the host of the Spanish population, supplied by Great Britain with arms and military equipments, throughout every province of the peninsula. This mode of warfare has been recommended by the advantages which it affords an armed population, favoured by a mountainous country, capable of enduring the severest privations, and of profiting by every incident to harass the enemy against which it is opposed. When such a system is carried to its whole extent, the most powerful invading army may be brought to conclude, from its great loss of blood and treasure, that it were wiser to desist than persevere in such an hazardous attempt. These were the two schemes, one of which, in contemplating the affairs of Spain, ought to have been pursued. But his Majesty's ministers seem, from their conduct of the war in Spain, not



to have decided. System they had none: on one day they gave the preference to this plan, and on the next they changed it for another. If any reliance can be placed on the communications which have been made in the various newspapers, as to the proceedings of the Board of Enquiry, it would seem that sir A. Wellesley was sent out by his Majesty's government without any specific instruction, without any direction whither he was to proceed, or with what authority in Spain to consult. Indeed, he appears to have sailed with a sort of adventurous roving commission:—to do whatever he pleased!—It is next to be considered, whether the force under his command was sufficient for any really serviceable object. For nothing could be less likely to serve the Spanish cause, than to send out to that country a force not competent to keep the field itself, and not able to co-operate with the force which we were told the Spaniards had in arms. It appears, that Sir A. Wellesley had, on his arrival at Corunna, consulted with the Junta of Galicia, and that that body had recommended to him not to debark at St. Andero, but to proceed to Portugal and make that country a point of union and connection between the northern and southern provinces of Spain. That the Junta of Galicia were very anxious to get rid of a French force, in possession of a country on their rear, is what few could doubt; but how a compliance with their wishes, by the commander of a British army, could have tended to the delivery of Spain, is that account for which all men are at a loss. Because, if Spain had been relieved by the expulsion of the

French force from its provinces, there was little doubt that the enemy, in possession of Lisbon, would have been compelled to submit. The smaller country was dependent on the greater for its deliverance from the invaders; but it by no means followed, that the possession of Portugal extended a reciprocal protection to Spain. How did the facts unfold themselves? You have expelled the enemy from Portugal, and since that he has entered Madrid, defeated three Spanish armies, and is at this moment in pursuit of your's. "We learn," said Mr. Ponsonby, "this night from his Majesty's speech, that his arms, though at first honourable, have terminated in an armistice and convention, of some of the articles of which his Majesty has felt himself obliged to declare his formal disapprobation. When or where this disapprobation has been declared, is to this moment a secret to me. It is not a little surprising to be told that his Majesty had declared his disapproval, whilst at the same time no explanation is given of the points to which it was directed. But it would be far more surprising to find that this House was not determined to canvass the whole of this transaction, in order fully to ascertain what were the points which called for censure, and to whom the delinquency was to be attributed. But it was not only in sending the British troops to Portugal in preference to Spain, that the vigour of the King's ministers was illustrated. It was also to be traced in the various equipments of the army. It was felt in the want of artillery, in the derangement of the commissariat, in the scantiness of the cavalry force.



Was the noble lord (Castlereagh) opposite, so stinted as to that species of force: or so stinted as to the means of its conveyance, that for a British army, destined to act in the field against the enemy, he could only obtain 200 cavalry? Who that reverts to the proceedings of this House, in the last session, but must remember that noble lord, almost with tears in his eyes, and in a tone of despondence that arrested commiseration, regretting the exhausted state in which he asserted that department of the public service was, through a feeling of false economy, left by a right honourable friend (Mr. T. Grenville) not now in the House. It was then, we were told by him, that by having transports when they were not wanted, we were sure to have them at hand in the moment of urgency. By what fatality I ask the noble lord is it, that all his characteristic energy seems to have sat upon the present state of things? Is this the territory, which under the administration of the noble lord, Great Britain exemplifies to the continent of Europe, of her military powers, and of the strength and comprehension of those who manage her resources? Indeed, if their effects had not proved most lamentable to the security of Europe, and the character of this empire, it would afford a most prolific source of ridicule to review the ministerial operations of the noble lord. An army sent without instructions, without plan, almost destitute of cavalry, and deficient in stores; the artillery not fit for the operations which should have been pursued, whilst the horses, (the accounts given of the state of which, if it were not for

the melancholy consequences, were truly ridiculous) were represented as blind and lame, and some even as dying of old age. These, at least, are the statements of the general officers whom the noble lord had selected; and if they are not satisfactory to himself, he alone is to blame for their inaccuracy, having appointed three commanders in chief with a rapidity greater than the relays of post horses, from whom, of course, no very intelligent accounts were to be expected.

Now, let us examine the reasons stated by the generals for acquiescing in the Convention. Time, say they, was thus obtained to forward the British army to Spain. The Convention was signed definitively on the 30th of August; and yet the British army was not ready for action in Spain for two months, nay, some of the troops did not leave Portugal for ten weeks after. Is it only for the conveyance of the troops of France that the noble lord can find transports? These he can convey in British shipping, to be again, almost immediately on their debarkation, employed in Spain, whilst by that very measure he subjects, in a dreadful season, the British army to a march of 500 miles. It is impossible to pronounce adequately upon that disgraceful measure; there is so much in every part of it of mystery, enigma, and riddle. We are now told, that his Majesty has expressed his formal disapprobation of some parts of the Convention; and yet his ministers thought proper to fire the tower guns in approbation of it. His Majesty, it appears, had a different feeling of what affects the



the honour of the country and the glory of the British army, and I most sincerely believe it, from that entertained by those ministers, who conceived it right to proclaim with all the demonstrations of public rejoicing, this stain upon both. His Majesty protests against being deemed a partner with his servants in this disgraceful transaction; and has this night announced to his Parliament that he has formally disapproved of it. Early in the progress of the hostile operations in Spain, I believe in the month of July, a document was published by the Supreme Junta of Seville, under the title of *Precautions*, which fixed upon a plan of warfare, and also conveyed instructions to the inhabitants of Spain, as to the manner in which they were to conduct their hostility against the enemy. Biscay, Castille, and Navarre were the parts of the peninsula pointed out as the most proper theatre for hostile exertions. These were the points most important to engage the consideration of the patriotic leaders, and, of course, of the auxiliary force which was naturally to be expected from this country. Now, if his Majesty's ministers had condescended to hold a little intercourse with the Supreme Junta, or have allowed the army to remain in England till they actually knew something of the state of Spain; or, if Sir Arthur had even corresponded with the Junta, they, and we too, would have learned, that the most important duty to be performed was the defence of the north of Spain, and the passage of the Pyrenees; and then, instead of being worsted, the army so sent might have been

used for the most beneficial purposes, so as to make the French retire within the frontiers of France. I am certain that was the plan of warfare which would have been most essential to the safety of Spain. The Convention of Portugal having taken place, his Majesty's ministers thought proper to cause the Tower guns to be discharged, in token of the satisfaction they felt, until they found that all the rest of his Majesty's subjects entertained a contrary feeling upon the transaction. The public displeasure was loud and general; every patriotic heart felt the stain cast upon his country's honour; every tongue uttered the complaint. It did so turn out, too, that the first city in the empire, the city of London, sympathising with the national feeling, approached the throne with their sentiments, and a most vigorous reception they did meet with indeed. The right hon. gentleman had certainly anticipated a complete triumph over the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London; but subsequent events proved that his Majesty's citizens could rally. The Corporation tell his Majesty, that they think the Convention disgraceful, dishonourable to the British arms, and injurious to his Majesty's interests: they call for investigation and the punishment of the guilty. In answer to this application, his Majesty's ministers advise his Majesty to tell the citizens of London that their interposition was unnecessary, and that it was inconsistent with British justice to pronounce judgment before investigation. Really, though the gentlemen opposite may think their responses not only



wise but oracular, I am at a loss to know what the difference is between British justice, and that justice which, in every variation of time or place, is immutable. Feeling the profoundest respect in every case, in which his Majesty appears to act, I still must say, that his advisers put into his mouth upon that occasion, an answer as little congenial to the spirit of the British Constitution, as it was ill suited to the dignity of the throne. Ministers may talk with flippancy themselves, they may pun and epigrammatise, they may sneer, or they may snoutch,—but when unfortunately the king of this country feels it his duty to hint his displeasure to his people, or convey to them a rebuke for their conduct, there ought to be a dignity and decorum observed in the language of reproof from the throne, which would make displeasure more severely be felt by those for whom it was intended. But, Sir, I can easily conceive that ministers might have been a little irascible on receiving that remonstrance, because, notwithstanding the usual complacency of the City of London to their measures, it had within the last year on two important occasions opposed them, first on the Reversion Bill, and latterly on this disgraceful Convention.

The most material considerations, however, are the employment of the British force in Spain, the dilatoriness of those directing it, and their total want of capacity. If it were wise at all to send a British army into Spain, that opportunity has been lost, which appears to have been the only favourable one that presented itself. In giving assistance to the Spaniards,

there were, as I before stated, two modes of proceeding. What the opinions of the Spaniards themselves are I profess myself totally ignorant. The fact is, that this ignorance does not proceed from any want of diligence on my part in making inquiries; but for want of any authentic source from which information could be procured. Did the Spaniards make application for a regular force to be sent into their country, or for money, arms, ammunition, clothing, and all other necessaries to enable them to prosecute the war against such armies as France had the power of pouring into their country? I ask this question, because if Spain with such assistance could not carry the point of keeping out any fresh reinforcements, there was little probability of preventing that country from being over-run. In investigating this matter we should have considered what was the amount of the disposable force of France. To guide us in regard to this point, we have a recent document to refer to for information. In papers which were laid before Parliament in the beginning of the year 1806, just after the failure of the third coalition, there appears a memoir from the court of Vienna to that of St. Petersburg; stating the amount of force which France could probably bring against the allied Powers. From this document it appears that the French force was then estimated at 500,000 men, exclusive of the imperial guards, which consisted of 15,000 men. This was the opinion of the court of Vienna before France had over-run Germany and Poland, and some other countries of Europe, and previously to her connection



nection with Russia. The disposable force of France must, therefore, have been since considerably increased; and it was consequently most material for this country, before it adopted any measure whatever, to consider well the propriety of employing her troops in Spain, where there was a likelihood of such immense numbers being brought against them. Never, I believe, was sympathy so strong, as that evinced in England in favour of the Spanish cause. Yet, though such had been the enthusiasm of the nation at large, and however ardent the people might be in lending assistance to support such a glorious struggle, it was the duty of those, who were intrusted with the management of the national force, to consider in every point of view the propriety or impropriety of complying with the popular feeling. That was perhaps the feeling of the moment, but ministers were bound to consult for the permanent interests of the public, and it was therefore their duty to investigate and ascertain by every possible mode, whether they ought to risk an English army at all in Spain, or confine their assistance to the supplies I have mentioned. I do not wish to impute blame to them for having sent a British force to Spain, if the Spaniards themselves applied for it, and if it was the opinion of competent judges, that there was a probability of enabling them thereby to keep the field against their powerful enemy. We have instances in our history of our having been before in a similar situation and under similar circumstances. The independence of the United Provinces was effect-

ed principally by the assistance of England. Queen Elizabeth, for her own safety against the designs of Spain, assisted those who revolted against its tyranny and oppression; and I wish that ministers had adverted, in the present instance, to the conduct of that wise princess, and her wise administration. None of the present ministry can think themselves disgraced by a comparison with Lord Burleigh; and yet we find that Queen Elizabeth, pressed as she was by the power, the rancour, the persevering hostility of Spain, did not hazard the whole force of her dominions, nor proceed to send any number of troops abroad, without some assurance of safety in case of disaster. She, by the advice of her ministers, took care to possess what were called cautionary towns, and thereby assured herself of a retreat, and gained a safe point whither to send reinforcements, as well as a security that the United Provinces should not abandon her in the contest in which they were engaged. I know not what has taken place between the English and Spanish governments upon that subject; but, I perceive, that in his Majesty's late declaration it is stated, that certain obligations exist which are considered equally binding as the most solemn treaty. From what I yet know of the matter, I cannot agree in the propriety of any such sentiment: I should not, however, think of abandoning them in the hour of misfortune; but I cannot admit, that we should consider our present obligations in the light of a solemn treaty: for what is the nature of such an engagement? It is entered into in a moment of hurry and precipitation;



tion; it has not been laid before us, and therefore is, as yet, unauthorized by Parliament; and, consequently, you may approve or disapprove, you may grant or refuse the supplies for carrying it into effect. Upon the whole, therefore, I know not how an engagement of this sort is to be considered as equally binding as the most solemn treaty. But we now understand, that a formal treaty has been negotiated, which it is intended to lay before the house, and until that be done I cannot decide upon its merits or propriety. I dare say the house would naturally be inclined to receive, with the fondest partiality, every thing apparently tending to the advantage of the Spanish cause: but, sir, the state of our warfare, under such circumstances as I have already stated, and as his Majesty's ministers have conducted it, is truly extraordinary. If the Spaniards preferred that mode of warfare, which was of a desultory nature, instead of a continued warfare, then the British army could not have been of the least use in Spain; for a British army there must necessarily have pursued a plan wholly different from that of the Spaniards. I know not which system of warfare was proper to be adopted; but I say the two systems are completely incompatible. The Spaniards, in their own country, and pursuing a desultory mode of attack, have the power of dispersing and rallying again, as occasion might require; but this is not the case with a regular army. If you combine the two modes you must necessarily destroy the energies and efficacy of one of them. We have already

seen this exemplified in the Spaniards. We have seen their regular army defeated, and almost destroyed by the enemy; while in another quarter we have found their irregular force very successful; which shews that the two modes of fighting are perfectly inconsistent.

Now, sir, let us see what has been the vigour of ministers upon this occasion. By vigour, I presume, is meant a prompt energetic use and application of the public force. Will you tell us of one instance of such promptitude and energy? I presume you cannot say it was displayed in Portugal; nor in Spain by Sir John Moore's coming into the field after the Spanish army had been defeated? It was not then useful, because it was unable to keep the field by itself. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that the Convention of Portugal is made to rest in a great degree upon the speedy applicability of the British army in Spain, and yet the general of that army, Sir Hew Dalrymple, tells you there was no preparation made for its reception in that country for some considerable time after the Convention was concluded. Can it then be said, that the object of the Convention was carried into effect, or that any time was gained by it? If such measures deserve the name of being energetic, or useful, I am at a loss to know what sort of measures would be deemed the contrary.

As to that part of the speech which relates to Sweden, I have only to observe, that this country is placed in such a situation that I do not see how we can refuse



to give the stipulated supply; but I cannot help lamenting, that there is not the smallest probability of any good arising from Sweden continuing to persevere. We are told that the King of Sweden deserves our support the more, because he refused the overtures made to him from Erfurth, relative to excluding the Spaniards from the negociation. Perhaps he deserves the applause of mankind for his bravery and perseverance; but what good, I may ask, can he thereby render to Spain or England? When this vote of supply was proposed last year, I ventured to say, that the most prudent use Sweden could make of the money, was to procure a peace for herself, as it was totally impossible for her to resist her enemies, or be of the least advantage to her allies. Nothing can be more hurtful to us in the eyes of the world than endeavouring to involve the smaller countries in Europe in hostilities with France. The immense superiority of our naval power, our commerce, and prodigious wealth, enable us to look to a long continuance of war, perhaps with safety; but what is that to the powers of the Continent? Their resources are not great; they have no means of offence against France; and what advantage can we derive from the misfortunes of other countries? Instead of being the arbiters and protectors of the Continent, we should, by so doing, be holding up ourselves as the cause of the ruin of other nations."

Mr. Ponsonby having said thus much of what came under the

notice of the house in the speech, proceeded to make some observations on what the speech omitted to state, namely, what related to the United States of America;—but he had no desire to disturb the unanimity of the house on the present occasion; though he thought it his duty to state distinctly his sentiments on the various topics to which he had adverted, and for the full discussion of which, other opportunities would arise. These topics were the disgraceful Convention of Cintra; the conduct of ministers with regard to the Spanish war; and also their conduct with respect to America.

Lord Castlereagh then rose. The declaration, he said, of Mr. Ponsonby, that he would not oppose the address, and his former declaration that the various points on which he had briefly touched, were to become the subjects of subsequent discussion, released him from the great and irksome task of entering minutely into an examination into the statements which the right hon. gentleman had ventured to make. Whatever might have been the want of vigour in his Majesty's present ministers, so much complained of by the right hon. gentleman, he believed the country would not have much more to hope for if the reins of government should fall into the hands of the right hon. gentleman and his friends, who, when they were in office, had deserted all those who were then in alliance with this country for the defence of the cause of Europe. With respect to the military force, sent early last



last spring to co-operate with our ally the King of Sweden, as far as naval interference went, it turned out to be most critically opportune: for the Marquis of Romana, who was at that time at the Isle of Funen, had distinctly stated, when subsequently in this country, that if the British had not entered the Belt on the very day on which it had, his army must have passed over to Zealand, followed by that of Bernadotte. As to what related to the military force, that was not left to the judgment of the British government alone: the force sent to Sweden was sent on the requisition, nay at the entreaty of the Swedish minister resident in this country, who said that that force might make the whole difference between the loss or the salvation of Sweden. What had been the circumstances which led to the return of the troops the house was not at that time investigating. He had no hesitation in declaring that the gallant commander of that force, stood entirely exculpated. As to the great naval exertions stated to have been made by Denmark, notwithstanding the seizure of her navy, did the right hon. gentleman mean to say that in the course of the last naval campaign in the Baltic, it would have made no difference, if, when the Russian fleet came out of Cronstadt, they had been joined by 18 Danish ships of the line? would not this country have been obliged to provide an equivalent fleet for the purpose of counteracting the naval force of the enemy, if we

had to meet 30 sail of the line instead of 12 or 13? In such a case, would the naval officers of Great Britain have stood as they do now in the Baltic, or in any part of the world?

With regard to the grand and overwhelming consideration which must at present press upon the mind of every man, he was prepared to prove, whenever the subject should be brought in a tangible shape before the house, that his Majesty's government had acted on the fullest conviction that the course pursued would be the most conducive to the success of the cause of Spain; and if that cause should not prevail, the failure would result, not from any neglect on their part, but from greater engines of destruction having been brought forward against that country, than it was in the power of Great Britain to afford means of defence.—Mr. Ponsonby had described two modes in which our military assistance might have been afforded, the one merely by furnishing the Spaniards with arms and ammunition; the other, that of sending to their aid a regular military force. The right hon. gentleman had expressed a partiality for that species of warfare recommended in a List of Precautions, by what he called, the Supreme Central Junta. He certainly did recollect the paper alluded to, but it was circulated long before the Supreme Central Junta had an existence. The writer was unknown. It had no kind of authority.\* And it was impossible to ascertain whether

\* Mr. Ponsonby was not quite correct in attributing this celebrated paper to the Supreme Central Junta. But Lord Castlereagh deviated still farther from the truth



ther it expressed the general sentiments of the nation. Certainly, early in the war the Spanish troops were local and irregular: but this force was soon found to be ineffective. Even in Andalusia, a regular army had been established, and it was not till they were in possession of a regular army, that the Spaniards were enabled to make an effectual struggle; and to reduce the power of the enemy by the defeat of Dupont at the memorable battle of Baylen. The course of events decided the question between a regular and an irregular force. When Madrid was evacuated, and the provinces purged of the French, every province felt the necessity of advancing its troops, and they had consequently been advanced and consolidated in the centre of the kingdom.—His majesty's ministers had, therefore, no option—the option had been made by Spain. They had chosen the mode of regular warfare, and it would have ill-befitted the character of Great Britain to have shrunk from the contest, and to have said to the Spaniards: “We will give you money, we will give you stores, but we will not hazard our blood in your defence.” The speech of the right honour-

able gentleman was rather of a prudent cast, and not in that animated style, in which another right honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had, in the last session, represented the aiding Spain as paramount to all other duties. The right honourable gentlemen who spoke this night, seemed to think it was very improper and imprudent for a British army to enter Spain, without having some cautionary towns and forts surrendered to us, to secure our retreat in case of calamity. Mr. C. for his part, knew of no town of that sort which could be surrendered, except Cadiz; for as to Ferrol, it was not a town capable of answering the object proposed, nor of protecting the embarkation of an army. Now, as it was evident, that if we were to make any operations at all, they must be in the north of Spain, he could not conceive that a proposal would be well received in that country, for surrendering a town quite without the line of our military operations. If we had made such a proposal to that generous and high-spirited nation, he could not suppose that we could have thrown a greater apple of discord to disturb the harmony of cordial co-operation.

truth in stating, that it had no kind of authority. It was drawn up, authenticated and circulated throughout all Spain, by the *Junta of Seville*, which, at first, according to ancient usage, took the lead in the great affairs of the nation, and to which, for some time, the other Juntas paid great respect and deference, acquiescing in its measures, as if it had been indeed the Supreme Central Junta. General Castanos, the commander of the troops of Andalusia, chosen by and under the direction of the Junta of Seville, acted on the system recommended in the Precautions, before the establishment of the Central Junta. On the 21st of November, 1808, when the advanced guard of the French appeared in sight, he retreated from Cintruenigo, to Tudela, and wished to have continued his retreat; but was unfortunately overruled by the representatives of the the Supreme Junta, and the Captain-General of Aragón.

See the Paper entitled *Precautions*, duly authenticated, in our volume for 1808. *State Papers*, p. 333.



As to another disposition of the forces which had been mentioned, that of sending Sir Arthur Wellesley's force of 9000 men to the Pyrenees, to cut off the communication between the 60,000 French troops who were in Spain, and the rest of the 500,000 disposable troops, of which the right honourable gentleman stated the enemy's army to consist, the bare statement of such a plan must convince the house of its absurdity. With regard to the idea which had been thrown out, of the propriety of directing our forces to Spain in the first instance, instead of Portugal, he must say, there never was a fallacy more absurd than the idea of occupying the passes of the Pyrennees, and cutting off entirely the communication between two armies infinitely superior. This fallacy seemed to arise from the idea that an army, when once landed, could put itself on march the next morning, to attack the enemy. There were some persons who appeared to think, that an army once landed could act as speedily as a ship when it has left the port. The difference, however, was very great: the ship had nothing to do but to go with the wind, and meet the enemy; whereas an army when landed had much difficulty in collecting provisions, and the means of transporting their necessary baggage. If the present administration were, however, to have waited till every thing was ready for the reception of our armies, they must have stood as still as the last vigorous administration, who actually did nothing while in office.—He would venture to say, from the me-

lancholy experience of the fate of General Blake's army, that if a British army had landed at St. Andero, and scrambled as far as General Blake advanced, none of them would ever have come back. He was convinced that there was not a single military man who would support the idea of a campaign in the Pyrennees, for a British army. The right honourable gentleman had stated, that the expedition which had achieved the deliverance of Portugal had been sent to sea, to seek its fortunes, without any particular direction from government. The fact, however, was directly the reverse, because, most unquestionably, the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley did sail with a most precise and determinate object. It had been ordered to go immediately to the Tagus, without stopping at Corunna. This direction was given in consequence of precise information from Sir C. Cotton, (which, however, afterwards turned out to be unfounded,) that there were no more than 5000 French troops in Lisbon and the other forts upon the Tagus, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition would be sufficient to dislodge them. The expedition then had been sent out with a precise object, and with precise instructions, but it would hardly be contended, that government should have tied up the hands and the discretion of such a meritorious officer as Sir Arthur Wellesley so completely as to say, that he must on no occasion take advantage of any favourable circumstances which might occur in the varying and fleeting fortune of the war, without



without waiting until he had made a direct communication to government upon the subject, and had received their answer. It appeared to him, that floating armies, under the command of trust-worthy officers, might be of great service, even when acting according to the circumstances of the times, without any particular directions from government; and he was confident, that in this manner the corps of General Spencer had been of considerable service in marching from Seville to Ayamonte, and stopping a portion of Junot's army that was coming to the relief of Dupont.—As to the attacks which had been made upon him for not having sent sufficient cavalry with the expedition, he was ready to strengthen the right honourable gentleman's argument, and to admit, that it was only by accident that any cavalry at all had been attached to it. It was not supposed that cavalry was a proper description of force to send with those floating expeditions, which might be a long time at sea before they found a favourable opportunity for landing. Some of the cavalry, however, which were in Portugal, had happened to come from the Mediterranean. He should always protest against the notion, that we were never to engage an enemy, unless we were equal or superior to him in cavalry. He would ask the House, would they wish to blot out from the page of our history, those brilliant victories which we had gained when much inferior in ca-

valry? At the glorious battle of Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercrombie had but 150 dragoons, and the French had 2,400 cavalry; and at the battle of Maida, Sir John Stuart had no cavalry at all. In the expedition to Portugal, the government had made sufficient provision even of cavalry. Our army would have been superior to the enemy in this respect, if the cavalry which was in Mondego Bay on the 20th (the day before the battle) had landed. The 18th dragoons were also very near. He would allow, however, that if Sir Arthur Wellesley had had the cavalry on that day, upon which he routed the French, the result of that victory would have been still more glorious.

Various strictures were made on the Address, which, however, was not on the whole opposed, by Mr. Whitbread: a long reply was made by Mr. Canning: Mr. Tierney, Mr. G. H. Rose, and Mr. A. Baring, entered at very considerable length into our commercial disputes with America; and Mr. Alderman Combe animadverted in severe terms on the answer returned by his Majesty's ministers to the address of the City of London on the Convention of Portugal: a topic which had been also touched on, though more briefly, by all the speakers opposite to the treasury bench. The question was then put, and agreed to nem. con. when a committee was appointed to prepare and draw up the Address.



## CHAP. III.

*Motion in the House of Lords for the Thanks of the House to Lieutenant-general Sir A. Wellesley.—Why was not the Commander-in-chief Sir H. Burrard comprehended in this Motion?—Different Opinions on this Question.—The Motion for Thanks to Sir A. Wellesley agreed to.—The same subject brought into the House of Commons—And the same Question respecting Sir H. Burrard agitated.—The Motion for Thanks to Sir A. Wellesley opposed by Lord Folkstone.—Testimonies in favour of Sir A. Wellesley—Of Major-general Ferguson—And Brigadier-general Anstruther.—The Motion for Thanks to Sir A. Wellesley agreed to.—Thanks also voted to the other Officers.—A Resolution of the House in Approbation of the Conduct of the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.—Motion in the House of Commons for the Thanks of the House for the Defeat before Corunna.—Question put to Ministers, why so heavy a Loss as that of Sir J. Moore, &c. had been sustained, without the Attainment of any one Object?*

**I**N the House of Lords, January 23, the Earl of Liverpool, in pursuance of notice, rose to move the thanks of the house to Lieutenant-general Sir A. Wellesley, K. B. for the skill, valour, and ability, displayed by him on the 17th and 21st of August, and particularly on the latter day, in the battle of Vimeira. The Earl of Moira could not consent that the name of Sir H. Burrard should be left out of the vote of thanks. With regard to the point, whether it was proper to advance the army after the battle, so far as he had been enabled, by the evidence examined before the Court of Inquiry, to form an opinion, he conceived the conduct of Sir Harry, on that occasion, to have been judicious. He would not, therefore, considering that Sir Harry Burrard had all the responsibility of the command upon him, consent that the name of that officer should be omitted in the vote of thanks, and should move an amendment, for the pur-

pose of having his name inserted. The Earl of Buckinghamshire disclaimed any intention to cast a reflection on Sir Harry Burrard: but from what he had heard and read, it appeared that if the victory of the 21st had been followed up the result would have been much more brilliant than it was. He would ask, what were the sentiments of Generals Spencer and Ferguson, and others who were on the spot, on that subject?—The only act of Sir Harry Burrard, with respect to the battle, was stopping the pursuit. The Earl of Moira replied that General Ferguson had given it as his opinion, that if Sir A. Wellesley had been permitted to advance, he would have cut off a part of the enemy. General Spencer's opinion as to the propriety of advancing, was given in a very guarded manner; and he particularly stated, that he saw a body of the enemy, probably the whole of their left wing, forming three miles in front of his division. With the



the hourly expectation of the arrival of the re-inforcements under Sir John Moore, which would render the attainment of the object in view certain, Sir H. Burrard chose to stop, rather than to make a movement which, under the existing circumstances, was undoubtedly hazardous. Sir H. Burrard had the command of the army. He was present for a great part of the time in the hottest of the engagement, and had a duty to perform of which he could not divest himself. The responsibility rested with him, and he controlled (judiciously in Lord M.'s opinion) the opinion of Sir A. Wellesley respecting the advance to Torres Vedras. Sir H. Burrard must therefore be considered as acting the whole of the day, and ought not to be left out of the motion for thanks.

The earl of Grosvenor wished this question had not been brought forward till the papers respecting the expedition had been laid on the table.—Lord Harrowby contended that Sir H. Burrard had with great magnanimity allowed, in his own dispatches, the actual command, during the battle, to remain with Sir Arthur Wellesley. To include Sir H. Burrard in the vote of thanks, would be giving an opinion on subsequent circumstances, respecting which no information was before the house.—Viscount Sidmouth did not feel that a vote of thanks to Sir A. W. would attach the least discredit to the character of Sir H. Burrard. He recommended to the noble baron to withdraw his amendment.—So also did Lord Auckland.—Lord Mulgrave said, that it was the

glory of Sir H. Burrard to have duly admired and done justice to the services of Sir A. Wellesley. In the conduct of Sir A. Wellesley his lordship saw every thing that was dignified and transcendent. The victory of Vimiera, Lord M. maintained, would not be found wanting in the scale, when compared with any, the most brilliant achievement in the whole range of military history, ancient or modern.—Lord Erskine, having premised that he was altogether unacquainted with Sir H. Burrard or his family, maintained that Sir H. B. having been in the chief command on the 21st of August, was entitled to the admiration of his country, and the thanks of their lordships, for having embraced those plans which he found his predecessor in pursuit of. What objection would there be to passing a vote of thanks to H. Burrard? Would any noble lord state, that the gallant general himself had signified an indifference to their approbation? Money, he believed, was an object of desire with most men. He was free to confess that it was so to himself. He was sure that soldiers and sailors loved to acquire it. He had himself spent the earlier part of his days in the service. But he knew a soldier's heart. He knew that soldiers and sailors have also a most ardent desire of praise. Impressed with these sentiments, he felt himself bound to support the proposed amendment.

The question being put on the amendment of Lord Moira, it was negatived without a division, and only one or two dissentient voices. The original motion was then put, and unanimously agreed to.—The same subject was, January the



25th, brought into the House of Commons by *Lord Castlereagh*, who made a motion for the thanks of the house to Sir A. Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory they had achieved at the battle of Vimiera. In the course of illustrating the merit of Sir A. W. his lordship applied to the battle of Vimiera the epithet "Immortal."—All the military merit of this campaign was exclusively Sir A. Wellesley's; to whom military experience had ensured that success which ever accompanied his brilliant career.—No one was less disposed than himself to hurt the feelings of Sir H. Burrard, than whom he did not believe there was a more gallant officer, or one of a more enlarged soul, in the British empire. But it would, in his opinion, be doing an injury to that gallant and meritorious officer to mix him in the vote of thanks moved for.

Lord Folkstone, disagreeable as the task was, dissented from the motion. It appeared from official dispatches that the French army amounted only to 12 or 14,000 men; while the British army amounted to from 14 to 16,000 men, besides 1,200 Portuguese troops. It appeared also, that the court of inquiry could not blame Sir H. Burrard for objecting to the advance of our forces. The immediate consequences of that objection were the armistice and convention; to the necessity of agreeing to which our generals would not have been reduced, if Sir A. W. had waited only one day, for the re-inforcement under Sir J. Moore, and not have been in such haste to bring on the battles of Roleia and Vimiera. Nei-

ther the victory of Vimiera, nor the armistice and convention, which it involved, deserved the thanks of the house.—Another objection in his mind, was, that no mention was made in the vote proposed, of the name of Sir H. Burrard, to whom he thought great praise was due for the part he had acted. From all these circumstances he objected to a vote of thanks for the battle of Vimiera: as he did not think it of so brilliant a description as to be entitled to a vote of thanks; as it fell short of any good consequences; and as the whole of the expedition had ended in a manner disgraceful to the country.—Mr. Lambe admitted the merit of Sir A. W. but there had been a difference of opinion between him and Sir H. Burrard at the close of the day, with regard to the advance of the army. On the merits of that question the house was not called on to decide. If he voted for the motion, it must be with a clear understanding that this point was left as before, and that, by his vote, he did not impute or insinuate any blame against Sir H. Burrard.—Mr. Whitbread said, that the only way to prevent this, was, to introduce the name of Sir Harry, which might be done without any injury whatever to Sir A. Wellesley. If a commander was responsible for what he committed to an inferior officer, why should he be deprived of the praise? Sir A. came and took his orders from Sir H. Burrard, before, during, and after the battle. Sir H. considered the plan of Sir A. Wellesley, and held himself responsible for it. The house could not refuse its thanks to Sir H. Burrard, without doing a gross injustice to that officer.



ficer. In no vote of thanks had the commander in chief ever before been left out. The conduct of Sir Hyde Parker, who had entrusted the execution of the business at Copenhagen in 1801 to Lord Nelson, became a subject of animadversion: yet Sir Hyde Parker was thanked by both houses. If the conduct of Sir A. W. instead of producing a brilliant result, had led to some disaster, Sir H. B. would have been responsible, and it would have been no excuse that he had delegated the command to Sir A. Wellesley.—The name of Sir Harry Burrard, under all these circumstances, ought not to be omitted in the vote of thanks, and he therefore moved, that it should be inserted.

The *Chancellor of Exchequer*, in reply to Mr. Whitbread, said, that with respect to the case of Sir Hyde Parker at Copenhagen, that Admiral had been thanked for the disposition he had made. But Sir H. Burrard did not lay claim either to the disposition or execution. In answer to Lord *Folkstone*, he said, that though the British troops in the field were superior in number to the French, yet, out of eight brigades, of which the army consisted, only five had been engaged in the action.\*

*General Stewart*, after professing the highest respect for Sir H. Burrard, said, that he had not the good fortune to be present at the battle of Vimiera, but that he arrived soon after, and observed the

sentiment of enthusiasm in favour of Sir A. W. that prevailed from the general to the drummer. It was impossible for him adequately to describe it. But he might use the emphatic language of an experienced general who had served in most of our armies on the continent, and was fully capable of judging of the question—he meant general Anstruther, an officer for whom he entertained the sincerest love and affection, who had promised to become one of the brightest ornaments of the British army, but who, unfortunately for his country, died in consequence of the fatigue of the late retreat. That distinguished officer had stated to him that it was impossible for him to conceive any thing more admirable than the conduct of Sir A. W. from the commencement of his operations to the result of the battle of Vimiera; that there was no difficulty which he did not contrive to obviate; that his mind was full of resources; that he managed his army like a machine, of the nature of which he was complete master; and that no officer he ever saw conducted the operations of an army with more distinguished ability.—That such was the opinion entertained of Sir A. W. by general Anstruther, was confirmed by

Mr. W. Adam, who had seen a letter written by the general on the field of battle, in which he said, that such was the confidence of the army of Vimiera in Sir A. W. and such his talents for com-

\* It is not to be expected that lawyers should be competent judges of military plans and operations. There are few military officers, we presume, who will not admit that different corps may be as advantageously posted as if they were brought immediately, or at the commencement, and in the first stage, into action. If they are not so posted, it must be the fault of the general.



mand, that there was nothing that army would not attempt under that commander, and few things that they would not achieve. Mr. Adam was particularly anxious to express his strong approbation of what had fallen from the honourable general respecting brigadier general Anstruther. It was impossible to speak too highly of the military merit, the capacity in all respects, and the excellent character of that officer, who, if his life had not been lost to the public, would have been in the list of those this day to receive the thanks of their country.\* Mr. Adam speaking with great interest and feeling of general Ferguson, stated, that he knew from the best authority that Sir A. W. had said, that the intrepid gallantry and conduct with which general Ferguson led on his troops to the charge was the finest thing he had ever seen in his military service.—He thought that his honourable friend, Mr. Whitbread, would prejudge the matter, by his amendment as it regarded Sir H. Burrard.—Mr. W. in compliance with the recommendation of his honourable friend, withdrew his motion; retaining however the opinion he had already expressed, that Sir H. B. was entitled to the thanks of the house. The amendment being withdrawn, the resolution for a vote of thanks to Sir A. W. was put and carried. The thanks

of the house were next voted to major generals Spencer, Hill, and Ferguson; and to brigadier generals Ackland, Nightingale, Fane, and Bowes, and the officers under their command. A resolution was then agreed to, expressive of the approbation of that house, of the conduct of the non-commissioned officers and privates.

On the same day, January 25, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Liverpool rose to move the thanks of the house for the defeat before Corunna. After a handsome eulogium on Sir John Moore, and some observations on the difficulties encountered in the retreat, and the battle in which it terminated, and stating that in wording the motion, the precedent of Egypt, in which the gallant Abercrombie fell, had been followed, moved the thanks of the house to lieutenant-general Sir D. Baird second in command of the army in Spain; lieutenant-general the hon. John Hope, who took the command on Sir John Moore's receiving the wound, which terminated in his much-lamented death, and to the other officers employed.—All the lords who spoke on this occasion concurred heartily in this motion, bestowed the highest praise on the character and conduct of Sir John Moore, and deeply deplored his loss to the country. But the Earl of Moira, in giving his concurrence, could not avoid asking

\* It is with particular satisfaction that we record these honourable testimonies in favour of general Anstruther. In his early years, when preparatorily to his entrance into the army, he was prosecuting mathematical and other studies at St. Andrews, he attracted the love and esteem of all around him, by the mildness and benignity of his disposition, the quickness of his parts, and his aptitude for study, and the acquirement of all manner of knowledge. Every one wondered at his choice of a military life, as kind nature seemed to have "formed him for the studious shade," both by the powers of his mind, and the delicacy of his bodily constitution.



ministers, how it had happened that so heavy and lamentable a loss as that of Sir John Moore, and so great a proportion of his army, had been sustained, without any one object having been obtained except the embarkation of the army? British blood and treasure, and the invaluable lives of British officers and soldiers had been sacrificed to no purpose. To what but the ignorance and incapacity of ministers were all these calamities to be attributed? Lord Erskine too, who felt as much for the fame of the immortal officer deceased as any of their lordships could possibly feel, (from peculiar or personal circumstances which he detailed) could not refrain from expressing his indignation at such men, and that such resources as ours should have been utterly thrown away and lost by the total incapacity of those who had mis-directed their efforts.—Lord Grenville observed, that they were called upon to vote thanks for a success, followed by a retreat. The

success belonged to the army and its commander; the retreat to those who sent them, and placed them in such a situation that a safe retreat was the only thing that could be looked for. Ministers for the folly of such conduct must answer to their country.—The Earl of Westmoreland recollecting the expeditions to Alexandria, to Constantinople, and to South America, was surprized that noble lords opposite did not at those periods state that all the blame of unfavourable military events was to be attributed to ministers.

The motion was agreed to *nem. diss.* so also was a motion acknowledging and approving the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; a motion of thanks to Rear Admiral de Courcy, and Sir Samuel Hood, and the other officers, for their assistance; and another, acknowledging and approving the services of the seamen and marines upon that occasion. Thanks to the same parties were also voted in the House of Commons.



## CHAP. IV.

*Campaign in Portugal—Motion in the House of Commons, by Lord H. Petty, for a Resolution of the House, declaring that the Convention of Cintra, and a Maritime Convention concluded nearly at the same Time off the Tagus, had disappointed the Hopes and Expectations of the Country—And for a Second, declaring that in the Opinion of the House of Commons, those Conventions had, in a great measure, arisen from the Misconduct and Neglect of His Majesty's Ministers.—Opposed, and the Conduct of Ministry explained and defended by Lord Castlereagh.—Lord Petty's Motions supported by General Tarleton.—Views and Motives of Sir Arthur Wellesley throughout the Expedition to Portugal explained by himself—Speech of Mr. Windham in Reply to Lord Castlereagh.—Lord Petty's Motions negatived.—Campaign in Spain—Inquiry into moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Ponsonby.—Mr. Ponsonby's Motion supported by Mr. Windham—Opposed by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and other Speakers.—Negatived.*

**L**ORD Henry Petty rose in pursuance of the notice he had given on the second day of the session, to call the attention of the house to the termination of the campaign in Portugal, by the Convention of Cintra. He was sure that in that house, it would not be thought that any form of inquiry relating to that convention, that had passed already, had been of a nature to preclude the expediency and necessity of that house taking up the inquiry itself; because, with whatever respect he might regard the individual and military characters of the persons who composed the Board of Inquiry, assembled by his Majesty's command, constituted as that board was, and its functions directed, it was a tribunal more incompetent to give satisfaction to the country, more irreconcilable with the known and received principles of law and equity in

this country, than any that had ever existed. He held in his hand the opinion delivered by my Lord Woodhouselee on the subject of Courts of Inquiry. It was there asserted by that able authority, that although there was in his Majesty an inherent power to convene such boards as courts of advice; yet still their decisions have no binding effects on the party accused. A court of inquiry, held as this had been, opening its doors to the public, calling upon the very parties to give their testimony, and drawing from them information by which they were to be subjected to criminal prosecution, was a tribunal calculated rather to defeat than promote the ends of justice, or give satisfaction to the public. Even by the constitution of the court itself, it was impossible for it to inquire into any demerits beyond those of the officers. The opinion of



of that court had been, that no further proceedings were necessary. But still this opinion left it open to that house to consider what had been the origin of the transactions, by which, in the eyes of the public, the principal object of the expedition to the peninsula, notwithstanding the success of the British arms, had been completely lost in disappointment and disgrace:—By the course of unexpected events, his Majesty's government, at the moment when called upon by circumstances for co-operation with Spain, had in actual readiness three distinct masses of disposable force. An intention was conceived of affording to that country the aid of a large military force, under the command of that gallant military officer, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the ultimate destination of the expedition was Portugal. There was nothing in the possession of Portugal itself; nothing in the possession of the port of Lisbon, that could be a source of immediate succour to the Spaniards; nothing connected with the real interests of even our faithful ally, the Queen of Portugal, or of her subjects in Portugal, that could point out and justify that destination: for of all the calamities that could be inflicted on a country, the conquest of it by a power that is not able to retain it is the greatest; the country being thereby exposed to the calamities of two revolutions. There was, however, in that country a French army, and in its great port a Russian fleet. The capture of that army and the possession of that fleet were of the highest importance to this country. We

saw a French army in a position in which it was cut off from all means of assistance. Every man who looked to the French army in Portugal might say, that whatever should be the fate of the other armies of Buonaparte, here, at least, was an army cut off from all possibility of relief.

Lord Petty pointed out the considerations that were required to be most particularly attended to in this expedition. It required the most positive and clear instructions, with regard to the nature of it, to be given to the officer who was to have the command of it; the expedition being intended to act in different situations, according to the different circumstances in which it should find the country that was to be the scene of its operations, it was above all things necessary that it should be properly equipped for the service; that the commander of the expedition should at least have had the opportunity afforded him of choosing his own ground; and that after such discretion was confided to him, he should at least have been continued in his command. In all these respects, Lord H. P. on a review of the campaign, considered the conduct of ministers as deficient:—The shores of Portugal were not the first objects of the expedition. It fluctuated between the northern and southern coasts of Spain: ministers had been in important instances mis-informed; their instructions to the officers commanding our forces ill-concerted, wavering, and discordant. The suggestion of carrying the expedition to Portugal, far from having been founded upon any original determination,



determination, was taken up in 48 hours, upon the suggestion of the Spanish Deputies. And he could not but think it a most extraordinary thing, that the provincial Juntas, who could not concert measures for the defence of their own country, should know how to advise the means by which a British army was to co-operate with them. The deputies of one of these provincial juntas were employed in advising his Majesty as to the best means of employing his troops elsewhere. And he believed that they were more actuated by the desire of not seeing the expedition come among themselves, than by any thing else. On the 30th of June, in opposition to all the previous designs, the only direction sent to the army was, in the words of the juntas, "To expel the French from Portugal;" words, with respect to which General Dalrymple had said, that if they had been selected for being equivocal, they could not have been more so. On the morning of the 30th of June, these instructions were sent; on the night of the 30th of June, new instructions, in consequence of fresh dispatches from Sir C. Cotton, &c.

Sir A. Wellesley had told them, that although he sailed under these instructions of the 30th of June, he yet conceived himself to sail with general powers, and liberty to apply his force in any quarter in which it might be serviceable in Spain. One would have thought that, with this latitude to Sir Arthur, there being hardly a point on the coast where cavalry would not have been most useful, cavalry would have formed a considerable part of the force under his

command, yet there were but 300 cavalry, of which 200 only were fit for service. Sir Arthur says, (on his examination before the Board of Inquiry) that when the expedition sailed, it being uncertain whether it might not remain long at sea, and it being doubtful in what part of the peninsula it might be serviceable, it was thought adviseable not to take good horses to draw the guns. I have heard (said Lord Petty) of cases where it has been necessary to have particularly good artillery horses; I have heard of cases where it has not been necessary to have any artillery horses at all; but this is the first time in my life that I have ever heard of an expedition in which it was thought expedient to have bad artillery horses: or that, because the expedition itself was uncertain, and the plan not fixed, therefore, if by chance it should become otherwise, the instruments were to be imperfect and insufficient, as it would be found these were. The account of Col. Robb describes the horses as sick, lame, blind, cast-off, and unfit for service. Now this was not by accident, but by concert, between Lord Hawkesbury and the lord lieutenant.

The gallant general sailed on the 12th of July, conceiving himself to be the commander of the expedition which was to effect the destruction of the enemy in Portugal. And yet; three days after, on the 15th of July, a new commander in chief was appointed; and, in fact, not only one, but six general officers superior to him in ranks, were, in that short space of time, sent out to Portugal. This variety of commanders having been appointed, Sir A. Wellesley



Wellesley being sent to undertake a system of operations on the coast of Portugal, General Burrard sent to supersede him, and General Dalrymple to supersede General Burrard, with a design to send another general to supersede General Dalrymple, it was entertaining to see Lord C. recommending it to persons so superseding each other, to act together in harmony!

When it was resolved to deprive Sir A. Wellesley of the chief command, and to send to Portugal the force under Sir J. Moore, the unprofitable employment of which, in another quarter, was universally allowed, even by ministers themselves, not to have been chargeable upon him, it might have been supposed that this gallant, and most able officer, was the most likely to be Sir A. Wellesley's successor. But no; such a successor was not thought of by the noble lord. On the contrary, it seemed to have been studiously provided, that in all the various changes, Sir J. Moore should not have even a temporary command. He who throughout his life had displayed so much skill and valour—so much zeal and patriotism; who had conducted his army with such distinguished judgment as well as intrepidity, through a long, a fatiguing, and perilous march; who would have saved that army from all disaster, had his views been duly seconded, was not considered by Lord C. as deserving of any attention: for on the very day that Sir H. Dalrymple was appointed to the command in chief, orders were sent out that Sir J. Moore should be superseded by Sir H. Burrard: to whom, he

was convinced, a more unwelcome appointment could not have been given.—To Sir Harry Burrard, all the defects in the state of the army, which Lord Petty had mentioned, were immediately obvious. He saw the want of cavalry and artillery, and also the insufficiency of the country to afford provisions; and these were the grounds on which that officer rested the justification of his subsequent conduct.

Sir H. Burrard's reign, however, was but short; for, on the 22d of August, another commander in chief appeared. The north wind brought Sir H. Burrard; the south Sir H. Dalrymple; and scarcely had Sir Harry's sun risen, when Sir Harry's sun was set for ever. Here Lord Petty thought it but justice to call the attention of the house to the very peculiar situation in which Sir H. Dalrymple was placed. He had just taken the command of an army which he had never before seen, and landed in a country with which he was not acquainted; and was committed on a system of operations on which he had never been consulted. The delicacy of Sir Hew's situation was described by himself in terms peculiarly appropriate, when he stated "that all the responsibility was vested in him, and all the direction in others." One general directed the expedition—another general concluded it—and a third directed the consequences that were to flow from it.

There was one reason, however, which induced all the generals to act as they did; which was, that no other object had been communicated to them, than that  
of



of reducing the French, and driving them from Portugal. To the want of sufficiently precise instructions, and to the want of cavalry and artillery horses, was to be attributed the conclusion of the armistice—that armistice which transferred to Spain an army that had been locked up in Portugal, and carried to ports so near the Pyrennees, that before the end of the campaign, it was found on the theatre of war, acting hostilely against Spain.

With regard to the compromise with the Russian navy in the Tagus, Lord Petty observed, that so late as the year 1807, it had been suggested by Lord Strangford, that it might be possible to reduce the Russian fleet, by blockade, to such a state, as would, in all probability, lead to a maritime convention. This was followed by a letter from the Admiralty to Sir C. Cotton, authorizing him to conclude a maritime convention, on the terms on which the convention of the Tagus, as far as it related to naval affairs, was concluded. This was precisely the principle which had been suggested by the noble lord on the 16th of April, and nevertheless, when Sir Charles Cotton has concluded a convention on the same basis, Lord Castlereagh thinks it ingenious to turn round upon the gallant admiral, and exclaim—"Thou canst not say I did it."—Lord Petty said, in conclusion, "If the glory of our armies be rendered unavailable by the weakness of our councils; if valour in the field be defeated by incapacity in the cabinet; let us, at least, discriminate. With this view I shall propose, with deference to the house, the

adoption of Resolutions, intended to record a most important commentary on the past, and to present a most instructive lesson for the future." The Resolutions were

I. "That the convention concluded at Cintra, on the 30th of August, 1808, and the maritime convention concluded off the Tagus on the 3rd of September, 1808, appear to this house to have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country."

II. "That the causes and circumstances which immediately led to the conclusion of those conventions, appear to this house, in a great measure, to have arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his Majesty's ministers."

Lord Castlereagh congratulated the house on the knowledge, that if the course adopted by government was not altogether approved by the noble lord, he did not quarrel with it. He did not ask for any farther enquiry. In the observation he had made on this subject, he had been guilty of some small share of supererogation. On the great question relative to the mode of applying our military force in the cause of Spain, in answer to Mr. Ponsonby, he said, ministers had, at the commencement of the campaign, a disposable force of 5,000 men under General Spencer at Gibraltar; of 10,000 men at Cork under Sir Arthur Wellesley. The force under Sir J. Moore could not be calculated on immediately, as its getting free of the Baltic was uncertain. So that there was no probable chance of these three corps being brought speedily together in the same service—still less in one expedition. They would, at  
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all events, have amounted only to 25,000 men; a force totally incompetent to seize on the Pyrenees, through which, instead of one pass, there were forty-three; and where, instead of an army of 25,000 men, we should have had to contend with a French force of 100,000 men in Spain, and, according to the calculation of Mr. P. upwards of 400,000 men in France. Then, if the measure itself was not unwise, the next question was, if there was any thing in the equipment wanting. In calling their attention to the principle of equipment, Lord C. wished the house to distinguish between an army landing in a country, and an army proceeding on its march, after having landed; and stated that an advancing army in general depended on the country which it went to succour, for supplies. In the present case, there had been a dependence only for the means of carriage. When a want of artillery horses was complained of, Lord Petty must have willingly shut his eyes to the reinforcement which was immediately to follow from England; and which made all the artillery horses to amount to 778. If Sir Arthur Wellesley's means had been more liberal, there was no doubt but his services would have been more brilliant; but at the same time there could hardly be a question, that he would not have advanced, if he did not think his means sufficient for occupying the city of Lisbon, and the forts of the Tagus; Sir H. Burrard also knew that Sir J. Moore's army had arrived, and that he might expect the equipment of artillery horses, &c. which belonged to it. It was,

however, a question, whether an army was useless without horses at all. In Egypt we had only about 150. The same was the case when Sir Ralph Abercrombie was in Holland. Lord Petty had expressed his surprise, that no instructions had been given to Admiral Cotton, except those of the 18th of April. Those instructions, he stated, were given without any view to the subsequent circumstances:—they related merely to a case of starvation, which was in view at that time. The noble lord had found fault with the general terms of instructions to officers. He did not, however, agree with him in thinking, that there was any thing improper in giving discretionary power. As to the rapid succession of *generalissimos*, it was hardly possible that in any extensive military operations, the chief command should not change hands. In the Low Countries, it had happened, that on one occasion no fewer than four such changes had taken place within the period of forty-eight hours. On the whole, Lord C. contended that the expedition against the French in Portugal was a most wise and expedient measure; and that the various plans of operations suggested as preferable, were, in some cases, visionary, and in all would have been dangerous; that the object of the expedition was the best that could have been adopted; and the equipment the most perfect that circumstances would permit; that the execution was as complete as the nature of the case would allow; and that there was no failure, except what resulted from causes which neither the administration, nor the officers, could control



control. If the equipment of the expedition was not to be censured, the result of the military operations was such, as at any other time would have satisfied the feelings of the country. It had expelled 25,000 men from Portugal\*; put the Russian fleet into our possession, and released, from a tedious and hazardous blockade, a British squadron of nine sail of the line. His lordship concluded with moving the previous question upon the first Resolution, declaring that he would take the sense of the house on the second.

General Tarleton, in the course of a speech against both the Convention of Cintra, and the conduct of ministers in the management of the expedition in various respects, made the following important observation; ministers said, that it would have been doing injustice to many officers in the army, to have continued Sir Arthur Wellesley in the command. But when they had once appointed him to conduct an operation, they ought to have allowed him to finish it, as the immortal Chatham had done with regard to the immortal General Wolfe. But Sir Arthur had been told, that a successor would soon be appointed, and thus his honourable ambition was roused to do something before he was superseded,† and this, perhaps, induced him to proceed rather rashly. He would not pursue this topic further now, as the conduct of this gallant officer had been approved, but he thought he could convince the honourable officer himself, that there was some-

thing rash in the action of the 17th of August, and something wrong in that of the 21st.

Sir A. Wellesley explained his views and motives of action throughout the expedition. He had given it as his opinion, and it was still his opinion, that the operations in favour of Spain, could not be carried on with any chance of success, otherwise than in conjunction with the people and public authorities of that country; and, therefore, it was necessary before the commencement of the campaign, to come to a right understanding with the Juntas. When he communicated on the subject with the Juntas of Galicia and Asturias, it was conceived that the best service that could be done to the cause of Spain, by the British troops, would be the expulsion of the French from Portugal. The British army, if in possession of Portugal might be a link between the northern and southern armies of Spain, which had then no point of union. In answer to what had fallen from General Tarleton, Sir A. Wellesley, after assuring the honourable general that he would much rather follow his example in the field than his advice in the senate, said, that when he landed in Portugal, he had the choice of two lines of march, and, for obvious reasons, had chosen that along the coast. Besides the troops which he had under his command at the time, he had reason to expect re-inforcements under General Ackland, Sir H. Burrard, and Sir J. Moore. But he was so well satisfied of the effici-

\* To Spain.

† Vide Vol. L. (1808) HIST. EUROPE, p. 225.



ency of his own force to execute his object, that he did not intend to have employed the corps under General Ackland in the field at all, but in the siege of Peniche. And, as to Sir J. Moore, it was his plan to send him forward to Santarem, with a view to intercept the enemy, who, in Sir Arthur's opinion, would endeavour to cross the Tagus. That plan was feasible, not only in his opinion, but in that of all the general officers who had given evidence at the Court of Inquiry, and even of the Court itself. With respect to the change of commanders, when he left England, he never expected to be continued in the command after large re-inforcements had arrived. But at the same time he did not think that the command should be changed in the middle of expeditions. In the course of the campaign, the command might be changed without injury. But those expeditions were not campaigns. They were only operations. But as, by the change of the commanders, the whole system had been altered, this circumstance necessarily governed him in his subsequent views. His original plan was, to have engaged the enemy as near to Lisbon as possible, and to have followed up the advantage which he undoubtedly expected, with the utmost expedition; by which means he trusted, he would have got to Lisbon nearly as soon as themselves, and prevented their crossing the Tagus. He never could understand how the court of Inquiry, which had approved of all

that he had done up to the close of the battle of Vimiera, could have said that those troops which had been constantly beaten in the field, ought not to be pursued when beaten. But the Board of Inquiry said, "The very circumstance of a superior cavalry retarding our advance, would allow the enemy's infantry to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner, till they should arrive at any given rallying point, advantageous for formation and making a stand. Nor did Sir A. Wellesley, on the 17th of August, when the enemy had not half the cavalry as on the 21st, pursue a more considerable and beaten enemy with any marked advantage, for he says, "the enemy retired with the utmost regularity, and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain."\* The fact, Sir A. Wellesley said, was, that there were two parts of the action of the 17th; the one in the mountains, and the other in the plains. In that part of the action which took place in the plain, the enemy had retreated in good order. After the battle of the 21st, they had retreated in great disorder. And the good order of the retreat in one instance made all the difference. If the enemy had been vigorously followed up on the 21st, he was satisfied in his own mind, that there would have been no reason for concluding the Convention which had given so much offence.

\* See Report of the Board of Inquiry, Vol. I. (1808) Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 273.



Now, as to this convention, it was rather hard to charge it upon the government, when, if a certain plan of operations had been followed up, the reason for it would not have existed.—The necessity for concluding the convention had been ascribed to the want of artillery; of horses; of equipment of various kinds. But he was bound to state, that in considering the propriety of concluding an armistice, and afterwards the convention, these circumstances had never been taken into the account by him, nor by any of the officers concerned in the negotiations on that subject. Here it was proper to consider the situation of the two armies at the time when the armistice was concluded. The French, after the battle of Vimiera, had occupied a strong position, in which they would have been enabled to stop the progress of a superior force for three or four days. The advancing army, after being occupied for three or four days in dislodging them from that position, would have had further to drive them from two or three other lines which lay between the main position and Lisbon. During the whole of this time, the French might have been employed in preparations for the passage of the Tagus, which it would have been impossible to prevent.—But it had been said, that Junot would have been obliged to surrender at last. This was true. But, at what time of the year? After our army should have got possession of the forts on the Tagus, it would have been necessary to put it in a situation of equipment for reducing the fort of Elvas by a regular siege; which reduction could not

have been accomplished till the beginning of December, and then it might have been thought advisable to give the French army the same, or nearly the same terms as those which were granted them in August. Therefore he did not think it disgraceful to allow the French to embark. He thought the gaining of time also an important object, with a view to the operations in Spain. A British army there might be of the greatest consequence, in order to give the Spaniards strength in their own union, and to prevent their being cut off in detail.—He had done every thing in his power to forward the objects of his superior officers, though he differed from them in opinion. This was what he considered to be the greatest distinction between military and civil inferior situations. If, in a civil office, the inferior differed materially from the superior, he ought to resign. But, in military appointment, it was the duty of the inferior officer to assist the commander in the mode in which that commander might deem his services most advantageous.

Mr. Windham said, that the statement of the honourable general, though proper for him to make, and satisfactory for his justification, was no justification of his majesty's ministers. He admitted that the convention was a measure of which they stood perfectly clear. But, when he allowed this, he did not mean that there was not matter of responsibility in their preceding conduct; that they were not responsible for the manner in which they superceded the commanding officers.—It had been argued in defence of the convention,



vention, that it had the effect of getting the French out of Portugal sooner than could have been done otherwise. In the first place it was not true. The speediest way would have been to have conquered them in the first instance, as the honourable general would have done with the troops he had, and as the other generals do not deny that they would have done with a sufficiency of cavalry. 2dly, The expulsion of the enemy, by subsequent operations, might have been quite as speedy, and a good deal more satisfactory, than the method of convention. 3dly, Of what advantage was it to government to endeavour to accelerate the evacuation, when as it was, it came upon them before they were prepared for it? They were embarrassed with their own success, and not at all prepared with what was to be the first step. Three points, therefore, were established against ministry. 1st, That they were answerable for the convention, good or bad as it might be, in as much as it was by changing the commanding officer, and the want of means which they ought to have provided, that it became or was thought necessary. 2dly, That when they had got this God-send, they were not at all prepared to profit by it; and that therefore, 3dly, if the honourable general's success had been completed in the way he had proposed, they would still less have been prepared, and made it still more evident, that they had sent the troops into Portugal in the most head-long, blundering manner, without the least idea of what they were to do, or what plan was to be pursued in different results

that might be supposed.—What advantage Mr. W. asked, could it be to the cause of the Spaniards to transport the French troops in our ships to a port of France, from which they would speedily march into Spain?—Lord Castlereagh had stated, that it would have been improper to have sent out a large army under an inferior general; that a large force required, as it were, a large general. But surely it did not follow from that position, that a small army ought to be sent out with a small general?—Small he meant in rank, not certainly in talents. Why not send out in the first instance the proper general with a small army, especially when that small army was immediately to be increased to a large one? It was from the neglect of this principle that the rapid supersession of the generals, and all the calamitous consequences of the campaign had arisen.—It had been declared to the house and the country, from the highest authority in the state, that the convention of Cintra had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. He wished to know whether ministers had changed their mind? did they, at the moment when they fired the guns really think the news was good? or were they only endeavouring, by noise and clamour, by bold and confident shew of exultation, by firings at midnight, and puffs in the newspapers in the morning, to confound the sense of the country? And, as sometimes happens in other theatres, to force as excellent, down the throat of the public what they knew in their own minds was execrable stuff. He should really be curious to know in which way the honourable gentlemen



gentlemen meant to take it? whether they meant to describe themselves as dupes upon that occasion, or as only intending to dupe the nation? In the first case they must be content to be set down as persons who were unable to discover that this convention was a bad measure, till they had received the comment of the public voice; till they were assailed by the universal cry of the country, by the groans and murmurs, and hissings, and cat-calls, and cries of "off, off," from boxes, pit, and gallery. One merit, however, might be allowed them; they did not, like many authors, set themselves obstinately to resist the public judgment, but, after the hints they had received, appeared willing at length to withdraw their piece, and to confess that, to be sure, it was a most wretched performance. But there was another, and a weightier ground of accusation against the right honourable gentlemen; which was, their total want of foresight in all their military measures, and the culpable absence of any general or comprehensive plan. This lamentable defect was no less obvious in the more enlarged operations of the campaign, than in the particular arrangements that led to the convention. This proposition Mr. W. proceeded to prove and illustrate.—This speech of Mr. Windham, in reply to Lord Castlereagh, was strikingly characterised by the acuteness of the metaphysician and the reasoning habits of the mathematician. Gentlemen present in the debate, well qualified to judge, have assured us, that, abstractedly from its political importance, it afforded the same species of entertain-

ment that accompanies the demonstration of a proposition in Euclid.—A number of other speakers followed Mr. Windham; but we have already stated the principal arguments *pro* and *con.* perhaps at too great length.—General Ferguson was aware that many general officers of great eminence had approved of this convention. He was not of rank to be consulted upon it. But if he had, he had no hesitation in saying, that it should have met with his decided negative.

Lord H. Petty replied to the main drift of the reasoning on the other side of the house. In the course of his speech he animadverted on an inconsistency between the statement, that Sir A. W. had a particular view in agreeing to the convention, namely, that of dispatching a British army into Spain; and a declaration made very recently in that house by Mr. Canning, that it was determined, on the part of administration, not to send a British army into Spain until a Central Junta was formed.—What degree of concert and union could there have been between ministers and their generals?—As to the grounds on which the motion for the previous question had been supported, they seemed to his mind to rest upon this proposition, that although his majesty, and almost every public body, had recorded an opinion upon the measure under consideration, that house should be restrained from declaring any opinion whatever concerning it: thus encouraging the dangerous doctrine, that the people should look any where rather than to that house, for a decision upon a great public event.

Upon



Upon a division of the house, there appeared for the previous question 203.

For Lord H. Petty's motion 153.

Adjourned at six o'clock on Wednesday morning.

The campaign in Spain, on which so many strictures had been already made, incidentally in both Houses of Parliament, was formally brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, February 24, by

Mr. Ponsonby, who began a long, elaborate and clear, or well-composed speech, with a brief view of the state of Europe, when the Spanish nation rose in arms for resisting the attempts of France, and of the spirit which was excited by that event in this country in favour of the Spaniards. This spirit called in a most particular manner, for the attention and inquiry of those by whom our government was administered. And never did any government, on any occasion, meet with a more general and unfeigned desire on the part of the people to second that course which it might be expedient to pursue in aid of the Spanish cause. The feelings of the people ran before the wishes of the minister. He had only to command, and every Englishman was forward to obey. If consulted one by one, there was universally to be found a disposition to sacrifice, a resolution to act, and a promptitude to determine in favour of the Spanish insurgents. Ministers had only to consider, and inquire as to the best means of directing and rendering effective this ardent and unanimous feeling. With them it rested to

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consider the nature and tendency of the insurrection, and in what manner it was possible to promote its object. With them it rested—to them the duty, in a most imperative manner, belonged, of examining the state of Spain, and of ascertaining how far it was practicable, with the resources they possessed, to give effectual assistance to that country. The circumstances of England and of Europe forcibly demanded this examination; because it must have been felt, that upon their interference would depend the most important consequences—either of the depression, or the aggrandizement of the power of France. All the great powers of the continent were at the time in a state of comparative humiliation, owing to the inordinate power and overbearing influence and authority of the enemy. England alone was still able to defy his power; and it most materially behoved those to whose direction the resources of England were committed, to take care at least that they should be so employed, that, if the termination of the contest should be disadvantageous to Spain, it should not risk the character or endanger the safety of England, as upon that safety rested the fate of the world. In this country alone was to be found the power, the spirit, and the determination to maintain resistance to France. Austria having been plunged into the third coalition, against the opinion of its ablest advisers, was merely struggling to preserve the strength which her conqueror and our enemy had permitted to survive his victories. Prussia subsisted upon his courtesy, and Russia had embraced

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braced his counsels. No where did an army present itself that was not acting under his standard, or inactive through a dread of his attack. The world was divided between England and France, all the powers of the continent being the vassals or the allies of the enemy. Under such circumstances a spirit of resistance was displayed in that country, where least of all it was to be expected. In that country which had for a series of years been the active ally, or submissive dependent of France, a resolution was manifested to shake off the yoke of French domination. As soon as the resolution was formed, application was made to this country for assistance. Just before the conclusion of the last session the subject was brought under the consideration of this house. No one was willing to damp the spirit that was responsive to that application, provided a compliance with it could promise any successful result. But every reflecting man recommended consideration. Ministers, however, took their own course, and we had witnessed the consequence. No statement of any information received from Spain was laid before parliament. The session was closed before any deliberate opinion could be formed upon the subject, every thing was left to the discretion of ministers. Parliament had no opportunity of interfering. The ministers were furnished with all the aids they could desire from the hearts, the purses, the arms of the country. Every guinea they required was most cheerfully granted; they had a vote of credit to the utmost limit of their re-

quest; there appeared but one mind, one feeling, and one sentiment on the part of parliament and the country in favour of Spain. No other wish existed but that which was calculated to give effect to the operation of ministers: party spirit was quite sunk throughout this country upon that occasion; and indeed in every part of the empire the public voice was loud and ardent in desiring that the whole power of England should be put in motion, if necessary, and at all likely to be effectual in repelling the advances of the enemy, and promoting the liberty of Spain. Such was the pulse of the country which ministers had to direct. But it became their duty to direct it with judgment and efficiency. Standing upon an eminence, it was for them carefully to survey the prospects before them. It was for them to examine, with precision and accuracy, all the means within their reach to employ, and how far those means were adequate to the ends in view. Before they attempted to involve the country in the contest alluded to; before they ventured so to engage its wealth and its power, they should have taken care to make this examination, and, above all, to ascertain the real state of Spain. The first object, therefore, that claimed their consideration was, the employment of proper persons to inquire into that state; and for that purpose they should have sent some men of the highest capacity to that country, men well acquainted with both military and civil affairs, men competent not only to assist the counsels of a cabinet, but to direct the operations



operations of an army. Many such men could, no doubt, be found in this country. The occasion was of a nature to call for the employment of men of this description. It could not be supposed, whatever the spirit of the Spaniards might be, that that spirit could succeed in effectually resisting the power of France, unless it was directed with the utmost ability; and we ought to have availed ourselves of the opportunity to send that description of ability to Spain. I know not said Mr. P. the character of those agents whom ministers thought proper to employ in this mission, nor do I mean to speak disrespectfully of their merits; but I cannot find their names among those who are distinguished for any exploits or for any experience, either of a military or a civil description. I understand that they are all young men, and not likely to possess the experience and capacity of observation which are necessary to form a correct judgment upon such an important concern. Ministers should have been aware of the responsibility attached to their office, and cautious upon what representations they acted. They should have been alive to the reflection, that in their hands were placed the means not only of assisting Spain, but of defending England; that they were not only to consider the prospects of Spain, but of their own country; that, called upon to administer the affairs of a nation involved in an arduous contest, the duration of which no man could calculate, they should not unadvisedly risk the means of that nation; that they should not send

out its arms or its money, unless where effectual resistance could be made to the enemy. It was therefore peculiarly incumbent upon ministers to employ the utmost talents and industry, for the purpose of enabling themselves to judge of the temper, the resolution, and the ability of the Spaniards. What was the spirit of the people, what the internal condition of the country, what the state of its parts, what its resources, both military and naval, what, in a word, the means upon which we could calculate for success in pursuit of the common object? Ministers could not have been insensible to this reflection, that great as our power confessedly was, and had been at sea, the whole disposable force of their country could not alone make any effectual stand in the Spanish cause, or justify any hope of a successful result in a contest against the stupendous military means of France. It was therefore essentially necessary to know fully the nature and amount of the co-operation which they could rely upon meeting in Spain. With this view, they should not have sent young men of eager, sanguine, enthusiastic dispositions: but they should have sent men of experience, of observant, cultivated, and discriminating minds, men not likely to be influenced by false appearances, but capable of deciding upon the soundness of principles and real character. It was not sufficient to know, that monks could excite some of the poorer and more ignorant of the people to insurrection, and that, when so excited, they evinced great enthusiasm. The disposition and views of the



upper classes, who, from their rank and property, possess a natural influence in any country, ought to have been known. But above all, inquiry should have been carefully made as to the inclination of the middle class, which is the great bond and cement of connection between the higher and the lower orders in every country; whether we should be likely to meet in that class a cordial spirit of co-operation, and what the force of that co-operation would be.—Mr. Ponsonby was far from thinking that ministers ought to have dictated any thing like improvement to the Spaniards, or that any dictatorial tone should have been assumed. But if the Spaniards were insensible to the cause of their degradation, and indifferent as to its removal, it was in vain for England to calculate upon materially exciting the spirit or aiding the exertion of such a people. What would be the situation of England itself at the present hour, if the domineering establishment of the priesthood had not been removed, if the baneful effects of the feudal system had not ceased to exist, and if a liberal system of equal laws had not been established?—Mr. Ponsonby having expatiated on the folly, ignorance, and misinformation of ministers respecting the real state of Spain, which were certainly the great source of disaster, proceeded to arraign their dilatoriness in moving, and weakness in the direction of the auxiliary force they sent to the Spaniards. From Lord Castle-reagh's letter of the 30th of June, to Sir Arthur Wellesley, it might appear, that the gallant general was left at liberty to act according

to his own discretion, in consequence of any information he might receive on the coast of Spain. But in fact that discretion was taken away from him by the instructions of the 15th of July, and the expedition to the Tagus was fixed on by the noble lord as that by which hostilities were to begin. When the gallant general went to Portugal, the plan of the campaign was decided. There was no longer room to act upon any information that might be received with regard to Spain. It was impossible to employ any force in favour of Spain until the expedition to the Tagus was in some way or other concluded. After the convention of Cintra, in Portugal, was concluded, the British force, consisting of 30,000 men, was a disposable force to be applied as his majesty's ministers thought proper. Mr. P. then desired to know why it was that such a length of time had elapsed between the conclusion of the convention of Cintra, and the 27th day of October, when Sir John Moore proceeded on his march from Portugal to Spain? Up to the 27th of September, he had heard that none of the Juntas could be called the Supreme Junta, but that, upon that day, such a Junta was installed at Madrid. And yet it was said to have been necessary for Sir D. Baird to wait from the 13th to the 27th of October, until he could obtain permission from the Supreme Junta to land his army in the north of Spain. It did not appear that our government had any person called an accredited minister or ambassador in Spain, until Mr. Frère was sent; nor did it appear that he had arrived at Madrid, until



until the 27th of November. Ought not such a communication, at least, to have been kept up with the executive body, as that the general, arriving with the force, might know whether the Spaniards would relieve them or not? Without meaning to insinuate any disparagement to Mr. Frère, he, in Mr. P's humble opinion, was not the proper person to be sent to Spain. A military man was the proper person to be sent to that country. It was essentially a military appointment, or it was nothing. If the whole population of the country was not disposed to take up arms in its own defence, and ready to be organized by the government existing at the time in order to act with us against France, there was no chance of success in Spain.—Sir John Moore, on the 8th of November, reached Salamanca, and on the 14th was followed and joined there by most part of his army. On the 5th of November Buonaparte arrived in Spain, nine days before the British army had reached Salamanca, and placed himself at the head of that army which had come from the shores of the Danube and the Vistula.—What were the views of the English army, but to produce union and co-operation among the Spaniards? And was this to be effected after the defeat and dispersion of the united army of Leon and Estramadura, on the 10th of November, and those of the army under general Blake on the 11th? \* —In what situation did sir David Baird find himself on his landing at Corunna in order to effect

his junction with sir John Moore? He found nothing but a total inability to make a forward movement. He had not even money enough to defray the necessary expenses of the army, or even to obtain a supply of necessary provisions; but was obliged to have recourse to the credit of private individuals. From some causes hitherto unexplained, no British force found its way into Spain, until all the Spanish armies had been overthrown, and Madrid had a second time capitulated to Buonaparte. In this situation sir John Moore found himself in December. It appeared that it had been the intention of both sir David Baird and sir John Moore, to retreat as soon as they were informed of the surrender of Madrid and the defeat of Castanos. Orders were actually issued for that retreat, and fortunate Mr. P. thought it would have been had those orders been persevered in, and the retreat commenced at that particular time, if it could have been effected without injury to those brave men who commanded our army. The opinion of the commander changed; and Mr. P. desired to know what had produced the change? Why, after the capitulation of Madrid, and the advance of Buonaparte as victor, the retreat was not adopted? Sir John Moore received dispatches from the supreme Junta, and from Mr. Frère, urging him to advance, representing the great strength of the Spaniards in the south of Spain, and assuring him, that if he would attack the enemy in the north, the Spa-

\* Vide Vol. L. HIST. EUR. p. 232.



nish cause, then almost lost, might still be revived. On the 21st of December sir John Moore arrived at Sahagun, and on the 22d of December the emperor of the French left Madrid with a great force to attack him. On the 24th of that month, such were the effects of this last movement from Madrid, that sir John Moore again found it necessary to retreat, and under such circumstances, that if he had remained for 24 hours longer, and engaged the corps under marshal Soult, it was next to a certainty that not a single soldier of his army could have returned home. This Mr. P. stated on the authority of officers with whom he had conversed on the subject.

In order to account for these proceedings, it was necessary to institute the fullest inquiry; to know in what situation sir David Baird and sir John Moore found Spain when they advanced into it, whether that enthusiastic spirit, which alone could have saved the Spaniards, existed; whether they were willing and cordial in their assistance to the English army; whether they received them as their guests, with love, or with jealousy and fear, and to ascertain what the English army had to rely on, when they found themselves in the presence of a great hostile army. Lord Castlereagh had observed, in a former debate, that it would have been absurd to think of stopping the passes of the Pyrennees, and preventing the French from sending reinforcements into Spain, as there were no less than forty-three passes by which the French could enter that country. But if a British army

landed at St. Andero could be of no avail for that object—if the French could not, by any efforts on our part, have been shut out from Spain, Mr. P. would ask the noble lord, whether that was not a good reason why a British army should not have been sent into Spain at all? For any amount of force this country could send thither could not contend against the 4 or 500,000 whom Buonaparte could pour into that country from France. Mr. P. had not conversed with any military man on the subject, who had not declared that, from the beginning, it was vain and idle to hope for ultimate success in such a contest. If this vast force of France could not be kept out of Spain, he desired to know, why sir John Moore's army should have been so endangered by the imprudent advance that was made?—Mr. P. called on the house, by the gratitude they owed to those who had been so shamefully sacrificed at Corunna; by that which they owed to their companions in arms, who were still in existence, and able and willing to defend their country, or to be employed on any service; as they valued the glory of their country, their future power and reputation, as well as their interest, and by every thing that could excite the exertions of brave men, to institute this investigation for the satisfaction of all. He then concluded, by moving, “That it is indispensably necessary that this house should enquire into the causes, conduct, and events of the late campaign in Spain.”

Lord Castlereagh observed, that the only reasons that had been alleged for the enquiry, were reducible



ducible to the ignorance of the right honourable mover. And he did not think that that was, or had ever been, pretended to be a proper parliamentary ground for inquiry. As he could not bend to the cogency of this reason, he certainly should oppose the motion; though, at the same time, he declared that, had there been the slightest *prima facie* evidence to support it, he would have fully concurred in it. If the result of the campaign in Spain had not been as glorious as had been so earnestly and justly expected, whether owing to the imperfect state of discipline of the Spanish armies, or to the want of sufficient time to complete that discipline, still, he contended, that there was no *prima facie* ground for imputing the blame of that failure to his majesty's ministers. The British army was intended to act only as an auxiliary force in aid of the Spanish armies; and, surely, the British government was not to be blamed because the Spanish forces, unhappily, had not been able to hold out till the arrival of the military succours that were sent out to their assistance from this country. It had been said by Mr. P. that government ought to have waited to collect full information how far the spirit of liberty in the Spaniards went to the amelioration of their condition; how far the national feeling and public spirit of Spain were such as to justify ministers in hazarding a British military force in aid of its cause. Now, how the honourable mover could reconcile this with his former admonition to speed and celerity, it was not within the compass of his intellec-

tual powers to discover. As to the selection of characters proper for reporting to government the real state and spirit of Spain, would it have been rational for ministers to listen to any man's opinion on that point before the formation of the Central Junta, which alone could decide on the views of Spain? And were they to leave Spain and Portugal to their destinies till that event should have taken place?—The only rational question was, whether it could be hoped that Spain, with our assistance, would be enabled to stand against France? Spain had made an energetic effort. She had borne up against the military power of France with more vigour, more constancy, and better success, than those powers which had been supported by formidable regular armies. There had been many circumstances in the case of Spain to inspire a confident hope of its success. It was known that the popular rising was the simultaneous effort of the whole country. All the provinces had risen, he believed, within the space of five or six days. In the course of a very few months they had collected an army in Andalusia, and obtained a most decided victory over the French under Dupont, at the memorable battle of Baylen, in which the Spanish army was little superior in numbers to the enemy. The Spaniards were so confident in their own strength, that when general Spencer applied to them to know whether he should come to their assistance, they recommended his marching to the relief of Portugal. Saragossa also, as well as Andalusia, presented a picture of encouragement. Nor had Leon been defi-



cient? for at the battle of Rio Seco, the enemy had, by no means, the advantage they boasted of. The Spaniards had, in fact, obtained decisive advantages, and would have effectually defeated the enemy, if they had had the benefit of cavalry\* to follow up their successes. What the Spanish army might have been expected to have done, if it had had sufficient cavalry, could be easily inferred from what they had done, when, in the course of two months, it succeeded in driving 100,000 men from the provinces they had occupied, and confined them to the left banks of the Ebro.

With regard to the nature of the co-operation that was adopted by his majesty's ministers, and the question, whether it was the best that could be resorted to under all the circumstances of the case, he observed, that there were two extreme opinions on this subject, and a middle one. It was this intermediate opinion that had been adopted by his majesty's ministers. One of the two other opinions was, that if Spain was really animated by the spirit of true patriotism, she had the elements of her own salvation within herself, and did not want British soldiers to fight her battles; that our co-operation needed not to go any farther than supplies of money, arms, clothing, ammunition, and whatever other necessities might be wanting. Than this opinion, he thought, nothing could be more unwise. Nothing could have tended more effectually to confirm that reproach which had been dealt out by the enemy against us, than that we should

not, in this instance, have taken an active part ourselves. The other extreme was, that there was no medium between a great effort, and the greatest of which we were capable; and that not a soldier should be kept at home. Without taking any notice of the effects that such a measure might produce at home, if our utmost efforts should be attended with disaster, the thing would be in itself impracticable. There was a limit beyond which ministers could not go. In short, they must necessarily keep within the limits of the national credit, and it was unnecessary to say any thing more in answer to this second extreme opinion, than that it was impossible to act upon it. The only question then was, where the effort made by his majesty's ministers was sufficient. And this would be best judged of by considering it in a threefold relation: first, as to its extent: secondly, as to its course; and thirdly, as to its ability. With regard to its extent, when information had been first received by his majesty's ministers, that a supply of British troops was wished for, to act in concert with the native armies in Spain, there were sent, exclusive of the 10,000 men under the marquis Romana, liberated in the north of Europe, no less a force than 45 or 50,000 men, nearly 50,000 rank and file into the peninsula. Besides this army, government had issued orders that the forces in the Mediterranean should send out detachments to act in Catalonia; though subsequent circumstances interposed to

\* See Vol. L. HIST. EUR. p. 213.



prevent those troops to be detached, from rendering that service which it was then intended to employ them in. The next question for the house to consider would be, if ministers gave the army of nearly 50,000 men a proper direction? He assured Mr. P. he was not now going to the Pyrennees. He could conceive a man of common sense going to St. Andero, but he could not conceive a man of sound sense going to the Pyrennees. The port of St. Andero might have been thought preferable to Corunna; but that port was extremely small, and in what situation would an army there have been in, with 40 or 50,000 French in the neighbourhood of Vittoria; and that army but half equipped, and all the transports gone away? He was not going with Mr. P. to the Pyrennees, but merely to the question he had put, as to what could have detained the British army so long during the interval previous to the 27th of October, the day on which they made their first movement from Portugal to Spain. He (Lord C.) had, at an early period of the campaign in Portugal, directed that a communication should be opened with the Spanish generals on the subject of the co-operation of the British army in Spain. A letter had been accordingly sent to General Castanos, on that subject, but it did not reach him till after the conclusion of the convention of Cintra. On the 25th of September, orders had been sent to sir Hew Dalrymple to move forward with his army towards the north of Spain; and on the same day sir David Baird received orders to embark for Ferrol

or Corunna. It was not, however, till the 29th of September, that the first letter from Lord William Bentinck (who had been sent to attend the supreme Central Junta) was written, containing the answers of the Junta to certain questions which he had been directed to submit to them, as well relating to the entrance of the British army into Spain, as to the manner in which it should be employed there. The answers were, that the fate of Spain depended on the early co-operation of a British force; and that they wished our forces to be concentrated as one British army. And general Castanos received orders to confer with Lord W. Bentinck, as to the best mode of carrying those wishes into effect. It was proposed, that the army in Portugal should make for Burgos, by the route of Salamanca, and sir David Baird debark his troops at Corunna. This intelligence was received at Lisbon on the 8th of October.

While the question respecting the operation of the British forces in Spain, was pending in Madrid, the very same question was discussed in London, and the very same decision was agreed to at the same time. The Marquis of Romana's opinion on this subject was in writing, and ready to be laid upon the table of the house.

With regard to the troops not being immediately permitted to land, Lord C. would only say, that from a prior and distant application made to his majesty's government for British troops on the part of the Juntas of Galicia and Asturias, ministers had a right to expect that no obstacle would be thrown



thrown in the way of any troops they might afterwards send. The Juntas in Galicia and on the frontiers of Leon, were apprized of the expeditions then going out, and letters to different English officers from our government, requiring them to try every method to secure the troops accommodations on their landing; and necessaries for their continuing their march, were laid before the respective Juntas. But Lord C. was very sorry to say, that the Juntas had neglected to act according to those communications. He did not wish to censure, or complain of their conduct; but such was the fact. Mr. P. had expressed surprise, that the movements of the British army had been so slow, and those of the French comparatively so rapid. But there was a difference between an army fully equipped, and one not equipped; between an army that would seize every thing on its way that could facilitate its march, whether provisions or carriages, and an army that could not have any such resource. Though the Spanish armies under Blake and Romana, and that of Estremadura, had, before the arrival of Sir John Moore at Salamanca, suffered severe reverses, still this was not a fair test of the general spirit of the people. They had at that period the most difficult task imposed upon them, that could devolve to the nation in such circumstances. They were at the same time to make head against a powerful enemy, and to make a government. After the march of the army from Salamanca, the only object was to draw off the force of the enemy from pushing his conquests to the south. And surely

never was a diversion more completely effected.

Lord C. ridiculed the notion of our military character being lost in consequence of the late reverses, and asked if the *disgraces* of Vimeira and Corunna were to be blotted from the memories of Englishmen. If gentlemen were anxious for enquiry, they might go into a committee that would occupy them three months. Nothing, however, could be a greater mistake, than the supposition that those who called for inquiry meant that they wanted information. He left it with confidence to the house to say, whether any case had been made out to justify the motion of the right honourable gentleman; and where no case was made out, no enquiry could be called for.

The speech of Lord Castlereagh in answer to Mr. Ponsonby, was animadverted on at great length by Mr. Tierney. Among the most important of his animadversions were the following. He wanted to know why we had not taken possession of Ferrol. If the government of Spain had not sufficient confidence in us to grant us this much, why were troops sent to that country at all? Why had not Sir John Moore fallen back upon Vigo and Portugal, which, at one period, he certainly would have done, if he had been left to his own discretion? Mr. Tierney was followed by a great number of speakers on the present most interesting question, and the debate was continued till half past three on Saturday morning. We have already stated the principal arguments *pro* and *con*. It is not to do justice to the ability and dexterity of orators, or to record the most brilliant



brilliant specimens of wit and eloquence, that is by any means so much our object, as to state the most solid and weighty reasonings, whether in condemnation or justification of the great measures of government. It may, and does not unfrequently happen, that the same arguments that have been used by movers, and those that second, or by those that step forth early in a debate, are placed in a more striking light by subsequent speakers. But we beg leave, and we understand that it is not altogether unnecessary, to remind some of our readers, that it is parliamentary proceedings, with the views on which they are founded, not eloquence, that is, or ought to be, the principal consideration, in *Brief Annals of Europe*. In our accounts of parliamentary business, we are restricted in some measure, to the order in which the different speakers appear in the conversation, or the debate. If only a few passages are selected from the speeches of some members, and those of others wholly passed over: this is by no means intended, and ought not to be considered as a test of their comparative excellence or merit. They who wish to enter minutely into the particular talents and turns of all the different speakers, and when there was a laugh in the house, or when a cry of hear! hear! &c. &c. must have recourse to newspapers, or to the ponderous volumes, from thence principally collected, of parliamentary debates.

General Stewart observed, that the junction of Sir J. Moore and Sir D. Baird, was not at first critical, though it afterwards became

so, in consequence of the defeat of Castanos. Mr. Colborne maintained that the honour which the British army had gained in Spain, by raising its character, had done more than all the plans that had been devised for the recruiting of that army. Lord Milton said, that had the expeditions to Ferrol and the Helder been enquired into, they should not now have to regret the failures to which the motion referred.

Mr. Secretary Canning laboured principally to shew that the military movements of Sir John Moore were not dictated by the British ministry, but spontaneous on his part, and arranged in concert with the Spanish government. On the tender point of the interference of Mr. Frère in military plans and operations, he affirmed, that nothing had been done by that gentleman, but what was calculated to raise the character of this country in Spain, and to conciliate the attachment of that country to Great Britain.—It had been urged by Mr. P. that before the assistance of this country had been given to Spain, it ought to have been ascertained whether or not the Spaniards were instigated by the monks, by a spirit of popery, or encouraged by the higher ranks. These were questions better suited for a period of learned leisure, than for the hour of action. His majesty's ministers, of whom he was a humble one, felt that the Spanish nation, wanted other aids than lectures on municipal institutions. They were content that a British army should act in Spain, though the grand inquisitor might have been at the head of the Spanish armies; though the people  
might



might have been attached to their ancient monarchy, and with one hand upheld Ferdinand VII. whilst with the other they worshipped the Lady of the Pillar. The right honourable gentleman had objected to the appointment of any other than a military man on a mission to Spain; but as the objects of that right honourable gentleman were of a philosophical nature, military men would not have been the most proper persons for their accomplishment. The military part of the transactions in Spain might have disappointed expectation, but the cause was not desperate. The soldiers who conquered at Baylen, and those who rallied after the defeat of Medina del Rio Seco, those who defended Madrid before they were soldiers, and drove the French out of Castille, were still staunch in the cause. The spirit of the people was unsubdued. The boundaries of the power of the French were confined within their military posts. The throne of Joseph was erected on sand, and would totter with the first blast. When he compared the present situation of Spain with what it was when the French were in the undisturbed possession of Biscay, Castille, Catalonia, and Portugal, he could not discover any grounds for despondency.—The French had now Gallicia, but they had not Portugal: so that, upon the whole, the situation of Spain was not so unpromising as in June last. Whatever might be the fruits of Buonaparte's victories in other respects, the spirit of the Spanish nation was yet unsubdued. His fortune, no doubt, had been augmented; but still it was fortune, not fate. There was

something unworthy in the sentiment that would defer to this fortune as to the dispensations of providence, looking upon it as immutable in its nature, and irresistible by human means. Mr. C. concluded by stating his intention to give his negative to the motion.

Mr. Windham was determined to confine what he had to say to the objects of the proposed inquiry, and should therefore pass by four-fifths of the speech of Mr. C. It was an odd moment for the right honourable gentleman to express his hopes, and an odd quarter from which such hopes proceeded, when our army had been withdrawn from Spain, and when we had left the Spaniards to fight their own battles. It appeared a great fault in the military councils of this country, that on the 12th of July, they were so very badly informed of the situation of Portugal, where every man was our friend, and where information would issue from every port, to suppose that there was but 5,000 French in that country, when, in fact, there were 25,000. If Spain had been assisted in the best manner, there was every reason to suppose, that our assistance would have been effectual. There were, evidently, two courses to be pursued: either to strike a stroke on the part that first presented itself, namely, on the Ebro, and to endeavour to drive the enemy out of Spain, by attacking him instantly, while his force was small, and when his views upon Austria, or his jealousy of what Austria might design against him, divided his attention, and made it impossible greatly to augment his numbers; or, giving up that attempt as hopeless,



to proceed at once to what ought to be the general plan of the campaign, with a view of affording to Spain any hope of *final deliverance*. On the former of these modes of proceeding, though the most tempting, he avoided giving an opinion, because few but those in office could possess the necessary means of judging.

It was not, at the same time true, that the one plan created any necessity of giving up the other: the force sent to the Ebro, had, as it ought to have been, chiefly cavalry, (the force which the Spaniards most wanted, and what we had most ready and could best spare) such a force, even found in the event insufficient for its immediate object, could still have been able to take care of itself, and to have retired in safety through Spain, a country of friends and allies, to that part of the peninsula, where at all events, and in every view, the great mass of our force should be collected. This part was no other than the southern provinces, the neighbourhood of Cadiz and Gibraltar. Whatever force we send into Spain, could we be sure even with all the aid that the armies or masses of Spain could give us, would be able to resist the hosts that Buonaparte could pour in against us, having for his supply nothing less than a sort of inexhaustible ocean, the whole population of Europe?—The inference drawn from these premises by his majesty's ministers seemed to be, that we ought to send only a small force: but great or small, the necessity of a retreat being provided seemed nearly equal. If the army was large, the stake was

greater: and if small, the chance was greater of losing it. Now there was in the whole peninsula, including Spain and Portugal, but two places, and those in the same quarter, from which a large body of troops when pressed by a superior army, could hope to get away, viz. Cadiz and Gibraltar. To meet in the south of Spain, a British force of 100,000 men, Buonaparte must bring over the Pyrennees a force not less than 200,000, to say nothing of the demand that would be made upon him by the large Spanish army that might be raised in that part of Spain to co-operate with the British army, and which the presence of a British force would help to raise. Buonaparte would have a whole kingdom, which he must garrison behind him, if he could either be sure of his supplies, or make provision against total destruction in case of a reverse: he must fight us at arms length, while our strength would be exerted within distance, with an impregnable fortress at hand, furnishing at once a safe retreat in case of disaster, and a source of endless supply, by means of its safe and undisturbed communication with this country. And let it not be supposed, that while the army continued in the south, Buonaparte might continue master of the north. What mastery could he have of any part of Spain, while such an army could be kept on foot in another? A force raised to the greatest possible amount to which the mind and means of the country, then elevated above itself, and raised to something of a preternatural greatness, could have raised it, should



should have been placed in Spain in a situation, the only one which the country afforded, where it would have been safe from the risk of total loss or capture, and would not have been kept down by the idea that the deposit was too great for the country to hazard. This should have been the great foundation, the base-line of the campaign. On this the country might have given a loose to all its exertions, with the consolatory reflection that the greater its exertions, the greater its security; that the more it made its preparations effectual for their purpose, the less was the risk at which it acted. From this, other operations might have branched in different directions, as circumstances pointed out. It was scandalous that nothing had been ever done to assist our friends or annoy our enemies on the east side of Spain, where to a power having the complete command of the sea, the finest opportunities were presented, and had been most unaccountably neglected. Ministers had forgotten that there was such a coast as the eastern coast of Spain; that it was accessible every where to our ships; placed as the high road for the entry of troops from France; inhabited by the race of men who fought at Saragossa and Gerona: and on the other hand, that we had a large army doing nothing in Sicily, or who, if we were to attempt to employ them in the quarter where they were, must be employed in worse than doing nothing. For all operations in this quarter of Spain, Gibraltar afforded the most marked facilities.

With a large army stationed in

the south, the enemy could never know what detachments were slipping out behind us, nor with what descents they might be threatened in their rear or their flanks: the army needed never to have been idle: or, what was hardly less advantageous, to have been supposed to be idle. A great army assembled at such a nation would have had the farther advantage, that it would have given us an ascendancy in the Spanish councils, highly advantageous to them, and such as with tolerable good conduct, might have been made not less popular.

Mr. W. observed that the great and pregnant source of error in the conduct of the present administration, next to their misinformation and general ignorance, was, what they had in common with many other ministers, and what he had signally witnessed in some of his own time, their mistaking bustling for activity; and supposing that they were doing a great deal, when they were only making a great noise and spending a great deal of money. While they were writing long dispatches, issuing orders in all directions, keeping up clerks to unusual hours, covering the roads with messengers, and putting the whole country into a ferment, they were very apt to fancy that the public service must be making prodigious advances. It was thus too, they supposed, that an administration was to acquire the character of vigour! They looked at every measure, not with a view to the effect it was to produce abroad, but to the appearance which it was to make at home: and the public, it appeared, joined them heartily in



in the delusion : as if any military preparations could avail without a proper plan for the direction of military exertions.—Mr. W. concluded with expressing his determination to support the motion for an enquiry.

Mr. Ponsonby replied to some statements in the speech of the right hon. gentleman opposite. Lord Castlereagh said, that the government of Spain considered its salvation to depend upon the appearance of an English army in Spain, and yet gave no reason for the extraordinary delay of sending that army ; or why, when it did arrive at Corunna, that government had given no orders for its landing. From keeping an army waiting for intelligence, what could be expected but defeat?—Mr. P. observed, that Mr.

Secretary Canning thought proper to pass over his speech in silence. He had not replied to one of his arguments ; nor yet to those of his right honourable friend Mr. Windham.\* Mr. P. therefore supposed that Mr. C. had prepared his speech† before he heard either what he or his right honourable friend had to say.—Mr. Ponsonby concluded by saying, that if ministers were sanctioned, and their councils approved by the house, they could expect nothing but similar results in future.

The question being loudly called for, a division took place : when there appeared

For Mr. Ponsonby's motion 127.

Against it 220.

\* When Mr. W. sat down, the eyes of both sides of the house were turned on Mr. Canning.

† Generally alledged to have been his practice in most of his speeches.



## CHAP. V.

*The Proceedings and Debates in Parliament, either retrospective or prospective—The prospective arranged into general Heads.—The House of Commons in a Committee of Ways of Means.—The Budget.—The Irish Budget.—Proceedings of the House of Commons on the Fourth Report of the Committee of Public Expenditure: which related to the Misconduct of the Commissioners appointed for the Disposal of Dutch Captured Property.—Resolutions on the Subject of Finance moved by Mr. Vansittart—Agreed to.—Abuses brought to Light by the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Revision—Resolutions moved thereon in the House of Commons, by Sir C. Pole—Negatived.—Reports of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry—Enormous Abuses and Frauds.*

THE campaign in Spain was brought into discussion, yet farther, in both houses, whether in the regular form of motions, or on a variety of incidental occasions. In the house of lords, February the 7th, the earl of Grosvenor moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the state of the nation; in doing which, the principal object he had in view, was the campaign in Spain, on which he proceeded to make his observations: contending that it ought by all means to be made a subject of parliamentary inquiry. On the 27th of March, to assist the house in deciding upon the measures adopted during the campaigns in Spain and Portugal.

The earl of Rosslyn moved, "That a copy of all instructions and communications, which had passed between the three secretaries of state, and any of the ministers in Spain and Portugal, respecting the arrangement of military measures, and every provision for carrying them into effect, be

laid before the house; which motion, it is superfluous to say, was negatived. Fresh discussion took place on these and other occasions. The subject was indeed of vast magnitude, and of an importance paramount to every other. But it is more than time to go on from the retrospective considerations and views of parliament, with regard to our foreign relations prospective; between which, however, there is a natural or intimate connection. Among the prospective proceedings of parliament are such as relate to finance, the grand spring of government; to external defence and internal tranquillity; and to national improvements, civil and political, economical and moral. Following this order, we begin with finance.

House of Commons, May the 12th. The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, pursuant to notice, to submit to the committee, a statement of the ways and means of the year. The committee, he

said,



said, would observe that there were but few of the supplies he had to enumerate that had not been already voted. The supplies voted were :

## SUPPLIES.

	£.
Navy* .....	18,986,867
Army .....	21,144,770
Ordnance,	
England ....	5,275,298 }
Ireland ....	627,876 }
	5,903,174
Miscellaneous,	
England ....	1,173,751 }
Ireland ....	726,249 }
	1,900,000
Vote of credit,	
England ....	3,000,000 }
Ireland ....	300,000 }
	3,300,000
Swedish subsidy .....	300,000
Sicilian subsidy .....	400,000

Total joint Charge 51,934,911

## England's Separate Charges.

Def. Mlt. Duty, 1807, 366,211	} 1,927,078
Int. on Exch. Bills 1,500,000	
5 per cents. 1797 .... 60,867	

Total Supplies 53,861,990

Deduct Ireland's proportion  
of Supply and Civil List .. 6,273,966

On Account of England 47,588,024

To meet these supplies, the articles already voted, and those which he should have the honour

to propose, the Ways and Means provided, were as follows :—

## WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Duty on Malt, Pensions, &c.	3,000,000
Estimated Surplus Consolidated Fund, to April 5, 1810	4,000,000
Surplus Ways and Means 1808 .....	2,757,352
War Taxes .....	19,000,000
Lottery .....	300,000
Excess of Exchequer Bills, 49 Geo. 3, cap. 21. after reserving sufficient to pay off 7,345,200 <i>l.</i> issued per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 7, the remainder having been funded .....	3,151,800
Excess of ditto, voted in the present Session, after reserving sufficient to pay off 4,644,100 <i>l.</i> issued per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 114, the remainder having been funded .....	1,355,900
Exchequer Bills on Vote of Credit .....	3,000,000
Repayment of Sum advanced to Portugal .....	150,000
Loan .....	11,000,000
	47,718,052
Supplies .....	47,588,024
	130,028
Surplus Ways and Means	

He had next to state to the

\* The number of seamen that had been voted for this year, 1809, was the same as that for the last, 1808, viz. 130,000 including 31,400 royal marines. The estimates, too, for the number of seamen and marines were precisely the same in amount with those of last year, though it had been thought desirable to make some alterations in the comparative amount of some of the branches. The allowance for wear and tear of ships, was last year taken at three pounds per man, whilst the provision for victuals was estimated at 1*l.* 19*s.* per man, per month. The latter estimate had been found to fall greatly short of the actual expenditure, whilst the wear and tear fell considerably above the actual expenditure: a guinea, therefore, had been taken from the allowance for wear, and added to the allowance for victuals. The army estimates, too, as stated by the secretary at war, were nearly the same as those of last year, with the exception of 200,000 arising from the actual increase of the establishment, which would be ascertained by comparing the estimates now offered with the last year's account.



committee, and it was with satisfaction he should state, the terms upon which the loan had been contracted for, that morning. The whole of the loan for the year was fourteen millions six hundred thousand pounds, of which three millions were for Ireland, and six hundred thousand pounds for the Prince Regent of Portugal, so that the loan for the service of England was 11,000,000*l*. This loan had been taken in part in the 4 per cents. partly in the 3 per cents. and partly in the long annuities. The particulars for every 100*l*. subscribed were,

	£	s.	d.
4 per Cents.....	60	0	0
3 per Cents.....	60	0	0
Long Annuities .....	0	8	10

The amount of interest that would thus be paid on each 100*l*. by the public, calculating it upon the present prices of the respective funds in which the loan was contracted for, would be 4*l*. 12*s*. 10*d*. a rate of interest, at which the public had never before been able to borrow money—a rate at which it was hardly possible for any individual, however well secured, or prompt his payment might be, to procure a loan.

In a former part of the session he had submitted a proposition for funding eight millions of exchequer bills, which proposition had received the sanction of that house. The capital created by that operation amounted in the 5 per cents to £7,877,308; in the 3 per cents £386,336; amounting in the whole to capital created £8,253,654. The total charge for management and sinking fund

upon this capital was £495,221; the total charge upon the loan was £651,345; making the grand total charge upon both operations £1,146,566. Lord H. Petty had suggested the propriety of suspending the progress of taxation for three years. All those who supported the proposition of the noble lord, would, he was sure, approve the adoption of the principle for the present year, and think it a wise policy to abstain from new taxes to meet the charges arising out of the financial arrangements of the present year. It was not, however, proposed that the whole of the charge should be defrayed out of the war taxes. There was a bill at present before the house, for the consolidation of the customs, by the operation of which, he expected to obtain an addition to the permanent taxes of £105,000: an addition, to nearly the same amount, was to be expected from the operation of the consolidation bill in the war taxes. The sum so gained would be applied in diminution of the annual charge: so that he should not have to apply to the war taxes for much more than one million. He had suggested the propriety of taking a vote of credit for three millions for England. An explanation of the manner in which that sum might be applied would not be expected. There was, however, one circumstance arising out of the present state of the Continent which he conceived to be his duty to communicate to the house. It was not, at the present moment, thought desirable that any definitive arrangement should be entered



entered into, which should give rise to any expectation that his majesty would furnish any of his allies with any very considerable pecuniary assistance. It was not the intention of his majesty's government to hold out to those allies any expectation of pecuniary aid, during the present year, beyond what would be covered by the vote of credit proposed. He had also to state, that though no treaty had been entered into with the Austrian government, previously to the war, yet an expectation did certainly exist on the part of that power, as to what this country would do, in the event of a war taking place. In consequence of this impression, without having had any communication with his majesty's government, the Austrian government, on the commencement of the war, had drawn bills on this country: which bills it had not deemed right to pay until the circumstance should be mentioned to parliament. He would confess, that when the bills should arrive, it was the intention of ministers to advise his majesty to recommend to parliament to enable him to pay them. The amount of these bills it was not easy yet to ascertain. It might be about £500,000. Mr. Perceval, having gone through all he had to state, concluded with moving a resolution for agreeing to the terms of the contract for the loan.

Mr. N. Vansittart wished to know whether any, or what proportion of the war taxes was to be charged with the expences of the loan.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that the whole of the charges were to be discharged from the war taxes, and particu-

larly that part of them which came under the head of excise.

Lord Petty gave his cordial approbation to the loan itself, and the principles on which it was negotiated, as well as the mode proposed for meeting the charges upon it. He could not, however, entirely approve the intention of mortgaging any part of the war taxes without providing an adequate fund for its speedy redemption. It would, he was persuaded, be productive, though perhaps not immediately, of much inconvenience. Besides, an indefinite mortgage of these particular taxes might tend to excite an apprehension that they would be ultimately converted into permanent burthens. The practice also tended to weaken and undermine those great means and sinews of war. With regard to the bills drawn by the Austrian government, the propriety, lord Petty said, of that step would depend on the previous relations subsisting between the two countries, an explanation of which he presumed his majesty's ministers would offer to the house before the parliament rose.

Mr. Canning said that there was no disposition on the part of Great Britain, for the sake of any combination against the common enemy, or for any temporary diversion in the cause of Spain, to have Austria committed in a premature struggle. However much they might wish to see the enemy opposed, they could never desire to see Austria engaged in war on any but Austrian grounds. But they stated, at the same time, that if Austria was committed in war with France for her own defence,



it was their disposition to afford her all the limited assistance which the state of the times put in their power. There were also physical obstacles in the way of making remittances, which should convince that power, that she was not to place much reliance upon promises of assistance, even though less restricted, from this government. With respect to the bills, they had been drawn by the Austrian government without any authority for that measure, on the supposition, that the person authorized to restore the former relations between the two governments, would reach this country time enough to explain the necessity of that step. No time was lost in transmitting to the court of Vienna a friendly remonstrance on the subject, pointing out the inconvenience of the practice, and stating that, if it was to be done at all, it must be done with the consent of parliament.

Mr. Ponsonby was glad to understand that ministers had no concern whatever, in advising Austria to engage in the present war. Had they any influence, indeed, they would have used it more wisely in dissuading the government of that country from any such proceeding.—Mr. Whitbread thought it obvious, that no good could be done by any effort of Austria. Had she indeed availed herself of Buonaparte's embarrassments, at the period when some reverses of the French inspired the Spaniards, there might have been some chance that Buonaparte would have been considerably distressed and distracted: at least there would have been better prospects of success

than at the time when Austria commenced hostilities, when, in fact, Spain was nearly subdued. Austria, however, had not only been defective in prudence, in the commencement of this war, but even in fidelity to engagements, which should always bind a state. Ministers should have advised Austria, not to engage in the present war.—They were not ignorant of her engagements and circumstances. It appears that they must be fools and madmen, who persisted in thinking that Austria could succeed in a contest with France by means of English gold.—Of the lottery, included in the table of Ways and Means for the present year, that was one of the worst and last modes that could be resorted to. How many were the evils which lotteries occasioned?—What wretchedness, desperation, and suicide? He was astonished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a devout man, and of correct manner, should patronize such a measure.—Mr. Ponsonby wished to know, on what proof Mr. Whitbread rested the assertion, that Austria broke faith with France? For his part he was quite of a different opinion: that Austria was in hostility against France, because France was bent on her destruction. Mr. Canning repeated, approved, and expatiated, on what had been answered by Mr. Ponsonby. The Chancellor of the Exchequer presumed that Mr. Whitbread took his faith respecting the alledged good faith of France and bad faith of Austria, from the papers of Mr. Champagny.—As to lotteries, it would be for the house to determine on some.



some future occasion, after that night, if the lottery should ever again form part of the ways and means of the year. It should not, however, be taken for granted, because the guards against improper practices in the lottery had once failed, that they must always fail. He was satisfied, it was not to the lotteries, but to the insurance, that the objection lay. He did not say, that for a revenue of £300,000 a year, the house ought to give their sanction to any thing immoral, or productive of evil; but, at the same time, he was not for abandoning a financial resource of this kind, without trying whether some measure might not be devised for remedying the evils resulting from it.—Mr. Wilberforce said, that he was sure his right honourable friend persuaded himself that he should put a stop to the mischiefs of lotteries by abolishing insurances: or he would not for much more than £300,000 sacrifice the victims it occasioned. But after the ineffectual efforts of the great men, who had preceded his right honourable friend in the administration of the country, to abolish the practice of insurance, he thought him too sanguine in supposing that he should be able to do it effectually. Insurance, however, was not the only evil of lotteries. By dividing tickets into small shares a spirit of gambling was disseminated, which was attended with the most serious evils to the lower classes. As to the productiveness of the lottery, it had dwindled from £600,000 to £300,000; and there was never any thing more true, than that the sum which appeared to be sacrificed to morality, would be far more

than repaired otherwise. By suppressing lotteries, many would remain to enrich the country with their labours, whom the lottery would reduce into habits of idleness and extravagance.—Sir T. Turton desired the house not to do any thing in a moment of heat respecting lotteries. He wished to know if the same scale of exemptions and contributions on the income tax were to remain as last year.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, there were to be no new statutes this year respecting the income tax. They would act upon old laws.

Sir Samuel Romilly was extremely sorry to hear his right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, treating the case of the lottery as a matter, falling of course, to form part of the service of the year. Sir T. T. had talked of not doing any thing in a moment of heat: did the honourable baronet not know that a committee had been appointed to inquire into this very subject; that that committee had reported during the last session; and that their report had lain on the table from that time without any thing having been done upon it? The house was now situated, as to this subject, much in the same way as that in which they stood with regard to the slave trade some years ago. The house did allow that trade to continue for years after they had evidence of the abuses practised in it: which added infinitely to the iniquity of suffering the continuance of the practice. On the same principle, if the house, with the knowledge they now had of the evils attending lotteries, allowed the practice



to continue, the situation of things would be very different from what it was before. He (sir S. R.) had formerly attempted an improvement on the criminal law of the country. If the house could pass a law to do away temptations to commit crimes, that would be the most effectual mode of improving the criminal code. But what were they now about to do? To pass a law to allow and encourage crimes, by encouraging the temptation to commit them. The most active agents were employed to seduce persons to the commission of the crimes to which lotteries gave birth; and the most ingenious paragraphs in newspapers were invented for the furtherance of this purpose. He could point out paragraphs holding out lures to apprentice boys to embark in this trade, and to begin with their Christmas boxes, under the assurance, that by perseverance they would soon ride in their coaches. These practices were now spread from the capital, to every village in the kingdom. By attempts to render the practices less pernicious, the public would be put off their guard; the system would return with all its pernicious effects. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the subject had been discussed over and over again, and that the result had been uniformly in favour of lotteries. Mr. W. Smith considered the bills concerning lotteries as libels on public morals, sanctioned by government. Sir John Newport objected to lotteries as a financial measure. The test of a good tax was, that it put into the exchequer the greater part of what was drawn out of the pockets of

the people. Here, however, the greater part went into the hand of the agent. The resolutions were agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

The question concerning lotteries was again agitated, when Mr. Wharton brought up the report of the committee of ways and means, May the 18th. It would be wholly superfluous, did our limits admit, to enter much further than has been done, into the arguments against lotteries which are reducible to two, namely, that they tended to encourage vice, with its pernicious consequences, both to the individual and the state; and that the profits arising from them to the public had dwindled to the small sum of 300,000*l*. We cannot refrain, however, from extracting a short paragraph from Mr. Whitbread's speech against lotteries, as it contains a very curious fact. "There was a society existing for the suppression of vice; one of the rules of which was, that no man should be admitted into the fraternity of suppressors of vice, *unless he was a member of the established church*. This regulation, said Mr. Whitbread, would certainly be highly relished by the no-popery gentlemen. But if they were to set their faces against minor offences, and yet to countenance the lottery, it would be like casting out seven devils from a man, when a legion of other devils were immediately to enter. He believed that there was not a sin pointed at in the decalogue, which was not encouraged by the lottery.

In defence of the lottery, it was observed by sir Thomas Turton, that



that the sum accruing to government from the annual lottery, was not, as had been stated, 300,000*l.* only, but, together with stamps, 700,000*l.* The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that it had been argued by Mr. Whitbread, that if this species of gambling was put an end to, it would stop all kinds of vice. This was straining the argument too far. The circumstances of misery that had been alluded to, arose not out of lotteries, but from insurances; and could never be the effect even of insurance, if the lottery was drawn in one day—a period to which he proposed to confine the drawing. If Dr. Mandeville\* had been alive, and a member of the honourable house, he would doubtless have made a very ingenious speech on the present occasion. And it might, perhaps, have excited some alarm in weak minds, to find Mr. Perceval voting on the same side with the notorious doctor.

On a division of the house there appeared—

For lotteries 90,

Against them 36.

After this, the resolution of the house in favour of a lottery was passed through the remaining stages into a law. So also were the other resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, May 12.

House of Commons, May 24.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Foster stated the annual ways and means for Ireland: which were as follows:—

## WAYS AND MEANS.

Unappropriated balances ..	1,739,381
Deduct unfunded debt.....£.	29,080
———— arrear to	
Howth.....	3,814
———— Navigations	191,792
	<hr/>
	224,687
	<hr/>
	1,514,694
Estimated revenue .....	4,500,000
Loan in Great Britain, 3 millions	
British .....	3,250,000
Ditto in Ireland ..	1,250,000
	<hr/>
	4,500,000
	<hr/>
	10,514,694

## SUPPLY.

Quota for Ireland, 6,273,966 <i>l.</i>	
British .....	6,796,796
Interest and sinking fund ..	3,690,404
	<hr/>
	10,487,200
Excess of ways and means	27,494
	<hr/>
	10,514,694

Money to be borrowed	
(Irish).....	4,500,000
Interest and sinking fund thereon .....	264,000
(In 1809, 212,800 <i>l.</i> )	

## WAYS AND MEANS.

	<i>Per An.</i>		<i>In 1809.</i>
1. Prohibiting raw corn in			
Brewery	242,000	lf-yr.	124,000
2. Increase of duty on strength			
of spirits	130,000	2 months	32,500
3. Increase work on			
Stills....	240,000	2 months	60,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	618,000		216,500
	<hr/>		<hr/>

\* Author of the fable of the Bees; or Private Vices, Public Benefits.



In this statement, Mr. Foster did not venture to estimate the revenue of Ireland at more than four millions and a half, in addition to which, it would be recollected, that a loan had been already voted for the service of Ireland, to be raised in Great Britain, to the amount of three millions British, or about three millions and a quarter Irish: the sum therefore necessary to be provided was that which would be equal to the payment of the interest on that loan. He explained the reasons why he trusted that by the three modes proposed a sum would be raised sufficient for the purpose. By these three modes a sum would be produced of £216,500, which was about £2,000 above what would be required for the purpose intended. This he thought could not give reason for despondence. There had been no falling off in the stamp duties; none in the post office; none in the assessed taxes. On the contrary, each had increased. The only falling off had been in the excise duties, which Mr. Foster ascribed to the measure of prohibiting distilleries in Ireland. By removing the cause, the defalcation would be made good. The situation of the country was, certainly, not in any degree worse than before. The value of the exports and imports was greater than it ever had been. Never had there been so great a quantity of yards of linen exported as last year, with the exception of one year a considerable time ago, when it was equalled. It was satisfactory to know, that while the trade of Ireland was thus increasing, the amount of the revenue had

risen much more. The state of the Irish exchange had been such as to shew that money was coming in, instead of going out, having been for almost the whole of last year, under par. Ireland was more affluent than she had ever been heretofore. The increase of the debt had been owing only to the circumstances of the empire for the last two years; and therefore it was thought more prudent to go on raising the quota of the Irish nation by a debt, than to have raised it by additional taxes. The whole amount of the debt of Ireland was certainly stupendous, it being already no less than seventy-six millions of money, and, at the end of the present session of parliament, it would amount to eighty-one millions—a system under which many thought in former days, Ireland could not have existed. Great attention had been paid to the amelioration of Ireland, by the extension of its trade, and the improvement of its agriculture. By the bounty allowed, there had been thirteen thousand six hundred additional hogsheads of flaxseed brought into Ireland. Bogs had been drained and improved.—Mr. Foster, before concluding, mentioned the terms on which the Irish loan had been contracted. Although the legal interest of Ireland was £6, the loan had been contracted at an interest not exceeding in all £4 13s. 0½d. a circumstance which shewed the affluence of the country. The whole charge of interest and sinking fund did not exceed the sum of £5 17s. 0½d. per cent. upon the whole of the debt so incurred.—Mr. Foster concluded with moving



ing, " That the sum of £1,250,000, Irish currency, be raised by way of annuities for the service of Ireland.

Sir John Newport wished that Mr. Foster's taxes might prove more productive than he could conceive them likely to be. He had one thing to impress upon the minds of the committee, which was, that it was perfectly immaterial what portion of gross revenue was to be raised upon the people, and paid to the treasury, if the expences of the different boards were allowed to go on increasing, as they had done hitherto. What follows calls loudly for serious attention.—Sir John Newport observed, that the incidental expences of the board of excise, in 1806, amounted to £13,000; in 1807, to £36,400; and in 1808, to £104,000; of which last sum there was no less than £29,000 paid to one individual for printing and stationary. This was only aggravating the burthens of the people, without raising any additional public revenue. The gross produce of the stamp duties had increased by £66,000; but there was a defalcation of no less than £44,000 for increased expences. In the post office, too, the expences were on the increase to such a degree, as to suggest the idea, that the nominal addition to the revenue was intended for the purpose of creating jobs, and adding to the burthens, rather than for the good of the public. It was lamentable to look at the funded debt of Ireland. This debt had increased in the proportion of 15 to 4, while the revenue had increased only in the propor-

tion of 15 to 8½. If the debt of Ireland was raised, like the debt of England, within the country, sir John Newport really thought that a great part of that debt would be done away.

Mr. Foster, with regard to the post office accounts, said, that they never had been settled, since post offices were established. And, as to the expence of the stationary and printing alluded to, it was occasioned by the division of the board of excise into two, by which a completely new collection of books had become necessary.—That the expence should increase, it was natural to suppose, as there were fourteen commissioners instead of seven. The new arrangement of the post office must also have occasioned considerable additions to the incidental expences, but the public would soon be able to reap the benefit of them.

Mr. Parnell observed, that the nett addition to the revenue by the post office, had been stated at £68,000. But he had found, on enquiry, that the postage of one board amounted to £13,000. Now, if each board increased their expences in a like proportion, the aggregate expence would amount to £39,000, leaving the 29,000, to be received by the public. He could not help thinking, that the great principle of the revenue of Ireland was overlooked in the desire of extensive patronage, by the appointment of officers, so as to deprive the Irish treasury board of its power, and placing it in the hands of the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant. He was satisfied, that until an alteration in this particular took place, and the treasury board



board of Ireland should either take an efficient part, or be abolished altogether, and these matters of revenue be put under the treasury of this country (England) entirely, the abuses would never be remedied.

The resolutions respecting ways and means, moved by Mr. Foster, were then severally put and agreed to, and afterwards, in the form of bills, passed into laws.

Under the head of finance, in the present brief sketch of national affairs, it is proper to arrange the proceedings of the house of commons on the fourth report of the committee of public expenditure: a document of extreme interest and importance, as tending to illustrate the various ways in which losses may accrue to the public from the negligence of government; the injury done to the cause of patriotism and virtue in general by hypocrisy; and the base arts by which low and unprincipled men may insinuate themselves into the favour of a minister, and obtain offices of great trust as well as emolument, and confiding, on too just a calculation, on ministerial favour and forbearance, go on for a long series of years to plunder the property of the public, and thereby to press down and aggravate the heavy load of taxation on the uninformed, though suspecting people. While this document tends to shew the supineness and connivance, which ministers are apt to extend to their creatures and partizans at the public expence, it is a strong testimonial to the well-di-

rected patriotism of the administration by whom the financial committee was instituted.

House of Commons, May the 1st. The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure being entered as read,\* on the motion of Mr. Ord, that gentleman rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to the matters detailed in that report: which were such as to call for the most serious attention of the house. It had been too much the practice he observed, to pass over such reports without doing any thing upon them; by which means, the labours of committees of this kind were in danger of losing their credit with the public. Parliament had, for many years past, and was likely to have for many years to come, the task of imposing enormous taxes on the country, therefore there was no duty of the house of commons more sacred than that of watching over the expenditure of the public money. Mr. Ord then proceeded to state from the report, that commissioners had been appointed in 1795 to manage, sell, and dispose of the cargoes of Dutch ships, detained or brought in, in order to prevent those cargoes from being greatly injured, or totally destroyed. They had general instructions as to the conduct of their transactions from the lords of the privy council, requiring them to keep minutes of all their proceedings, and to keep their accounts in such form as the lords commissioners of the treasury should direct and approve; and in case of points of any difficulty occurring, they were to refer to the

\* See the Report in Appendix to Chronicle, p. 496.



committee of the privy council for instructions. These commissioners were five in number—James Crawford, John Breckwood, Allen Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and JOHN BOWLES! a *member of the society for the suppression of vice*, or rather, as appeared from the report, of pilfering from the public. Their sales ceased, and their transactions were brought nearly to a close in 1799. Nothing remained after that period but small sales of remnants, not completed till 1801, and a few other things which would scarcely give the least trouble. To these small views, however, was to be added an important law suit commenced in 1797, which brought into question property to the amount of £180,000. But it was obvious that the burthen of this law suit must fall on the solicitors and counsel. As no fixed remuneration had been assigned to the commissioners, these gentlemen resolved to remunerate themselves, and charged a commission of 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, which commission, in the four first years, amounted in all to £80,000. No regular accounts were furnished to government. And criminal as this was in the commissioners, Mr. Ord could not help saying, that the government was far more criminal in not calling for them. Only one account was rendered to the privy council, and in this it was remarkable that no mention was made of commission, which omission the committee observed, might lead the privy council to imagine that no commission was charged, although, at that time £25,000 had actually been divided. But the commissioners had good reason for not rendering

any account, because accounts might lead to the suppression of their illegal profits. This was a most extraordinary thing, Mr. Ord observed, considering the noise which Mr. John Bowles had made about false returns to the property tax. It would be curious to know what returns John himself had made to the property tax at the time he was receiving this large profit from his labour. The act authorizing the appointment of these commissioners required, that the proceeds of the sales should be paid into the bank of England. But instead of this the commissioners had opened accounts with private bankers. It was singular that a lawyer should lead them to a violation of the law, and that the merchants who were in the commission should state a false account of commission as consistent with the general practice in mercantile transactions.

Mr. Ord next adverted to the magnitude of the cash balances returned by the commissioners; and he particularly called the attention of the house to the fact, that Mr. Pitt had, in 1796, applied to them to know, whether any sum arising from the sale of property under their management, would be paid into the exchequer for the service of the current year. They denied that they could pay any thing into the exchequer, although it appeared they had in their hands a balance of £190,000: out of which though they had great demands upon them at the time it was proved, the committee observed, they might have advanced, at the least £50,000. The commissioners, instead of applying the balances in their hands, during the  
years



years that preceded the completion of her sales, in a way that might render them productive to the public, had employed them in discounting private bills for their own emolument. If these balances had been vested in exchequer bills between 40 and £50,000, would have been saved to the public.

The next point in the misconduct of the commissioners to which Mr. Ord adverted, was, that by the commission at 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds, by brokerage and interest on the balances, it appeared, the commissioners had taken for their labours the enormous sum of £193,198, being at the rate of £26,000 for each commissioner.

Mr. Ord farther pointed out a circumstance which seemed to have escaped the attention of the committee, namely, that the commissioners appeared to have charged the 5 per cent. commission on the property which had been managed and sold by the East India company, in the management of which they had been at no trouble whatever: so that, in point of fact, a commission of 10 per cent. had been paid on much the largest proportion of this property, inasmuch as the East India company had also a commission of 5 per cent. on their sales. Some of the commissioners were themselves merchants, and must have known that the highest commission among merchants, on the gross proceeds is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. What are the real services of these commissioners? Their sales had been finished in four years and a half from the time of their appointment, and the important part of their labours had of course then

closed. Though they were retained *nominally*, as the law suit had commenced in their names, in point of fact, during the ten years the commission lasted after the completion of the business, the gentlemen found time enough to do a great deal of other business. This same John Bowles had been active in several elections which had since taken place, and had time besides to write about thirty pamphlets about religion, morality, loyalty, and the duty of contributing faithfully and accurately to the property tax. Mr. Breckwood, too, appeared by the report to be at this moment a commissioner for the Spanish property. Two of the commissioners pleaded that they had quitted their professions with a view to the fulfilment of their trust. This was not the first time that professions were abandoned for something better. Another honourable gentleman whom he did not see in his place, (Mr. R. Ward) had also quitted his profession for a salary of £1000 a year as a lord of the admiralty. This brought into view another case adverted to in the report, which appeared to him to be a most palpable job, namely, that of Mr. Thomas Macdonald, who got £5000 for abandoning his profession to become an American commissioner, and that in addition to a salary of £1,500 per annum; when many thousands of persons could have been procured to execute the same commission as well for the same salary. Mr. John Bowles, too, must have a consideration for abandoning his profession, and the house had no difficulty to appreciate the means he had employed for obtaining it. Mr. John Bowles was to be compensated



sated for the loss of a profession at which he might have starved! Mr. Bowles had discovered that it was much more profitable to trade in anti-jacobinism under Mr. Pitt, than to wait for causes at the bar. Mr. Ord was sorry to detain the house with such a man as Mr. Bowles: but it happened that his career was connected with some very important points. It shewed the nature of the cry of anti-jacobinism, which had been set up with so much vigour to defeat the most beneficial political objects. It exposed the principle upon which the loudest of those anti-jacobin declaimers acted, which was solely a view to their own private emolument. This John Bowles afforded an admirable specimen of an anti-jacobin—the eulogist of existing powers—the defender of present establishments—the denouncer of all who might condemn abuses, or call for reform, as vile jacobins. These tricks would no longer impose upon the public. The mystery was discovered. John Bowles himself let out the secret, and the reign of imposture and delusion was at an end. This transaction afforded a useful lesson to all governments on the point of bestowing important pecuniary trusts on low persons, having no merit to recommend them but the circumstance of their being mercenary authors. If governments would employ such persons, they must share in the disgrace brought on by their conduct. The employment of such men was a bounty on roguery, and an encouragement of abuses. Negligence in the selection of proper agents, and a profligate profusion in the public expenditure, had ever been the pe-

culiar characteristic of the administration under which these commissioners had been appointed.

Before he should conclude he had a few words to add upon the mode of keeping the accounts of the commissioners. Mr. Rose had stated in his evidence before the committee that they were to be referred from the treasury to the auditors of the public accounts; in which he appeared to have been incorrect. Mr. Huskinson admitted that they were to be delivered in to be passed at the treasury. Now, said Mr. Ord, most unquestionably the treasury was the last place to which he should consent to send the accounts of so *loyal* a man as Mr. John Bowles to be audited and passed; because it was not impossible but he might have friends there, who might not be very strict in the examination and sifting of his accounts. And, besides, the treasury had not power to examine upon oath. If he was rightly informed, the accounts sent in on one day were commonly passed on the next day. In the resolutions which he meant to propose, he should introduce one directing that the accounts should be sent to the auditors of the public accounts. As to the proportion of remuneration to the commissioners, the question could not well be brought before the house till the accounts of the commissioners should be passed. He did not include in the resolutions he meant to propose, one for directing a criminal prosecution against the commissioners by the attorney-general, because he understood that a doubt was entertained whether they were liable to such a prosecution. Mr. Ord concluded



cluded with moving the following resolutions.

1. That it appears to this house, that to commit pecuniary trusts to any persons whatever, without providing any check upon their proceedings, without calling for any regular or periodical accounts, and without settling, during a long course of years, the mode or amount of their remuneration, is a neglect which must inevitably lead to the most prejudicial consequences, and a violation of the most essential duty of government.

2. That such neglect and deviation have been proved to exist, and might have been attended with material loss to the public.

3. That the commissioners upon Dutch property have been guilty of gross misconduct in violating the act under which they were appointed, and appropriating to their own use, without authority, sums for which they ought to have accounted to the public.

4. That the accounts of the commissioners be referred to the auditors of public accounts, to be examined.

5. That all consideration of the remuneration to be allowed to the commissioners ought to be deferred till their accounts are finally settled.

On the question being put on the first resolution, Mr. H. Thornton felt it necessary as chairman of the committee who had made the report, to state that he most cordially concurred in every part of the report. The remuneration to the commissioners as recommended in the report by the committee was now £10,000, no very inadequate compensation for the light business they had to perform. But this re-

muneration would be still farther reduced, by the sums the commissioners would have to refund by an act of parliament, as interest on the sums kept at private bankers, or otherwise withheld from the public. The committee had stated its opinion with respect to the duty of government, which was in substance precisely the same, and conceived in the same words with Mr. Ord's first resolution. But Mr. Thornton acknowledged a distinction between commissioners such as these, and a government. If the commissioners neglected the business to which they were appointed, their neglect must be wilful, and consequently highly criminal. But the members of a government had various other important functions to attend to. Besides, successive governments might not always be aware of the views of their predecessors. And even the secretary of the treasury has so much other business to attend to, that he might inadvertently omit some part of his duty. Upon these grounds he considered the neglect of the government, and the neglect of the commissioners as meriting different proportions of blame.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that when gentlemen considered that it was only on the 25th of March that the report had been presented to the house; that some delay had taken place in the printing of it; and that it was not in the hands of gentlemen until within a fortnight of the time when the notice was given, they would not think it surprising that no measures had been taken by the treasury before the notice of this motion. The treasury, however, had applied



applied to the committee of the privy council, to call upon these commissioners to give in their accounts to the treasury, to be then transferred to the auditors of public accounts to be passed. Upon the whole, he did not think that any practical convenience could result from the adoption of the resolutions proposed. And certainly he was not more to blame than the noble lord (Petty) who had preceded him in office. But in fact neither was to be blamed. The effect of a general vote of censure on all the successive governments since the institution of these commissioners, would fall entirely on the present government. Seeing therefore that the act which had been in operation for the last four years provided for the effectual check of these accounts, and that the business was now in train to be fully and finally settled, the house, he was confident, would not think it necessary to entertain the resolutions. And he hoped that Mr. Ord himself would withdraw his motion. But if he should not, it was Mr. Perceval's intention to move the previous question upon his resolutions.

Sir John Newport said, that if there ever had been an instance of malversation of trust, it was that now under discussion. If such malproceeds, when proved incontestibly, should not be marked by the severest censure of that house, it would be an encouragement to corruption. The conduct of the commissioners was aggravated by the manner in which they had given their evidence before the committee. On their examination they gave amended and explanatory answers to the ques-

tions which were put to them, but which in fact amounted to nothing more than gross prevarication, and a direct falsification of their former testimony. Within the first year of their existence they had lodged £850,000 in the hand of their private bankers, though during that period, not a farthing had been paid by them into the bank of England. And within the three last years, the whole sum lodged in the bank of England amounted to only £90,000. He should support the resolutions. But whatever might be the fate of these, he should afterwards move for an address to his majesty, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute these commissioners for malversation in their trust.

Mr. Rose said that if any blame was to be imputed in the present matter, it must undoubtedly be to that government by which they were appointed. But the act appointing them required them to produce their accounts *when called for*, and to take their instructions from the privy council. As to their remuneration his idea was, that it should be fixed when their business should be completed. Mr. Rose said that to him personally blame was to be imputed if it was imputable to any one. But as to what had been stated about a supposed leaning towards one of the commissioners, Mr. John Bowles, he did not so much as know that man's person, nor had he ever read any of his pamphlets, though he allowed that they were laid regularly upon his table. As to the neglect that had taken place of not paying attention to the production to the proceedings of the Dutch



Dutch commissioners, it might happen, in the hurry of business, to any government.

Mr. Whitbread began an animated and severe invective against the negligence of government, and the criminality of the commissioners, with the following striking procemium. "A great smoke has long issued from the office of the Dutch commissioners. Persons have often said that the Dutch commission was a great job, and that if enquired into, it would be found so. But no mortal alive ever expected to find such a blazing fire as that which is now known to have been so long burning in Broad Street." Mr. Whitbread painted in lively colours the rapacity of the Dutch commissioners, their gross extortion, their prevarications, and their matchless impudence in attempting to set up a kind of defence of their misconduct, and even in canvassing the members of that house for their votes and interest. He was not acquainted with any of those commissioners personally. One of them however was sufficiently known to the public, Mr. John Bowles, a series of years, as a writer by profession, in high repute, of great estimation; a man receiving the reward of his literary labours; an unblemished servant of the public; a

person who was writing to accuse others of not having made just and proper returns of their incomes upon which the tax might be levied, holding his head high in society; the censor of morals; and unsuspected of such a flagitious course of conduct against the public as had now come to light. Those were piping times with the anti-jacobins. One was fighting his way up to be an ambassador; another was preparing to govern the country in the shape of a secretary of state; and Mr. John Bowles\*, their associate, who prepared the heavier parts of the composition, while the budding diplomatist and secretary were relaxing from their severer studies, in these humorous political effusions, which adorn the page of the anti-jacobin, was reclining in the dignity of his office in Broad-street, and launching forth his anathemas against all those who opposed that administration, which had so amply rewarded his past, and secured his future labours. Mr. Whitbread, with a feeling in which all honest men must fully sympathize with him, exulted not only in the detection of Mr. Bowles, but over the disappointment and chagrin that must be felt by that man. He would not, like the Athenian mentioned by Horace, have the satisfaction of

\* Mr. Bowles before he was appointed a Dutch commissioner was, as we believe he now is, a commissioner of Bankrupts; a place conferred on him by Mr. Pitt, on account of a pamphlet he had written against Tom Paine's Age of Reason. He wrote a great number of pamphlets on the "Political and Moral State of Society," and others, pretty much in the same strain, but under other titles. He was commonly called, by way of irony, by those who knew him, the Rev. Mr. Bowles. He had the most efficient hand in the establishment of the WEEKLY ANTIJACOBIN NEWSPAPER. The principal conductors and contributors, however, were Mr. Canning, Mr. George Ellis, and Mr. John Hookham Frere. Mr. Bowles was the most zealous member of the society for the suppression of vice, and a justice of the peace for Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex.

contemplating



contemplating his money in his chest as a salve for the ridicule of the populace\*: for he was persuaded he would be made to refund the uttermost farthing. A discovery so rare, and in all its circumstances so amusing, as the frauds and hypocrisy of John Bowles, had not been made since the moment when the philosopher Square was discovered in Miss Seagrim's garret. Mr. Whitbread concluded with reading several passages from the voluminous writings of Mr. Bowles in recommendation of morality and religion, in the last quoted of which passages Mr. Bowles says, "that these primary causes of corruption (which he had stated) operate in a most alarming manner in this country. At home, it is impossible to deny, that an inordinate love of pleasure, and an insatiable lust of gain, have produced an alarming indifference to every relative duty, and to every social feeling; a sensible increase of fraud, perfidy, knavery, and speculation, and a rapid approach to that state of selfishness, which involves a total disregard for the rights and advantages of others." The following (said Mr. Whitbread), which are the last words of the sentence, I cannot but suppose he amply feels, and that "by a just retribution" he has "completely sacrificed his own felicity."

Mr. Huskinson said that the Dutch commissioners were parliamentary commissioners. When the immense increase of business in the treasury, since 1793, was consi-

dered, and the inadequacy of the number of persons allotted to transact that business, it would appear morally impossible that some things should not escape attention. Thus Mr. Huskinson endeavoured to defend the treasury. But neither Mr. Huskinson nor any one else attempted to defend the conduct of the Dutch commissioners. Mr. Ponsonby produced some passages from the writings of Mr. Bowles, by which he was self-condemned, more forcibly and directly, if possible, than by those quoted by Mr. Whitbread. Mr. John Bowles, it was said, had published thirty-two pamphlets. Mr. Ponsonby had seen one of them, and as the title was tempting he had looked into it. It was termed "A Moral View of Society at the End of the eighteenth Century." And happy should he have been if at any time he could have presumed to possess that pure morality it professed to inculcate. Among the passages quoted by Mr. Ponsonby is the following: "A more convincing proof can hardly be conceived of the disregard of our duty than the growth of speculation; and that, so far from rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, every person must be shocked at the gross defalcations which every where come within their view." Again, "Nothing can, without a sense of religious duties, get the better of temptation." It was clear, Mr. Ponsonby observed, that whatever might be the case of the other commissioners, this gentleman, was, at least,

\* ——— At mihi plaudo  
Ipse domi simul ac cerno Nummos in Arca.



not ignorant of the public duties imposed upon him by his situation.

Mr. *H. Thornton*, in order to obviate the objections to the several resolutions moved by Mr. Ord, proposed to consolidate them into one, and in such terms as should meet with general approbation. The resolution which he intended to substitute for the whole five was as follows: "that the commissioners appointed in the year 1795 for the disposal of captured Dutch property, taking advantage of the *neglect* of the government to enquire into their proceedings, have, without authority, appropriated to their own use large and unreasonable profits; that they have privately taken interest on large balances of money, which ought to have been lodged in the bank of England; that they have refrained from giving correct and explicit information respecting the interest so taken to the committee appointed for enquiring into the public expenditure; and that they had been guilty of a great violation of public duty."

Mr. Ord declared his intention of taking the sense of the house on all his resolutions. The house then divided upon the first resolution, when there appeared—

For the first resolution 77.

Against it 102.

The other resolutions were withdrawn, and Mr. Thornton's resolution adopted, after a division upon the question for substituting the word *omission* for neglect.

For the original resolution 78.

For the amendment 98.

The word *omission* it seems was thought less severe on ministry than neglect. But in fact the

charge of *neglect* was less than that of omission. For whereas negligence argues only a want of due attention, and not any intentional breach of duty; omission carries in it, or may be supposed to carry, the idea of a *voluntary forbearance* to perform a duty.

House of Commons, June 20.—

Mr. Vansittart, in the course of a speech of great length, said, that at the time when, in stating the financial arrangement of the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer disclosed his intention of charging the greatest part of the interest on the loan on the war taxes, he felt and intimated that it would be impossible for him to acquiesce in such an arrangement without remonstrance. But, on some occasions, when the subject might have been proposed he was prevented from attending by private circumstances. And he also felt that considerable advantages would attend the mode of proceeding he had now adopted. If he had *opposed* the bill for charging the war tax with the loan, and that with much more ability and eloquence than belonged to him, it might have been difficult for the right honourable gentleman, even if he had seen the force of his arguments, to have agreed to his conclusions. After having intimated in the speech from the throne, and deliberately proposed in his budget, that no new taxes should be brought forward for the service of the year, he might not have easily persuaded the country to acquiesce in the imposition of taxes which might be found burthensome; and which his proposed measures had shewn to have been, in his opinion, unnecessary



unnecessary and inexpedient. But he hoped that by adopting the present mode of proceeding, and entering on a discussion not immediately connected with any practical measure, but rather in the nature of an historical review of measures already past, though recent, they should reason with cooler minds, and be much more likely to agree in a result which might at least prevent the repetition of any injurious practices, if not lead to an immediate remedy of mischiefs already effected. Having given a brief sketch of the resources, income, and expenditure of this country, and of the history of taxation from the commencement of the present war in 1793, Mr. Vansittart said, "let me not be misunderstood as being the advocate of excessive or unlimited taxation: I am aware that all taxation is in itself an evil. And I can conceive many circumstances under which I should think the chancellor of the exchequer had acted in the present instance with prudence and judgment." Some of these imaginary cases he stated. But, leaving to the defenders of this measure of saddling the war taxes with the interests of the loan, Mr. Vansittart proceeded to state a few of the numerous objections which induced him to condemn it. In the first place it was a weak and delusive resource which would be speedily exhausted. Secondly, this diversion of the war taxes from the purposes for which they were originally granted by parliament, must occasion a continual and progressive increase of the difficulty of raising the supplies. Thirdly, judging from every circumstance

within our knowledge, and unless a state of things wholly dissimilar from what now exists should take place, our peace establishment must so far exceed whatever had hitherto been known in this country, as to require, in addition to the ordinary revenue, the continuance of as large a portion of the war taxes as could be deemed proper to be supported during peace. The truth of each of these propositions Mr. Vansittart illustrated. It was an objection not less important, though of a totally different nature from any of the preceding, that the system of finance pursued this year, had the strongest possible tendency to encourage prodigality in the public expenditure. It was not less true in public than in private economy, that what is easily acquired is often needlessly spent. It was also the natural bias of every department, and might even proceed from laudable though inconsiderate zeal for the public good, to draw to itself as large a portion of the supplies as possible. If this was not checked (as he feared it could not at present be) by a firm and overruling control at the treasury, it naturally led to a wasteful and indefinite expence. "We are very apt, said Mr. Vansittart, to regard the war taxes simply in the light of a great additional burden; and as such they certainly are felt at first; but it is time to consider them in another point of view, and to compare them with the pecuniary burthens from which they had preserved us." After taking such a comparative view, and shewing the advantages of Mr. Pitt's system of war taxes, Mr. Vansittart said, "such have been the ef-



fects of the system which the chancellor of the exchequer had this year forsaken and impaired: a system sanctioned by general approbation, and proved by experience to be solid, wise, and economical. It has indeed required many sacrifices, and may require more: but it is a most dangerous delusion to suppose that great achievements may be performed, without great exertions. If we cannot reduce our expences to our income, we must raise our income in proportion to our expences." Mr. Vansittart concluded with moving a series of resolutions, to the number of thirty-eight, relating to public debt, expenditure, and revenue, the object of which was to shew that, under all the difficulties under which we had been placed, our resources were adequate to every exertion we should be called upon to make for the defence, independence, and honour of the country. These resolutions were agreed to unanimously.

House of Commons, March 21.

—Sir Charles Pole rose in pursuance of the notice he had given, to call the attention of the house to the last report of the commissioners of naval revision. By references to the documents in the reports of the several commissioners named by that house, or specially appointed by government, it would be seen that complaints of the arrears of accounts in the civil department of the navy had been most loud; and that hitherto no regulations had been adopted for curing the increasing evil. The commissioners appointed in 1786, in their ninth report, after shewing the many frauds and abuses which required the superintendence of abi-

lity, experience, and professional knowledge say, "such circumstances and facts as have come to our knowledge appear to us to be so replete with fraud and abuse, as to require the adoption of the most decisive measures that can be suggested for their prevention in future." And again, "when the immense sums which were paid, during the last war, are considered, and such abuses adverted to, it justified the most alarming apprehensions with respect to the administration and application of the national property". It was these observations, coupled with any little knowledge he might have on the subject, that had induced him to read the tenth report now on the table with much attention. Having done so, it would be sufficient for him to lay before the house briefly the state of the imprests out standing as well as every other arrear of office. After which, he should hope to prevail on the house to agree with him in the resolutions which he should offer to them in the words of the commissioners of naval revision.

The first statement of arrears of accounts is dated the 9th of December, 1806. The unsettled cash account then amounted to the enormous sum of £10,985,100 1s. 8½d. Commission agents in arrear to the amount of £2,740,883 in May, 1806, and four of these accounts with one house, Messrs. Jourdain, Shaw, and Co. £2,003,673. Foreign agents' cash accounts in arrear the 9th of December, 1806, to the amount of £6,554,922 17s. These accounts embraced a period of twenty-seven years. Mr. Cuthbert's accounts ending in March 1785, amounted to £1,024,526.

Strange



Strange to say, but it was true, and proved the necessity of the resolution he was about to propose, these accounts were not settled until twenty-two years after they were closed. The honourable Basil Cochrane's accounts involving the sum of £1,418, not settled accounts had been eighteen, and part of them twenty years ready for the board's decision, and not yet passed. Between the period of the 19th of December, 1806, and the 18th of May, 1807, six cash accounts had been passed, which reduced the imprests to £9,486,825 9s. 8d. exclusive of about 177 uncleared imprests, or promiscuous accounts of old dates from 1774 to December, 1791. There were foreign agents' store accounts in arrear from 1779. Home agents and store keepers' store accounts in arrear from 1785. It also appeared that store accounts had been ready for the board's decision from seventeen to twenty years, and not yet passed. There were additional arrears of these accounts at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Dover, Cork, and Yarmouth. Sir Charles Pole having thus stated the arrears of accounts in the victualling office, submitted to the house in the words of the commissioners, the following resolution: "that this house is of opinion, that neither of the plans recommended by the commissioners of naval revision in their tenth report, nor any other, will be attended with any material good unless all the members of the victualling board be men of real ability, professional knowledge, and uninterrupted industry; and unless, as recommended in their first report, repeated in their second, and again

enforced in the tenth, in the choice of them no other circumstance should be regarded than that of their being the fittest men that could be found for the execution of the various duties they are to undertake."

Mr. R. Ward said, that the true object of the honourable baronet's motion was to cast an indirect censure on the board of admiralty. There could be no other motive than this for wishing now to enter upon the journals of the house, a resolution, the truth of which no man could deny, and which was the very ground laid for what the present board of admiralty had done towards the very system of reform in the naval civil department now urged by the honourable baronet. The motion went to charge the admiralty with blame without any single argument to support it. He was therefore compelled to move the previous question. The chancellor of the exchequer spoke to the same effect. Mr. Bastard observed that the commissioners of naval enquiry had said, many reports had been made relative to the conduct of the victualling board, but not one had been acted upon. Mr. Wellesley Pole stated, that the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, having in view the very paragraph in the report now under consideration, had actually called for his naval advisers for the express purpose of recommending the fittest persons to fill those stations, and that they had done so accordingly under the very terms of the report. These appointments took place in December last. The old arrear had amounted to upwards of £11,000,000, and a million and a half had accumulated since the tenth report: notwithstanding



withstanding which, no accumulation had been suffered since the appointments. And, in addition to this, no less a sum than £6,000,000, since the new appointments, had been investigated and settled. Under these circumstances, he should vote for the previous question. Mr. Peter Moore defended the course pursued by his honourable friend (sir C. Pole). It was consistent with the general tenour of his public exertions, in bringing before that house abuses, which, if suffered to continue, must prove detrimental to the best interests of the country. It was not as a dead letter that he wished the laborious investigation of the commissioners to lie on the table. He desired to carry them into effect; to let the people enjoy the benefit of such labours, by the operation of the different remedies which were recommended. Besides, the house should recollect, that to this department the utmost parliamentary vigilance ought to be directed, that there was in the public arrears of this board, £11,600,000, unaccounted for. Admiral Markham agreed to the proposition of his honourable friend, which, he thought, should be inserted in the journals.

Sir C. Pole said, that he had no other object in proposing that measure, than the public service.

He aimed at no individual. He did not wish to cast the slightest censure upon any one. But he thought, that what he had proposed was a measure by which the house might shew to the country its intention of acting upon the reformations recommended. He thought he was right in his object. However, if the house were inclined to negative his motion, he would not push it to the vote.—The previous question being then put, it was carried without a division.

Though no resolutions were moved in parliament on the reports of the commissioners of military enquiry, they ought not to be passed over, even in a brief sketch of British history of the year, unnoticed. The last of these reports noticed in our annals was the third, relating to the peculations and frauds of Mr. Alexander Davison, banker and colonel of a regiment of volunteers, made early in the session of parliament, 1807.\* Of the reports that have been made since, our particular attention is summoned to the seventh and the ninth. From the seventh report, it appears, that so far back as 1796, an office, unsanctioned by parliament, and unknown to the legislature, was added to the regular war department, for the purpose of inspecting and regulating

\* See volume for that year (XLIX) HIST. EUR. p. 101. Alexander Davison and John Bowles, were louder than any other men, in their professions of loyalty; thinking that loyalty, like charity, would cover a multitude of sins. They seem to have entertained a worse opinion of their superiors than they really deserved; and to trust that, at the worst, government would protect, by their powerful influence, in some shape or other, men of such signal loyalty. Nay, it is probable, they might think ministers would not see any thing very heinous in the misconduct of such attached partizans: on the same principle that some religious fanatics are persuaded, that "God sees no sin in the elect."



the accounts of foreign corps in the British service. This department was continued, at a considerable expence, till the peace of 1802, when it was suppressed. On the commencement of the present war, it was re-established; and it was then expressly stated that it bore the same relation to the foreign corps, as that which is transacted in the war-office, bears to British corps. The person who was at the head of the department while abroad, as the agent for foreign corps, did not send home any estimate to justify his bills, nor even state the balances which he held in his hands. In short, in the words of the commissioners, "Those checks and precautions, which are usually adopted in the cases of officers entrusted with such large powers of money transactions, were not observed in his case." And how were these accounts audited? a person who held no situation whatever, in any branch of the war-office, to whom no powers or instructions were regularly or officially given, but merely verbal authority from Mr. Windham, at that time secretary of state for the war department, composed the vouchers with the expenditure of the agent's accounts. And the certificate of this person, thus irregularly appointed, and who could not be presumed to have any sense of public duty, or apprehension of responsibility, uninstructed in the duties of his situation, and having executed these duties in the most inaccurate and slovenly manner, was the ground of all the agent's final discharges. Many other instances of the grossest misconduct, to use the mildest term, in this

seventh report of the military commissioners, were laid open. Through the hands of one man, an army agent for foreign corps, there passed, in the course of seven years, the sum of £1,524,630. When he resigned his situation, he was allowed to retain five-sixths of the balance of public money; and when called upon to produce his documents, he replied, that many payments were made by him under either *verbal* or *implied* authorities from the war-office; for many of which irregular payments he afterwards received *covering* letters from the same office. Another agent was permitted to keep an untouched balance of £4,000 for years unmentioned, though, at the beginning of every quarter, he was in the practice of delivering in estimates, upon which additional sums were issued.—The committee conclude their report, with strongly recommending and urging the discontinuance of the foreign department in the war office, and with suggesting the necessity of various prospective regulations.

From the ninth report it appeared, that in consequence of the indubitable and confessed insufficiency of the auditors of public accounts in the year 1800, a commission was appointed to enquire into abuses in the West Indies. So far back as the year 1791, a regular and unchecked system of peculation, carried on in the most unblushing manner, was stated to have been established. In the space of nine years, from 1791 to 1800, only a few thousand pounds were wrested from the peculators, and restored to the public.

From the official return made to parliament, of the arrears of pub-



lic accounts, it appears, that the unexamined accounts of expenditure in St. Domingo alone, before the West India Commissioners, reach the enormous amount of seven millions seven hundred thousand pounds; and that this sum was expended in less than four years, on a few spots of an island in ruins, under circumstances of a very suspicious nature, fourteen years ago.

It appears from the ninth report of the commissioners, that in the year 1791, a deputy pay-master-general was appointed for the West Indies, with express orders to proceed thither, and with clear, positive, and well-defined directions in what manner to execute the duties of his office. These directions he scarcely in one instance obeyed. Instead of acting himself, he appointed, as his deputies, a succession of persons, who derived gain from the public money in every possible way: of which sum, the pay-master-general received a moiety at one period secured to him by a regular indenture. Public bills to the amount of about £165,000 were remitted by those who acted for the pay-master, either for the purpose of supplying funds for mercantile pursuits, for drawing private bills with advantage, or for speculations of some other nature. And the loss upon these bills so remitted for private use, was uniformly charged to the public. The commissariat department did not yield to the preceding, in the systematic nature, or extent of its peculations. The agents of the commissary-general were proved to be in the habit of applying to the merchants, to grant them receipts to vouchers

for articles which they had never supplied. By one transaction, in which the age and quality of the rum bought for the use of the troops, as well as the real price of it, and the names of the persons who actually sold it, are different from what the vouchers represent, the public are stated in the report to have been defrauded of nearly £10,000. And yet, in this and similar transactions, in the words of the commissioners, "the vouchers appear to have gone through the form of a certificate signed by the commissary of accounts."

In one of the reports of the West India commissioners we find the following summary of the conduct of Valentine Jones. "It appears to us that Valentine Jones very early framed and established, by means of combinations and intricacies almost impervious, an over-ruling and highly injurious influence over the whole transactions of the public, connected with the pay and extraordinaries of the army, in this part of the world. This influence was disseminated in various directions through every branch of the department, and embraced persons of even the lowest description employed therein. And this influence matured into a far-extended system, produced an immediate loss and injury almost incalculable; and its remote consequences have been little less prejudicial by furnishing examples and precedents that are to be clearly traced since that period in nearly all transactions of a similar description."

When the commission of 1800 was appointed, it was expressly declared, that the principal reason  
for



for transferring the examination of West India accounts from the audit office to the commission, was, the necessity of inquiry and investigation on the spot, which the auditors were unable to effect. It was also declared to be temporary and directed to a specific object. Yet, notwithstanding the avowal of these plain grounds for its original establishment, another commission of much greater extent, and attended with much greater expence, had been formed, the greater part of which, with a large establishment, is fixed in London; and seems, from the report of the military commissioners, to have no other employment than that of receiving, and transmitting to the lords of the treasury the reports they received from their colleagues in the West Indies. As the whole of the ninth report of the commissioners of military inquiry refers to the acts of the first commission, it appears that the practice or system of speculation in the West Indies, though brought under the notice of government has not been effectually altered. Nor does government appear to have hitherto acted with any degree of vigour and efficacy, if at all, on the reports of the second commission; which burthens the nation with an annual expence of £13,000 a year.

There does not appear to be any indolence or remissness on the part of the different boards of inquiry, whose importance, continuation, or permanence, may be supposed to depend, in some measure, on their own conduct. They are diligent and active, and successful in their researches; which, if not suffered to lie as a dead let-

ter on the table of the house of commons, might conduce, in a very high degree, to the benefit of the public. If indeed the importance of such boards were to be measured by the quantum of restitution that might be extorted from speculators by force of law, they would do but very little, if any thing at all, more than repay the expence of their establishments. But they may be of infinite service in unmasking the tricks of speculators, in tracing the ease, secrecy, and safety with which they have gone on from year to year up to some specific abuse or defect in the different departments of government, and enable ministry, if they are so inclined, to new reform or new model them. They will facilitate the detection of frauds and speculation, and thus, by diminishing the chance of secrecy, lessen the number of public delinquents. Nay, if such accurate and minute reports should not be made any use of by government, still the nation will be benefited by their publication. There are few men who, for the sake of accumulating wealth, would encounter public and universal indignation, scorn, and contempt. It is in fact a desire of being the objects of attention, distinction, and of the sympathy or complacent regards of mankind, that is at the bottom of most of the cares, and the whole of the bustle of the world. It is this sense of honour and dishonour, that is, in a luxurious, corrupt, refined, and sceptical age, the grand cement of society. It pervades, in a greater or less degree, all ranks and classes. It is stronger, as well as more generally prevalent, than any practical



cal sense of duty, cultivated by the soundest and finest speculations of moral philosophers on the constitution of the human mind: stronger, for the most part, than the faith of professors of religion. How many professed Christians are there, who, for the sake of the gain to be obtained by an act of perjury, would brave all the

denounced torments of hell, and yet tremble at the apprehension of the pillory, or even of being thrust out of creditable society? It is, therefore, a duty which all writers, especially periodical writers, owe to the public, to brand, by publishing and recording, public crimes and delinquencies.



## CHAP. VI.

*Measures for the Augmentation of the Regular Army.—Militia Completion Bill—The Effects of Lord Castlereagh's Plan, for this purpose, compared with that of Mr. Windham's.—State of the Regular Army at the present moment.—Deficiency of Numbers in the Second Battalions—To Supply this deficiency, the Object of the Militia Completion Bill—This Bill Passed.—Marine Mutiny Bill.—The Corps of Marines recommended to Public Notice and Favour, by Sir Charles Pole.*

IT had been recommended, as we have seen in the speech from the throne, to both houses of parliament, to proceed with as little delay as possible, to consider of the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army. So early, therefore, as the 2d of February, lord Castlereagh rose in the House of Commons to move the order of the day, for the second reading of the militia inlistment bill. But, as this bill differed nothing in principle from the bill of last year, and as he had already given his opinion at length on its various details, he should abstain from troubling the house with a repetition of those details, and reserve himself for any objections that might be made to it.—Mr. Elliot wished to know the rate of bounties proposed by his noble friend. Lord Castlereagh answered, from six to eleven guineas. Mr. Elliot said, that this bill afforded a striking lesson to the house and the country, of the evil consequences of adopting a bad precedent. Heretofore, previously to the introduction of a similar bill, there was much of detail and preparatory communication with colonels of regiments; but the former measure of his noble

friend having been adopted, he relied that, in this too, he should be successful. His majesty's speech, at the opening of the session, certainly recommended to parliament every attention to the increase of the disposeable army of the country, that was practicable without impairing the means of home defence. But he thought it impossible to accomplish the former by means of this bill, without materially injuring the latter. He did not condemn the colonels of the regiments for their anxiety to adopt the readiest means for filling up the ranks of their corps. But he did most decidedly condemn the principles of a bill, the operation of which would inevitably tend to the dissolution of all discipline, both in the regular army and militia, as well as to the injury of morality throughout the country: for such would be the effect of high bounties, given to the recruits from the militia to the line, and to the substitutes who were to fill their places in the militia, as had been fully evinced by experience.—By the present bill, the militia officers were required to recruit at a bounty of ten guineas, for which, it was obvious, that, under the present system of bounties,



men could not be had; but then there was the expedient of a little ballot, in case the bounty should fail, to be inflicted on the county where the quota of men could not be induced to list within a given period. And then, as a remedy to the balloted men, who could not find a substitute at half price, ten guineas were to be given in aid. But this ballot, coming on the heels of that for the local militia, could not fail to create general discontent in as much as it was not a regular tax, but must weigh oppressively on individuals.—Mr. Elliot compared the effects of Lord Castlereagh's plan with that of Mr. Windham's, which proposed to recruit men for limited service, instead of service for life: a plan, the principles of which, was founded on the feelings of human nature. He was ready to admit, that, for the first four or five months it was in operation, the preference for unlimited service preponderated. But, it was a fact, that, out of 27,000 men, raised in 1807 for general service, about 19,000 were for limited service: a clear proof that, had that principle been adhered to, the country would not only have avoided all the evils experienced both by the country and the army, under the balloting system, but that the force of the line would have been increased to any extent necessary, with a saving of nearly one half of the expence.

Sir T. Turton wished to know, before he could agree to augment the disposable force, what it was intended to do with it. Unless we meant to repeat such scenes as the convention of Cintra, and the retreat in Spain, we stood in no

need of additional force. For it was childish to talk of danger of invasion with our superior navy. He objected to the measure also on the ground of its changing the constitutional principle of the militia. Mr. Bastard said, that the former measure of allowing a transfer of men from the militia to the line, had been a plentiful source of mutiny, drunkenness, and insubordination. The secretary at war said, that it might be necessary for this country, in the present circumstances of the world, to act a great part on the continent. This was to be done only by increasing the amount of the regular army. But no other means than the present for answering this purpose could be found, than a military conscription. Mr. Calcraft observed, that the papers presented last year shewed, that the army then consisted of nearly 240,000 men, while the papers then on the table shewed its present amount to be only 210,000. How had this diminution taken place? He defended and praised the military system of Mr. Windham, which had produced, while in force, a supply of nearly 24,000 men annually; a supply as great as the circumstances of the population of this country would admit of. Mr. W's. system had not had a fair trial. He did not look to our acting any great military part on the continent. This was the fourth instance in which the militia had been drafted to supply the army: a practice which had driven qualified officers out of the militia. He did not think it possible to recruit the militia by the bounty proposed by lord Castlereagh. If men were wanted for the public service, they should



should be raised at the public expence. Colonel Frankland, said, It was true, parliament was pledged to increase the military means of the country: but the question was, whether by the measures proposed, the regular army might not be increased, at the expence of our own defence. After the experience we had had, who could say that an unbalanced army was the best means of defence? Lord Castlereagh's plan of recruiting had a tendency to create disorganization and disgust in the home service, and to keep up all this when created. He praised the admirable, deeply-founded, and permanent system of Mr. Windham, and observed that it was impossible to discuss such measures as that proposed without taking a view of that system. All circumstances that bore upon the question were to be considered. And upon the whole he thought that lord C's system of expedients was the most inefficient and and burthensome that could be resorted to.

Lord Castlereagh said, that ministers, in the measures which they proposed for augmenting the army, had always two objects in view. First, to increase the disposable force; secondly, to take care that the defensive force should be so strong as that the country should not be exposed to peril from the manly exertions which his majesty's government might think it their duty to recommend for the assistance of other nations. Whatever was the present appearance of the cause of Spain, yet as the principle of increasing our disposable force was agreed to on all sides of the house,

it followed that, whether any or what portion of our army was to be sent to the assistance of Spain, was a question purely military, and only to be determined by the executive power. If ministers should afterwards appear to have given improper advice, or to have mismanaged the military means of the Country, they were subject to a heavy responsibility.—Circumstances might occur, under which it might be the duty of that house to give the most powerful assistance to the Spanish patriots. It was still his opinion, that if the Spanish people continued to display that energy which they had shewn not many months ago, struggles in that country were by no means at an end. But, if they were, did not other views, opening to the minds of honourable gentlemen, still shew the necessity of increasing our armies? Were we to suppose that no occasion could ever after occur, when they might be wanted on foreign service, or that the exertions of mankind were for ever to be tied down by the tyranny and usurpation of one individual? If no field of action presented itself in Europe, British interests might call them to the defence of another part of the world: while, at the same time, we must keep up an invincible army on our own shores to protect them from danger and insult.—As to the supposed diminution of the army, in the present year, Mr. Calcraft had fallen into a mistake; which probably arose from the artillery being included in the return of last year, who were not included in the return of the present. There were in the army, organized as it is at present, one hundred



hundred and twenty-six battalions of infantry, whose numbers exceeded six hundred, and there were fifty-six that fell short of that number. It was well known, that battalions not amounting to six hundred, were considered as inefficient, and not fit for service. If the measure proposed obtained twenty-seven thousand, it would complete all the battalions of our infantry up to nine hundred men.—Lord Castlereagh entered, now, into a comparative view of his own plan for recruiting our military force, and that of Mr. Windham: a topic become trite, though still worthy of serious consideration, by the prolonged and protracted debates on that subject in the two preceding sessions of parliament.\* On the whole, Lord C. thought it evident, that men generally preferred the unlimited to limited service. He did not, however, by any means wish to exclude men from limited service. Lord Castlereagh said, the fact was, that whatever was the system of recruiting, the country regularly produced about 1,200 men in a month. How the number came to be so exact, he could not say. But even in the halcyon days of high bounty, and no ballot, it was not found that the number of recruits exceeded the regular by a hundred, nor under any other system of recruiting did they fall short to that amount. He trusted that the house would not be discouraged by the present aspect of affairs, but that they would see the necessity of increasing rapidly our disposable force.

The earl of Temple said, that when lord Castlereagh laid his cold fingers on Mr. Windham's plan, it was producing at the rate of 24,000 men a year, instead of the 13,000 produced by lord Castlereagh's. The bill was then read a second time.

On the 14th of February, the third reading of the bill was moved by lord Castlereagh. Some new clauses were proposed by lord C. and agreed to. But upon the question being put that the bill do pass—

Lord Milton rose to object to it altogether, as being a measure introduced in direct violation of what he always understood to be the positive pledge of the noble lord on the introduction of his former bill; namely, that it was not to be adopted as a regular and permanent system, but only to be resorted to on great and urgent occasions. After so recently carrying into effect a militia ballot throughout the country, he was decidedly adverse to the resorting again to another. He could not give his support to the noble lord in coming forward year after year with a measure like this, totally subversive of the original intent and constitution of the militia, and converting it into a mere vehicle for recruiting the line. Sir George Warrender, though wishing an increase of the disposable force of the country, thought the means proposed by this bill circuitous, inefficacious, and hostile to their own operation. The bill was passed, and ordered to the lords; where the order of the day for reading it a second time was

\* See Vol. XLIX. Hist. Eur. Chap. 4. and Vol. IV. Chap. vi.

moved,



moved, February the 20th, by the earl of Liverpool; who stated, that the regular army, at this moment consisted of upwards of 210,000 infantry, and 27,000 cavalry. The infantry was disposed in 126 first battalions averaging 902 men each, and 56 battalions of which the average was about 400 men each. The object of the bill on the table was, to render these second battalions complete. To carry this into effect, it was deemed expedient to allow a certain proportion of the militia to enlist in the regular army. This measure was resorted to in the last session, and had been found most effectual.

The viscount Sidmouth could not approve of the practice of enlisting men for one species of service, and afterwards sending them into another. He regretted that ministers had not availed themselves of the popular enthusiasm in favour of Spain to procure recruits for the army. Had they done so, he was persuaded the present measure would have been wholly unnecessary. However, as he heard of no other expedient from any other quarter for keeping up the army to that efficient establishment which was universally admitted to be necessary, he would not, for that reason, and the extraordinary emergency of the moment, oppose the bill.—The bill was then read a second time, and afterwards finally passed.

House of Commons, March the 15th. Lord Castlereagh, pursuant to notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill to complete to its full number the militia of Great Britain. The object of the bill, was, to replace the number of mi-

litia men, rendered defective by the operation of the bill of last session, for allowing the soldiers of the militia to volunteer into the line. The number already so transferred was about 23,000, and what he proposed, was, to raise in their place a number of men equal to one half of the whole quota for the country, namely, 24,000 men, within twelve months, from an early day to be moved in the bill. Eight months to be allowed for raising the men by bounties of ten guineas per man, to be paid by the public; but at the end of that time, if the whole should not be raised, then, a ballot to take place in the usual way for raising the remainder, with an allowance to each ballotted man of ten guineas towards the bounty of a substitute, if he should not wish to serve in person. At the same time, a privilege was to be allowed to his majesty, in case of any menace of danger to the country, to direct that the ballot might proceed without delay.—After some conversation, leave was given to bring in the bill; which was read the first time, and a day appointed for the second reading.

House of Commons, March the 24th. Upon lord Castlereagh's moving the order of the day, for the second reading of this bill, lord A. Hamilton, after arguing against the measure on the same ground with the preceding speakers on the same side of the question, moved, as an amendment, that the second reading of the bill should be postponed to that day six months. Mr. Giles observed, that the noble mover proposed to raise men first by ballot, and then by bounty. But how did that scheme



scheme answer? It appeared from experience, that not one man out of ten raised by the ballot, served in person. The remainder then were substitutes raised by bounty. The bounty of each man raised for the line, according to the system he described was equal to £28. And was it not practicable, by wise regulations, to procure men for that bounty by ordinary recruiting without resorting to the circuitous, expensive, and oppressive progress of ballot? Notwithstanding the many military plans the noble lord brought forward, the several parts never fitted well together. According to a clause in the local militia act, the members of that corps could enlist only as substitutes for ballotted men. What was the cause of this provision? Why not allow the local militia to enlist into the militia at once, and then the ballot would most probably become unnecessary?—On a division of the house, lord A. Hamilton's amendment was negatived. The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

House of Commons, April 18.—The order of the day for going into a committee on the militia completion bill being read, lord A. Hamilton repeated his great objection to the bill, namely, that a pledge had been given to the country in a former bill, which pledge, the adoption of the present bill would forfeit.—Lord Castlereagh replied, that no such pledge had been ever given. The house having then resolved itself into a committee on the bill, a long discussion ensued on the first clause. Mr. Giles and Mr.

Windham contended that it was absurd to provide for supplying a deficiency to the extent stated in the bill, without the possibility of previously knowing whether or not the volunteering into the line would be so complete as to occasion that deficiency. Lord Castlereagh could see no difficulty in disposing of the supernumeraries in the militia, even if it should turn out, which he did think it would, that the volunteering in the line would not be so extensive as the present bill anticipated. They might be added to the existing companies, or formed into additional companies. The clause was eventually agreed to. The next clause related to the ballot. It was opposed by Mr. Giles, as productive of great mischiefs. Lord Castlereagh said, that he had been induced to extend the period, before which, the ballot was not to be resorted to, from six to twelve months. Mr. Windham ridiculed the expectation that the recruiting should proceed successfully with a small bounty, while the man willing to enlist, had in prospect the period when the operation of the bill would necessarily cause a great augmentation of bounty. The committee divided.—For the original motion 52—against it 12.

Sir J. Montgomery proposed that recruits from militia regiments might be raised in the counties adjoining to those to which such regiments belonged: which was agreed to. On the clause for imposing a fine of £20 on the counties failing to furnish their quota of men, the committee divided.—For it 34—against it 9. Mr. Biddulph proposed a new clause;



clause; the object of which was, to prevent the peers of the realm from claiming exemption from the bill.—For it 1—against it 37.

On the question for the third reading of this bill in the house of commons, May 2, Sir T. Turton said, that he could not suffer it finally to pass through the house, without giving it his reprehension. He could not consent to keep up a much larger standing army than the necessity of the times required. There was no immediate danger of invasion; and as to coping with France by land, we should not attempt it. The annual expence of our military force was now prodigious, amounting to nearly 25 millions, while we had in arms near 700,000 men. He saw no reason for such a vast expenditure of money, or for tearing so many men from their ordinary avocations. Mr. Wilberforce thought those general declarations against standing armies very dangerous in the present times: experience had abundantly proved that it was only by regular armies well supplied, that regular armies were to be effectually resisted. As to the conduct of ministers with respect to Spain and Portugal, he thought they were rather too forward than too backward in the assistance they gave. This was an error, however, on the right side, and agreeable to the general feeling of the nation. Mr. Hawkins Browne was of the same opinion with Mr. W. Invasion was not impossible; nor the deliverance of Europe, or any part of it absolutely hopeless. Mr. Windham spoke in support of those military opinions which he had so often expressed in that

house. He could not allow that the local militia was worth the money it cost, or that it would be in any way better than the training bill. There were always men enough in the country, and it appeared to him, that if without going to the expence of drilling or training them, they were simply to be enrolled and incorporated with the army; they would be of more use than when locked up in corps under militia officers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the bill had already been so fully and frequently discussed, that even the rich and fertile mind of Mr. Windham had not been able, that night, to advance any thing new on the subject. The house divided.—For the third reading of the bill 57—against it 8. The bill was then read a third time and passed.

House of Lords, May 9.—On the order of the day being read for the second reading of the militia completion bill, the earl of Liverpool rose to explain its nature. On account of the late volunteering of the militia into a more regular and disposable force, the regiments had been considerably diminished in their numbers. In the regular course this deficiency would have been supplied by ballot in the different counties: but as that mode, in the present times, might be considered as rather hard upon that class, on whom the ballot would immediately fall, it had been thought advisable, by the present bill, to enable each regiment of militia to supply its deficiencies by enlistment for a limited time. If after that period it should turn out that this mode had not been successful, it would be then necessary to recur



recur to the old and regular method of ballot. The earl Fitzwilliam approved the bill, so far as it contained a provision for completing the deficiencies of the militia, by laying the expence of it not on the counties, but the public. But he regretted that the principle of the militia, in modern times, had been so much departed from, and, that the militia regiments should have been made a recruiting, or perhaps, if he might use the expression, a crimping fund for the supply of the regular army. It was not the bill before them alone, that he had in his eye on making these observations. He saw the militia more and more altered from those principles on which that force was first established.

Lord Harrowby took a view of the principle of the old militia acts, and argued that there was no alteration adopted in the present instance which did not accord with the principle of past alterations. The marquis of Douglas said, the disposable force of the country, so much attended to, might be employed in expeditions, to end like that terminated by the Convention of Cintra, when the country might feel the great want of an effective internal force for its own preservation. The earl of Westmoreland said, that if the old principle had been attended to, and the men had served only for three, four, or seven years, and at that period returned from the service, the noble lords would have found themselves without those men, who had been so carefully taught their discipline. That army which had displayed its superiority on the Tagus, and afterwards amidst

the greatest difficulties, embarked with honour and glory at Corunna, was composed of men taken chiefly from the militia. The earl of Rosslyn conceived, that there was one objection to the present bill, which had not been mentioned in the course of the debate. It pretended to raise the men for the completion of the militia, by taking the burthen off from the counties, and laying it upon the public. This was a false pretence. It would do no such thing. It provided, that men might be raised by enlistment, at a bounty of about 10 guineas, any time before June 1810. But if the quota should not be provided before that period, the old method of ballot was to be resorted to, so that all deficiencies should be provided for before the October following. It was well known, that there was a fine of £20 on the man balloted. If he should not choose to serve in person, he gives the 10 guineas allowed to him by government. And if it should happen, that the substitute was not procured before October, there was an additional fine of £10 for each man deficient, on the county: so that the bounty, after June, would be from £30 to £70 a man; whereas before June, it could be no more than ten or twelve guineas. For, from the nature of human reasoning, every man would decline accepting the bounty for enlistment, knowing it would be much better for his interest to wait till that period should elapse. The most favourable point of view, in which the present measure was contemplated by the earl of Selkirk was, that it was not likely to effect its object.

For



For the present establishment of the local militia, was, in his mind, so radically wrong, that he had no desire to witness its completion. The bill was then read a second time, and afterwards finally passed.

House of Commons, March 14.  
—Mr. R. Ward moved for leave to bring in the marine mutiny bill. Leave was given, and Mr. Ward brought in the bill. On the motion for its being read a first time,

Sir Charles Pole said, he was glad to have the opportunity which this bill gave him to say a few words on that valuable corps. It was strange to say, that although it now amounted to more than a fourth of the infantry of the line, namely 32,000 men, its situation and importance were scarcely known in the house. He would first ask whether it was intended to continue the stoppage of one day's pay for Chelsea hospital? He believed the royal marine artillery to be in a very neglected state. It had been thought necessary to establish a corps of this nature in 1804; and most important it might be if properly attended to. He conceived it ought to be augmented, and that every squadron of his majesty's ships, on foreign stations, should be furnished with a company of these artillery men and officers. The advantages of such a measure to our colonial service must be obvious, whether for defensive or offensive operations. He regretted to learn, that this corps of marine artillery was not sufficiently instructed in the use of the field artillery, and recommended that a number of young men should be admitted to Woolwich academy. He next adverted to the slow progress of promotion in the marine

corps. There were officers now serving as captains, who had entered the service in the American war. An increase of field officers seemed necessary as an encouragement to that meritorious class of men.

Mr. R. Ward, having declared his high opinion of the marine corps in general, said, with respect to the increase of the mere use of the marine artillery, that this could not take place without raising the force altogether, and converting the marines into a land army. As to the addition of field officers to the marine, it ought to be remembered, that marines on board of ships were not commanded by field officers; and as most of them were engaged in that species of service, it was not necessary to have so many field officers. As to the age of some of the captains, as it was a service in which the officers rose by seniority, that could depend only on the length of life of those who preceded them on the list. The bill was then read a first time. It had been stated, that in each division of the marines, the senior captains were appointed pay captains, who actually keep the accounts of 2,000 men without any increase of pay, or any kind of remuneration. Mr. Ward was sure that if, for any extraordinary labour, any recompence could be made to them without injury to the service, it would be instantly afforded. The bill was then read a first time. The house having, on the 16th of March resolved itself into a committee on this bill. Mr. R. Ward rose to make some observations on what had fallen from an honourable baronet (sir C. Pole)



on a former evening, respecting the increase of emolument to pay-captains of marines, and some new naval regulations. The honourable baronet, perhaps, did not know, that the persons selected for such situations, were generally men who were unfit for other service. Their duties were by no means burthensome. It was not required that a pay-captain of marines should serve afloat, or even aboard, except when courts martial took place. With respect to the deductions from the pay of marine officers, Mr. Ward shewed that they were, in every respect, on the same footing with those in the army. Sir C. Pole expressed his satisfaction on this last point by Mr. Ward's explanation. But he still held the same opinion with regard to the situation of the pay-captains. They had a regular ledger account with every man and boy in the marine service, for which they had no remuneration, although the captains of marine artillery, for only paying their own companies, had two shillings per day, additional pay. Besides, those old officers, in any other branch of the service, would have been entitled to majorities, and many of them would have now been old field officers.

Mr. Wellesley Pole said, it was the intention of the present board of admiralty to afford to the marine corps every practicable and reasonable indulgence. With respect to the situation of the pay-captains, he referred the honourable baronet to a petition present-

ed by those very officers to the admiralty, when he himself was at that board, praying for this very allowance, which the honourable baronet now sought to obtain for them. The answer then given to their petition, was, that their birth was a pretty good one, and that it was very desirable that it should continue to exist. But, if they did not like it, with full pay, and an exemption from all other duty, they might take their turns of service. Ever since, they had been pretty well satisfied to remain as they were. With respect to the compassionate list, for which there was a bill now in progress, it was only for such widows and orphans as were not entitled to any provision otherwise; nor was it ever thought of before the establishment of the present admiralty board. And it was his intention, in the committee on that bill, to place the widows of marine officers on the same footing in this respect, with those of the officers of the navy and army.

Sir Charles Pole denied any recollection of such an application as that which had been alluded to by Mr. Wellesley Pole. At all events, he was perfectly certain that, during the whole time he was at the admiralty, he never did give an offensive answer to any application, made either by an individual, or by any description of persons. The bill then went through the committee, and was afterwards, through the usual stages, passed into a law.



## CHAP VII.

*Inquiry by the House of Commons into the Conduct of the Commander-in-chief, His royal Highness the Duke of York.—The Inquiry into the Conduct of the Duke not confined to his official Acts.—The Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Portland vindicated against false Insinuations by Mrs. Clarke.—Many corrupt Practices unveiled—Of the Reverend Mr. Basely, Chaplain to the Bishop of London—Of the Reverend Dr. O'Meara—and, in favour, though alledged to be without the Knowledge, of the Reverend Mr. G. H. Glasse, Rector of Hanwell.—Character and behaviour of Mrs. Clarke on her examination before the House of Commons.—Deep Interest of the whole Nation in the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Duke of York.—Reflections.*

**A**MIDST the great events that had happened, not only on the theatre of Europe, but America, and the weighty deliberations to which these, as occasioning vast military preparations, gave birth, in the councils of Great Britain, an incident of a very extraordinary nature occurred, which, for a time, threw into the shade the last victory, though preceded by disasters, gained by the English army over the French, and the future projects of Buonaparte. Insinuations against the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, had for a considerable time back, appeared in divers publications of the press. It was privately circulated too in whispers, that the duke of York would not long be commander-in-chief, and a definite period too was specified by some of the whisperers, beyond which they predicted that the duke would not be found in the occupation of that important post.—When it was afterwards recollected, with whom those who seemed to have most pleasure in circulating such reports, were intimately acquainted, and with whom they lived in a degree of confidence, conjectures were made that the

accusations of the duke, in as far as they had been made in newspapers and whispers, originated in a desire of change, rather than a pure zeal for the public welfare. For grounds of accusation were not obtruded on public attention by any flagrant delinquency on the part of his royal highness in the discharge of his public duty. On the contrary, the happy effects of the discipline he had introduced, and the arrangements and organization to which he had submitted the army, were universally acknowledged. Early in 1809, an attack was made on the royal commander-in-chief, in a more honourable and fair way, because in a direct and public form.

House of Commons, Jan. 27.—Colonel (of militia) Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, after the strongest declaration of the purity and patriotism of his motives, stated that the conviction of his mind was, and for some time had been, that unless the system of corruption that had so long prevailed in the military department should be done away, this country might fall an easy prey to the enemy. The first point in the case he had to state, related to the half-pay fund,



which was an establishment under the direction of the present commander-in-chief. This fund arose out of the sale of commissions vacant by death—by the promotion of officers not allowed to sell—or by dismissions from the service. The power of the commander-in-chief over this fund was constituted and intended for the reward of merit, either by the appointment of meritorious officers to the commissions which so became vacant, or by selling them, and applying the produce of such sales to the redemption of half-pay commissions, or to the compassionate fund. Here the power of the commander-in-chief over such produce ceased. If the commissions he had described were otherwise disposed of, the authority vested in the commander-in-chief was abused, and the objects of the half-pay fund abandoned. Now, if he could shew that those commissions were appropriated to very different purposes, it would, of course, appear, that such abuse and abandonment did take place—that merit was not rewarded—that the half-pay list was not reduced—that the compassionate fund was not assisted. For the purpose of shewing this, it was necessary to call the attention of the house to another establishment of the commander-in-chief's, which was quite of a different complexion from that which he had just mentioned. This establishment, which consisted of a splendid house in Gloucester-place, a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of servants, commenced in the year 1803, and at the head of it was placed a lady of the name of Clarke. As this lady formed a principal party in several of the facts which he had to cite,

he was under the necessity, however reluctantly, to mention her name, as well as that of others, in order to make out a fair parliamentary basis for his motion, and to satisfy the house, that he had not brought it forward upon light grounds.

The first case to which Colonel Wardle called the attention of the house, was that of captain Tonyn, of the 48th regiment of foot, who had been promoted to a majority in the 31st regiment: to which promotion he was indebted to the influence of Mrs. Clarke. The terms of agreement were, that Mrs. Clarke should be paid £500 upon captain Tonyn's being gazetted. Major Tonyn was gazetted on the 2d of August, 1804, and the £500 was paid to Mrs. Clarke. Here it became necessary for colonel Wardle to observe to the house, that the regulated difference between a company and a majority, was £1,100, which should have been appropriated to the purposes above mentioned. But how did the affair stand? Mrs. Clarke gained £500, and the sum of £1,100 was lost to the half-pay fund. This sum of £500 was paid by Mrs. Clarke to a Mr. Birkett, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate, for the establishment in Gloucester-place: the balance for which plate was afterwards paid by his royal highness the commander-in-chief. The positions that colonel Wardle held to be clearly deducible from this case were, first, that Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion. Secondly, that she received pecuniary consideration. And, thirdly, that the commander-in-chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such pecuniary con-



consideration. The truth of this case would be established by witnesses, whose names he mentioned.

The second case colonel Wardle had to adduce, related to exchanges. On the 25th of July, 1805, an exchange was concluded between lieutenant-colonel Brooke of the 56th regiment of infantry, and lieutenant-colonel Knight, of the 5th dragoon guards, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke.—Mrs. Clarke wanted some money to defray the expences of an excursion in the country. She, therefore urged the commander-in-chief to expedite the exchange as she was to receive £200 for it. This urgent request was made on a Thursday, and its influence was such, that the exchange was actually gazetted on the Saturday following. Mrs. Clarke, in consequence, received from the agent in negotiating the transaction, £200 for it. The witnesses to this case he named. Another case colonel Wardle had to adduce referred to major John Shaw, of colonel Champagne's Ceylon regiment. Major Shaw was appointed deputy-barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope, upon the 3d of April, 1806. It was known that this officer by no means enjoyed the favour of the duke of York: that, in fact, his royal highness entertained some prejudice against him. But these obstacles Mrs. Clarke readily undertook, on conditions, to overcome; and it was agreed to pay her £1000 for the major's appointment. The appointment was therefore made and the major himself paid Mrs. Clarke £300. Soon after £200 more was sent to Mrs. Clarke by major Shaw's uncle. The remaining £500, however, was not paid,

and when it was found not to be forthcoming, Mrs. Clarke was enraged, and threatened revenge. She actually complained to the commander-in-chief of Mr. Shaw's breach of contract, and the consequence was, that the major was, soon after, put upon half-pay. This case of major Shaw was the only instance colonel Wardle could find of such an officer being reduced to half-pay. The case of this officer then demonstrated, first, that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to appointments on the staff, as well as to promotions and exchanges in the army itself. Secondly, that the commander-in-chief punished an individual by reducing him from full to half-pay for non-performance of a nefarious contract with his mistress. Thirdly, that the commander-in-chief was a direct party to the whole of this nefarious transaction. Witnesses named.

Mr. Wardle now came to, what he called, the very novel case of colonel French and his levy. This officer was, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke, appointed by the commander-in-chief to conduct a levy in the years 1804-5. The colonel was introduced to Mrs. Clarke by captain Huxley Sandon, and the condition upon which he obtained his appointment was, that Mrs. Clarke should have one guinea out of the bounty of each man raised, together with the sale or patronage of a certain number of the commissions. The agreement being concluded, it was communicated to, and approved of by the commander-in-chief. Colonel French was accordingly sent, by Mrs. Clarke, to the Horse Guards, and, after many interviews, the levy was set on foot. As the levy proceeded,



proceeded, Mrs. Clarke received several sums of money from colonel French, captain Huxley Sandon, and a Mr. Corri. She also received £500 from a Mr. Cockayne, a known solicitor in Lyon's Inn, and a friend of captain Huxley Sandon's. Mr. J. Donovan, a surgeon of Charles-square (who had also borne a hand in the promotion of major Tonyn) was acquainted with an old officer, a captain Tuck, to whom he very strongly recommended to seek promotion. And, in order to encourage him by a display of the facility with which it might be attained, he sent him a written scale of Mrs. Clarke's prices for different commissions, which, in stating them, he begged leave to contrast with the regulated prices of the army.

<i>Mrs. Clarke's prices.</i>	<i>Regulated prices.</i>
A majority £900 .	£2,600
A company 700 . .	1,500
A lieutenancy 400 . .	550
An ensigncy 200 . .	400

From this scale, colonel Wardle said, it appeared, that the funds he had before alluded to, lost, in an enormous ratio, to the gain of Mrs. Clarke, or any other individual acting upon the same system.

Here said Colonel Wardle the scene closed upon Mrs. Clarke's military negotiations: and in what followed the commander-in-chief alone. It appeared, that his royal highness required a loan of £5,000 from Colonel French; and that Mr. Grant, of Barnard's Inn, promised to comply with the request in procuring the money, provided the commander-in-chief would use his influence and obtain payment to colonel French of a balance due to him by govern-

ment on account of the levy. This was promised, but the commander-in-chief failing to fulfil his part of the condition, the loan he required was not advanced, and £3,000 still remained due from government to colonel French. The case of this levy, shewed, first, that Mrs. Clarke, in addition to promotions in the army, to exchanges, and appointments on the staff, possessed the power of augmenting the military force of the country. Secondly, that in this case, as in all others, she was allowed to receive pecuniary considerations for the exercise of her influence. Thirdly, that the commander-in-chief endeavoured to derive a pecuniary accommodation to himself independent of Mrs. Clarke's advantages.—Witnesses named.

The last case with which colonel Wardle would at present trouble the house, was that of captain Maling. This gentleman was appointed to an ensigncy in the 87th regiment on the 28th of November, 1805; to a lieutenancy in the same regiment on the 26th of November, 1806; and to a captaincy in the royal African corps, under the command of the duke of York's own secretary colonel Gordon, on the 15th of September, 1808. This gentleman's promotion was effected through the influence of the favourite agent, Mr. Greenwood, in whose office Mr. Maling was a clerk, remaining at his desk while advanced in the army by such an extravagant course—Mr. Maling had also, while so promoted, some appointment of a pay-master in Ireland—a course which interfered with the interests, which superseded the rights of many meritorious officers who



who had long served in the army, who had fought and bled for their country. Was it tolerable, that such an accumulation of favours should be conferred on any individual, without any claim of professional merit, and merely through the operation of undue influence, while so many hundreds of truly deserving men were overlooked and slighted? was it possible that our arms could prosper—that its spirit could succeed, or its character be advanced, while such injustice was tolerated. The house must feel the propriety, the necessity, of grounding some proceeding upon such facts. He was sure he had stated quite enough for this purpose. There was indeed one thing to which he could not help alluding. The house must be astonished indeed at the corruption of the times, when told there was at that moment a public office in the city for the sale of commissions, at the same reduced scale as that of Mrs. Clarke, and that the managers of that office stated in his presence, that they were the agents of the present favourite mistress, Mrs. Carey. Indeed these agents declared farther, that they were also enabled to dispose of places both in church and state, and that they did not hesitate to say, that they were employed by two of the first officers in administration.—There were a few other points, though of very trifling importance, that were brought forward in accusation of the duke of York, not on the present occasion, but afterwards, and this, for the sake of order, that the alledged amount of the duke's offending may be seen at once, seems the proper place for stating them. Mrs.

Clarke had stated, that Samuel Carter was her foot boy, and went behind her carriage. He went into the army direct from her service. In this statement she was corroborated by several witnesses. Another additional case. Mr. Dowler had stated, that Mrs. Clarke had first suggested to him, that she could procure him a situation in the commissary department. Mr. Dowler, who obtained the appointment, had never taken any step to expedite the business, nor applied to any other channel than that of Mrs. Clarke, to whom he had paid £1000 for her influence, and that she told him the duke knew of his doing so. A third additional case. Major Turner, a gallant officer, who had seen a great deal of service, was impeded in his desire to sell out, in consequence of a letter from Mrs. Sinclair Sutherland, notwithstanding the recommendation of the colonel of the regiment. It had been stated by colonel Gordon, the duke's military secretary, that attention would have been paid to an anonymous letter, fraught with such contents on such a subject. But in a case of this kind, an anonymous letter was better than Mrs. Sinclair's; for in an anonymous letter there might have been something worthy of attention. But that in consequence of a letter from such a source as this, a stop should have been put to the course of public business, that a stigma should have been supposed, for a moment, to have been fixed on the character of an officer, formerly without stain, was unbecoming indeed. It was an honour to major Turner to have had his character cleared; but just in the same ratio dishonour fell on the other



other party. And if the commander-in-chief would attach himself to such a woman as that, and make himself a party with her, part of the disgrace must fall on him too. A fourth additional point urged against the commander-in-chief. If a Mr. Kennet, an auctioneer or broker, could lend to the duke a certain sum of money, he would second and support sir Horace Mann's recommendation of that person, with a view to obtain a place for him, which support had been given. But, as already observed, these additional points were not brought forwards when colonel Wardle first stated his charges against his royal highness, but afterwards.

Colonel Wardle having stated, with brief comments, the cases of major Tonyn, colonel Knight, major Shaw, colonel French, and captain Maling, and reported the existence of a public office in the city for the sale of commissions, concluded with moving "for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, the commander-in-chief, with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the army, and in raising levies for the army."

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion.

The *Secretary at War* rose, but not, he said, to oppose the motion. If he did so, he would ill consult the wishes, and worse the interests, of the commander-in-chief. He felt great satisfaction that an opportunity was afforded, of instituting an effectual inquiry into the grounds of the various calumnies and misrepresentations, which had of late been so industriously circulated

against that illustrious personage. The facts which the honourable gentleman had brought forward were of a very serious nature, and well deserved the attention of the house. Charges clearly and distinctly stated, his royal highness was ready and even desirous to meet. With regard to the private transactions stated by colonel Wardle, he would say nothing, having never heard of them before. But he could contradict those that were stated to have occurred at the Horse Guards. The papers respecting the half-pay fund, before the house, would shew that his royal highness had given up a great part of his patronage for the benefit of that fund. But it was needless to enter into particulars now, as a full inquiry would necessarily take place. He would only remark, that the thanks which the house had been conferring on the army, reflected no small credit on the commander-in-chief. It had been universally allowed, that to make courage available in the day of battle, discipline was necessary. And it was well known, how much the commander-in-chief had attended to that object. Extreme order and regularity had also been introduced into the office of the commander-in-chief, which the inquiry would prove.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, having expressed his joy that a specific inquiry would rescue the commander-in-chief from that general sort of discussion which sometimes took place in that house, said, that it had fallen to his lot to know how promotions were conducted in the office of the commander-in-chief. It was regularly recorded in that office, who recommended the promotion. The documents

were



were to be found there ; so that all transactions respecting promotions might be completely traced. The mode in which the produce of the half-pay fund came into the office, as well as that in which it was issued, was also recorded. With respect to the removal of the barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope, such removals in foreign establishments were circumstances of common occurrence in the ordinary course of the service. Circumstances had been stated, in order to shew that his royal highness, with a view to put a little money in his own pocket, had encroached upon the half-pay fund. But the house would recollect that this very fund was established by his royal highness, and the money furnished from the produce of commissions, which he might have given away without any sale at all : by which an immense sum was saved to the public. There was yet one topic on which he would be to blame, if he did not say a few words. Never was there an army in a better state, as far as depended on the commander-in-chief, than that under his command last summer ; and, if the army had not performed the service for which it was destined, the blame would have rested with him, not with the commander-in-chief. Whatever enthusiasm they felt, was the result of the discipline and example afforded by the illustrious person at the head of the army.

Mr. Yorke said that he had never listened to a charge more serious, and that he had heard it with the greatest possible concern, both on account of the commander-in-chief, and the honourable gentleman who had brought

it forward, thus taking upon himself so heavy a responsibility. But he was glad that the house could at last reach in a tangible shape some of those libels against the duke of York, which had for some time past been more assiduously and pertinaciously circulated than ever libels had been at any former period in this country, so prolific in libels. He hoped the house would do its duty to itself, to the country, and to the royal house of Brunswick, and that if there was no ground for these accusations, justice might be done to the commander-in-chief. Mr. Yorke, for his own part, believed, that a conspiracy of the most atrocious and diabolical kind existed against his royal highness, founded on the jacobinical spirit which appeared at the commencement of the French revolution, though it did not shew itself now in exactly the same form. It appeared to be the design of the conspirators, by means of the press, the liberty of which was so valuable, and the licentiousness so pernicious, to write down the military system through the commander-in-chief ; the army through its generals ; and other establishments through the persons most conspicuous in each. Let blame fall where it ought. But the house ought to consider the illustrious person against whom the charge was directed. They ought to consider his high station in the country, and the eminent service he had rendered to the country, in the state to which he had brought the army. What was the state of the army when he became commander-in-chief ? it scarcely deserved the name of an army ; and it was now found by experience to be, in  
pro-



proportion to its numbers, the best army in the world. He had said, that he believed a conspiracy to exist. If the house could go along with him, and suppose that this was actually the case, he threw out for their consideration, whether a parliamentary commission, with power to examine on oath, was not preferable to a committee.

Sir F. Burdett stated the motives that had induced him to second the present motion, and sincerely hoped that upon inquiry, it would be found that the facts alledged originated in error, or in mischievous intentions, and an unfair wish to run down the Duke of York. Mr. W. Adam said, that from the situation which he had, in the way of his profession, gratuitously filled in the service of the illustrious person who was the object of this motion, he was enabled to speak with certainty respecting his revenues, and every circumstance connected with them. During the twenty years he had held his office, he had been intimately acquainted with his royal highness's affairs, without any circumstance being kept from his knowledge, even in his embarrassments. And in all his experience of him, he had known his royal highness uniformly to state the situation of his affairs with an accuracy that was extraordinary, a truth beyond example, and a fidelity of memory that reflected the highest credit on his understanding. In all that time he had never heard of his having procured any accommodation or loan on any other terms than the duke of Bedford, or the duke of Devonshire, or duke of Northumberland would, if they had occasion. He could confidently assert that the facts

alledged would prove unfounded. And, as he felt no bias but what arose from a regard to justice, the mode of proceeding he had to propose, was suggested, solely with a view to promote it. The inquiry, should in his mind, be public as the charge was, and the authority of that house, when examining witnesses at its bar, would ensure their punishment in case of prevarication:—Gentlemen should recollect, that this investigation might lead to an impeachment, and, that therefore the house ought not to part with its power of inquiry, or delegate it to a parliamentary commission, when the investigation would be carried on more properly, more effectually, and more constitutionally, in a committee of the whole house.

*Mr. Wilberforce* contended that an inquiry at the bar could not be conducted with impartiality, in consequence of the interference of party spirit. He preferred, with his friend Mr. Yorke, an investigation by a parliamentary commission. By the appointment of a commission, the witnesses would be examined upon oath; all party-bias and personal altercation would be prevented, and, of course, a weight and consequence would be attached to the decision of those delegated, and to the testimony of those examined, which it was impossible to expect from any discussion or examination at the bar. The claims of the people demanded that the representatives of the people should look to substantial justice, however high the rank, eminent the services, or splendid the connections of the dignified personage against whom such charges were preferred. That justice, he conceived, could be

most



most satisfactorily obtained by an inquiry, private in its progress, but to be public in the result; particularly when he reflected on the description of persons likely to be examined, and the importance of the interests affected by the accusation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* coincided with the unanimous sentiment of the house, that to the most solemn and serious accusation brought forward that night, the most solemn and serious inquiry ought to be accorded. He concurred with his honourable friend Mr. Adam in thinking, that the house should not abandon its inquisitorial functions in this instance. He could state, on the authority of the duke of York himself, given him at the only opportunity he had of consulting with him on the subject, that the most ready course of prosecuting the inquiry would be the most agreeable to him, and that he depreciated nothing so much as a course that would impede the final result. That illustrious personage wished, like any other subject, to be put publicly on his trial, and to stand acquitted or convicted upon the case that might be made out; at the same time, that he had a thorough conviction that he should exculpate himself from all charge. He would stake his reputation upon it that it was impossible that after the result of the inquiry, any suspicion could be entertained of his royal highness. Mr. Wardle had stated a circumstance, which particularly involved the character of his majesty's government; that two members of the cabinet were concerned in the agency for the disposal of govern-

ment patronage. This was a topic on which he must require the fullest information. It was for the option of Mr. W. to determine whether he would afford it in that house, or by a private communication to some of the responsible servants of the crown. It was not for him to tell the house, that in this great capital it might happen, that foolish persons might be frequently deceived by advertisements in the public papers announcing the disposal of official patronage; and perhaps, it had occasionally turned out, that the very persons who, originally deceived by these advertisements, were induced to make applications, did ultimately obtain the very appointments for which they had endeavoured to negotiate. But he was convinced that as there was nothing so discreditable to government, so there was nothing more false than the idea that money was paid to persons high in office for such transactions. For the distinct manner in which the honourable gentleman had submitted the question to the house, he conceived him entitled to its thanks. Mr. Wardle stated that the office where the agency was transacted, was in a court out of Threadneedle Street. The names of the agents in that office were, Heylop and Pullen. They had stated various situations purchased in the island of Jamaica, and that the two members of the present cabinet, for whom they acted in such situations, and to whom he alluded in his speech, were, the lord Chancellor, and the duke of Portland. It was then carried, *nem. con.* that the conduct of his royal highness, the commander



mander in chief, in the appointment to commissions, regulating exchanges and filling up vacancies in the army, be referred to a committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved that it should be a committee of the whole house. Mr. Canning observed that this was a mode of proceeding established by various precedents in parliamentary history. Mr. Wardle had declared, that in calling its attention to the present important subject, he was actuated solely by a sense of public duty. The honourable gentleman ought not then to be dissatisfied with those who placed him on the most commanding stage to reap the benefit of his patriotic labours.

Mr. Canning observed, that in whatever view the house should consider the transactions stated by Mr W. whether they were substantiated or refuted, "infamy must attach somewhere; either upon the accused or the accuser." Of this unguarded and strong expression, Mr. Canning was afterwards often reminded, and sorely badgered about it on every occasion. Certainly, where there are probable grounds of suspicion in a case of great public importance, accusation is excusable and even laudable, though it should not be substantiated. From the systematic scheme of calumnies, which had been deliberately pursued for some time past by the enemies of his royal highness; Mr. Canning had to congratulate that illustrious personage, and, at the same time, to thank the honourable mover, for the opportunity afforded of canvassing the subject upon charges preferred in a tangible state. His royal highness had

been treated by a set of unprincipled libellers, in their malignant and vile publications, with a brutality of insult, which almost made good men hesitate in deciding whether the value of a free discussion was not considerably depreciated by the evils of its unbridled licentiousness. Mr. Whitbread admitted that every man must lament that such a character, elevated in rank and influence, should be exposed to unmerited calumny. Still it was to be presumed that a prince of the house of Hanover, would rather suffer under such attacks than risk the liberty of that press, to which so much was owing by that family and the British empire. But why was this brutality of insult so long suffered to continue? Were the attorney and solicitor general, and the other law officers of the crown asleep? He was ready to give them credit that the omission was not intentional. Lord Castlereagh said, it was evident the same party who, at a former period, endeavoured to subvert all the establishments of the country by force of arms, was now endeavouring to undermine them by calumniating whatever was exalted in rank or distinguished in situation. Mr. W. had asked, why the law officers of the crown did not institute prosecutions? The fact was, that they had instituted numerous prosecutions; but their entire time would be taken up in prosecuting the libellers of the Duke of York, if every libeller was to be prosecuted. Besides, it required but some ingeniousness, united with a moderate share of legal knowledge, to render it extremely difficult



cult to establish the charge of libel. There was another way in which libellers escaped justice. They shrunk from the laws and quitted the country. For instance, Major O'Hogan, even before his libel against the duke of York issued from the press, had secured his passage to America.—Lord Castlereagh was not for leaving the inquiry that had been agreed to to any select committee, nor even to the twelve judges, nor to any thing short of that full and open investigation which might be had at the bar of that house.—After a few observations by Mr. Wardle, it was resolved that the inquiry should be made in a committee of the whole house, and that they should enter upon it on Wednesday next, the 1st of February.

To give a narrative of all the proceedings on this important question that were extended from the 26th of January to the 20th of March, with both the concomitant and concluding debates, even in the most abridged form, would carry us to a length so monstrously disproportionate to a general view of the History of Europe, that we must refer our readers to the trials of the duke of York that have already been published in a great variety of forms, whether in the minutes of the evidence before the House of Commons, or in huge volumes of parliamentary debates,

or newspapers and magazines, or finally, in separate volumes. The whole of the inquiry may be divided into two heads: 1st, The connections of Mrs. Clarke with the persons who paid or promised to pay her sums of money for promotions or other appointments. 2dly, The acquaintance of the commander-in-chief with the secret transactions of Mrs. Clarke with those persons, and his participation with her in the gain arising from that financial system. The first of these points was proved beyond a possibility of doubt, by an immense mass of evidence. As to the duke's knowledge of Mrs. Clarke's manoeuvres, and his sharing in the returns, this is a fact, the proof of which depended solely on the evidence of Mrs. Clarke. For this kind of commerce must, from its nature, have been confined to the two parties concerned. No third person could interfere in it. The testimony of Mrs. Clarke, abandoned to licentiousness from her youth, and become almost a prostitute by profession, is scarcely to be accounted of any weight at all, especially as she acted under the influence of revenge against his royal highness, and a strong desire to please Mr. Wardle, who, as afterwards appeared, had promised to compensate in a very liberal way any service she might be of to him in substantiating his charges \* against the

\* Colonel Wardle had promised, or clearly given it to be understood by Mrs. Clarke, that he would furnish a house for her at Westbourne-place, in part payment for her services in the prosecution of the duke of York. Colonel Wardle, denying that he had come under any such an obligation, was sued by an upholsterer, who had furnished the house, at law, and, on the evidence of Mrs. Clarke and the upholsterer's brother, obliged to pay about 2000*l.* with costs. The day after judgment was given in this cause, colonel Wardle published, in several newspapers, a note addressed to the people of the three kingdoms, declaring before God, and his country, that



the royal duke. But there was throughout the whole of her close and long examination at the bar, an air of unconstraint and ease, and a readiness of reply that seemed to bespeak a disposition to answer the questions that were put to her truly. For every why, she had a wherefore. She was caught in falsity, but not often, nor in very important cases. She declared in the strongest manner that she had not seen colonel Wardle on a certain day when she underwent an examination, though it was afterward proved that on that day they had seen, that is, been together, three different times. It was proved that she had passed a night with a Mr. Dowler, one of her favourite lovers, as his wife, after she had denied that she had done so. She could not, however, by any means be charged, on the whole, with prevarication. At the same time, it is to be observed, she was under no temptation to prevaricate. The great mass and weight of her evidence was intended, not to conceal, but clearly to expose her bargaining with place and promotion-hunters. And as for what was alledged to have passed privately on that subject, it could only be known to the duke and herself. No one could prove a negative.

There were, however, two circumstances that wore on their

face a direct inculpation of the commander-in-chief.

First, captain Sandon said, that when major Tonyn became impatient for his promotion, he (Sandon) went to state the circumstances to Mrs. Clarke, who sent him back to inform him, that she had received a note from the duke of York respecting his case; which note was shewn by captain Sandon to major Tonyn. The note was, "I received your note, and Tonyn's case shall remain as it is. God bless you." This note was intended to shew, that the person to whom it was written had influence, and in consequence, major Tonyn consented to let his security remain. The existence of this note was regarded as the more weighty evidence, since it had been extorted, without Mrs. Clarke's knowledge or interference at all in the matter, from captain Sandon, who at first pretended that he had destroyed it, and who was therefore sent to Newgate for prevarication. When major Tonyn was gazetted, captain Sandon was directed to shew him another note, purporting to have been written by the duke of York, and saying, "Tonyn will be this night gazetted." This note was not afterwards given back. When the first note was shewn to his royal highness, he utterly denied all knowledge of the matter, and declared

that a verdict had been obtained against him only through perjury. During the progress of the trial the colonel had written to his men of law, again and again, desiring that major Dodd, Mr. James Glennie, heretofore of the corps of engineers, and other respectable witnesses, should be examined: but the lawyers thought this unnecessary. The evidence of Mrs. Clarke and of the brother of the upholsterer on oath, would be overthrown by that of the respectable witnesses whom he had to bring forward on a second trial, for which he had made application.—But if so, what is to be thought of the evidence of Mrs. Clarke against the duke of York?

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the note to be a forgery. As to the note relating to the appearance of major Tonyn's name in the gazette, his royal highness could not be positive. He could not state that he might not have written such a note, in answer to a note which might have been addressed to him. He could not call the circumstance to mind. The other note, however, his royal highness most positively denied having written. When Mrs. Clarke (who was ignorant of what was passing in the house) was called in, and shewn the note, which was addressed to George Farquhar, Esq. she said, "I suppose I must have seen it before, for it is his royal highness's writing.—I do not know how it could have got into that man's possession unless I gave it to him. It was a direction I used very often to get from his royal highness." This evidence being rebutted by the duke of York's positive denial of the fact, several witnesses were called from the Bank and Post Office to give their opinion upon it. And they all, with only a single exception, general Brownrigg, decided, that the note was in the same hand writing as other letters acknowledged to be his. It is also to be observed, that the circumstance of the note was not brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer till it was believed that the note itself was destroyed. Thus the affair of the note had an effect quite opposite to what was intended. To justify his royal highness general Clavering made a voluntary attempt; the consequence of which was, that he himself was committed, as well as captain Sandon, to Newgate, for prevarication.

tion. But after all, this circumstance of the note, supposing its authenticity, only shewed, that his royal highness suffered Mrs. Clarke to talk, and write, and put questions respecting military appointments: which the duke does not seem to have affected to deny or conceal. For it has just been seen, that when the note, "Tonyn will be this night gazetted," was shewn to him, he admitted that he might possibly have written such a note, though he did not recollect the matter.

The other circumstance, wearing on its face a direct inculpation of the commander-in-chief, was the following. Miss Mary Ann Taylor, who was in the habit of visiting Mrs. Clarke when she was under the duke's protection very frequently, stated, that she heard the duke of York speak to Mrs. Clarke about Colonel French's levy and that what passed, as nearly as she could recollect, was as follows, "I am continually worried by colonel French. He worries me continually about the levy business, and is always wanting something more in his own favour." Turning then to Mrs. Clarke, (Miss T. thinks) he said, "how does he behave to you, darling?" or some such kind words as he was wont to use. Mrs. Clarke replied, middling, not very well: on which the duke said, "master French must mind what he is about, or I shall cut up him and his levy too."

At the close of the evidence given at the bar, the general officers, who were members of the house, were asked with respect to the improved state of the army in discipline and condition, and whether



ther the system of promotions in the service was not better than it had been. Generals Norton and Fitzpatrick, sir James Murray Pulteney, sir Arthur Wellesley, and general Grosvenor, all bestowed the warmest praise on the conduct of his royal highness as commander-in chief.—This seems the proper place to introduce the fine encomium made on the public conduct of the duke of York, in the house of Lords, on the last day of January, by the earl of Suffolk. For some time past, his lordship observed, rumour had been exceedingly busy in spreading reports of a tendency extremely injurious to the character of the army. Having been bred a soldier from his earliest days, he could not hear these scandalous falsehoods propagated, without taking the first opportunity of giving his meed of refutation to the calumny. Not only the army deserved this at his hands, but the conduct of the illustrious personage who had the command-in chief loudly called for it as an act of justice: for he could take upon him to say, that the British army never was in the memory of man in so complete a state of discipline as it had arrived at since his royal highness had been appointed to that great and responsible situation. The whole object of that illustrious duke had been to bring the army to that state of perfection which by its recent demeanour, it had so nobly proved. It was that discipline which enabled our troops, after a march of upwards of four hundred miles through a barren tract of country, at an inhospitable season of the year, to give battle to their ad-

versaries, and gain over them a signal victory: it was that discipline which enabled them to sustain all the hardships and all the privations which they endured in that retreat, and, finally, to secure and save themselves from a tremendous enemy. This was the effect of the discipline introduced and acted upon throughout the British forces, and which was demonstrated in a thousand instances. There was one which he would mention, however reluctant he was to do it, and that was, when his royal highness heard that the lieutenant colonel of a regiment (the regiment which his lordship commanded, and which the late lieutenant-general sir John Moore once commanded) was deficient in talents and knowledge to hold such a commission, he removed him, and appointed another more effective in his stead; and neither his family connections, (being the son of a noble lord) nor any other interest, was allowed to prevent that removal: the consequence whereof was, that the regiment immediately improved in effective force as it did in discipline.—There was another circumstance which he wished to notice to their lordships, and that was, an ill-founded opinion entertained of that excellent institution the Military Asylum, namely, that it was a useless burthen to the state. This his lordship could most solemnly contradict, and also take upon him say, that a more beneficial establishment, as a nursery for good soldiers, never was instituted in any country.

On the next day after the examination of witnesses was closed, February 23, the speaker

rose



rose and stated, that since he had come to the house he had received a letter, the contents of which related to the inquiry now pending before the house respecting the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, and he wished to know whether it was the pleasure of the house that he should read it. [*A general exclamation of Read! read! read!*] The right honourable gentleman then announced that the letter came from his royal highness the duke of York, was signed "Frederick," addressed to the speaker, and dated Horse Guards, February, 23, 1809. The contents were as follow :

COPY.

"Horse Guards, Feb 23,

"Sir, 1809.

"I have waited with the greatest anxiety, until the committee, appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into my conduct, as commander-in-chief of his majesty's army, had closed its examinations; and I now hope, that it will not be deemed improper to address this letter through you to the House of Commons.

"I observe with the deepest concern, that, in the course of this inquiry, my name has been coupled with transactions the most criminal and disgraceful: and I must ever regret and lament, that a connection should have existed, which has thus exposed my character to animadversion.

"With respect to any alleged offences connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do in the most solemn manner, upon my honour, as a prince, distinctly assert my innocence; not only by denying all corrupt participation in

any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the bar of the house of commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion that they existed at all.

"My consciousness of innocence leads me confidently to hope, that the house of commons will not, upon such evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceedings prejudicial to my honour and character; but if, upon such testimony as has been adduced against me, the house of commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice, that I shall not be condemned without trial, nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject by those sanctions under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.

"I am, sir, yours,

"FREDERICK.

"*The Speaker of the House of Commons.*"

House of Commons, March 8.  
—Mr. Wardle, after an elaborate examination of the evidence, moved a resolution to the following effect :

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, stating that information had been communicated to them, and that evidence had been examined to prove, that various corrupt practices and abuses had, for a long time, existed in the different departments of the military administration; and that the evidence which had been given, had been entered on the records of parliament; that his majesty's faithful commons



had most carefully examined the evidence, not only of the witnesses produced at their bar but also of the written and official documents; and that it was with the utmost concern and astonishment, that they felt themselves obliged to state, that the result of their diligent and laborious enquiry was such, as to satisfy them, that the existence of those corrupt practices to a very great extent was fully established; that they were restrained by motives of personal respect and attachment from laying before his majesty a detailed account of those corruptions and abuses, which could not fail to produce the greatest grief and indignation in his royal breast: that without entering into any such detail, they most humbly represented to his majesty, that if ever the opinion should prevail in the army, that promotion was to be obtained in any other way than by merit and services, such an opinion must materially tend to wound the feelings, and abate the zeal of the army, and to do it essential injury. That it was the opinion of his majesty's faithful commons, that such abuses could not have continued to such an extent, for so long a time, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief: but if, contrary to all probability, it should be presumed, that the commander-in-chief was ignorant of these transactions, that pre-

sumption would not warrant the conclusion, that it was consistent with prudence, that the command of the army should remain any longer in his hands. His majesty's faithful commons, therefore, humbly begged leave to submit to his majesty, that the duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the army."

Lord Folkstone seconded the motion; immediately after which, Mr. Burton rose and said: "Mr. Speaker, I should not thus early obtrude myself on the attention of the house, if it was not through the fear of being too much exhausted to deliver my sentiments at a late hour.\* The habits of my life, during the last thirty years, having engaged me pretty much in the investigation of criminal causes, I have thought it my duty to bestow my best attention upon the present important case. I have done so the rather, that few persons are so unconnected, as myself, with the commander-in-chief, now under accusation. I never had the honour of exchanging a word with him, and it so happens, that I have not in the army any relation, any friend, or even any intimate acquaintance, nor any one for whom I have ever received, or can expect to receive, a single favour. With his accuser I have had the honour of some acquaintance about twenty years, and had frequent occasion

\* Mr. Burton, when he rose to speak, drew the most respectful attention of the whole house, which was continued from the beginning of his speech, which was long and elaborate, to the end. He was above eighty years of age, and had become blind. In Wales he held the office of judge in a court of law. Having both attended the whole of the examinations at the bar, and had the evidence read over to him two or three times, he took a critical review of all the cases in the order in which they were exhibited in the enquiry, without omitting any circumstance of importance.



to admire the military talents and valour he displayed under the intrepid commander of a regiment, that distinguished itself not a little during the unhappy rebellion in Ireland. I had also listened, perhaps too much, to the current reports concerning the object of this enquiry. I certainly, therefore, sat down to the consideration of it without any bias upon my mind in favour of the accused. But, divesting myself of every prejudice, I determined to pursue the strict line of duty, by considering the case of the duke of York as calmly and temperately as I would that of one of the meanest subjects in the court where I have the honour to hold a seat." After this interesting exordium, Mr. Burton entered on a consideration of the cause, having first stripped it of all matters extraneous or foreign to the point or points in question. He displayed throughout the whole of his comprehensive speech, all the perspicuity, precision, and minute attention to every circumstance which men of good natural parts derive from long experience in the profession of the law: a profession which is more calculated to rouse and to whet the intellectual faculties, perhaps, than any other. On the subject of French's levy, and Miss Taylor's evidence, Mr. Burton said, surely, the evidence of Mrs. Clarke's constant companion ought to be received with great caution. The duke of York, speaking to Mrs. Clarke of colonel French, complained that French was continually worrying him about the levy. This troublesome importunity had made a strong impression on the duke's mind: for he

mentions this *teazing* or *worrying* twice—"I am continually worried by colonel French: he worries me continually about the levy business." Then turning to Mrs. Clarke—Miss Taylor *thinks*, only *thinks*, he said, "How does he behave to you, darling?" To my understanding, said Mr. Burton, the question obviously means, does he worry you as he does me? On the case of major Tonyn, Mr. Burton observed, that, though £200 was paid to Mrs. Clarke, that transaction was unconnected with the commander-in-chief. As to the note from his royal highness, conceding it to be genuine, why was it necessary or probable, that this should refer to any corrupt agreement? Mrs. Clarke, with all her desire to impute guilt to his royal highness, had no remembrance of this note; which circumstance alone might be considered as powerful evidence, that it had no reference to any such agreement. As an irrefragable proof that, in fact, it had no reference, Mr. Burton observed, that according to captain Sandon's account, the note was produced in an envelope, bearing the Dover post-mark: and that he received it from the hands of Mrs. Clarke herself, for the purpose of satisfying captain Tonyn, that it was of the duke's hand-writing. From the date of this envelope (for the note itself was without date) compared with the date of the gazette, it appeared that the note could not have been delivered till five days after his actual appointment to the majority, and, consequently, far too late to answer its intended purpose, namely, to excite captain Tonyn's apprehensions



sions that his appointment would be either frustrated or retarded. "Thus then," said Mr. Burton, "out of the mouth of one of these associates against the commander-in-chief, have you a plain refutation of one of their own charges, nor is there any other evidence to support it." On the subject of the appointment of Samuel Carter to an ensigncy, and the charge for this generous act against the commander-in-chief, Mr. Burton expatiated more, in exculpation of the duke, than was at all necessary. This, in fact, did honour both to the duke and Mrs. Clarke. This young man, Carter, was a son, though illegitimate, of a very worthy captain of the army. It did not appear, that his mounting behind the carriage of Mrs. Clarke was known to the duke; and, certainly, though he waited at table, he never wore Mrs. Clarke's livery. A good deal of pains had been taken on his education, which was far from being lost on the young man; as appeared from several letters of his, produced in the course of evidence. We shall only extract the first and the last sentences of Mr. Burton's speech on the charge of Samuel Carter's appointment: "I confess it to have been my hope, that the honourable member (colonel Warde) would have yielded, on this point, to the entreaties of even Mrs. Clarke."—"God forbid! that this house should so far forget its duty, as to censure the appointment of such a person to a commission in the army, or that it should carry an address to the throne against the duke of York, for an act proceeding from the purest motives—the dictates of humanity."

Mr. Burton having gone through the separate charges, made a few observations on the probabilities or improbabilities of the case or charge in general. It had been presumed, that the duke of York knew and connived at the corrupt proceedings of Mrs. Clarke, because, by such alone, Mrs. Clarke could have been enabled to carry on her extensive establishment. But persons in high birth, and not in the habits of comparing income with expenditure, found it most difficult to render the one conformable to the other, or indeed to form any judgment upon these matters. He remembered to have been told, near forty years ago, by one of the preceptors of the duke of York and his royal brother, that though they were quick at learning, he could never teach them the value of money: so impossible it was to inculcate this knowledge without the daily and ordinary means of practical experience.—This argument was afterwards placed in a stronger light, in the debate that took place on the conduct of the duke of York, May the 14th, by Mr. Windham. It had been urged, that the duke of York, knowing that his mistress could not live as she did on what he allowed her, must have been satisfied, that she had indirect means of profit, and that these could be no other than bribes received for the exertion of her influence. It might be true that the duke of York ought to have made this calculation, but nothing appeared to Mr. W. more natural and likely than that he did not. Persons bred to small fortunes and economical habits might find a difficulty in believing how any one



one could commit much mistake in the proportion between his income and expenditure; yet surely examples of such mistakes were not wanting, nor failed to occur daily, even in the lower walks of life. Much more might they be expected in persons placed from their infancy above the want of money, and whose minds had been directed to any thing rather than to the management of their own affairs. And who knew that the duke of York ever thought upon the subject? He had not only his habits of idleness, but his habits of diligence to contend with; and if any one would form to himself an idea of the business which a commander in chief had to go through every day of his life, he would neither wonder at, nor be much disposed to blame any instance of ignorance or inattention that might occur in the management of his private affairs. Much of Mrs. Clarke's expences too never came within the cognizance of her protector, and many of them possibly were never intended to do so; her great dinners were all necessarily given when he was not present.— But to return to Mr. Burton. Besides that inattention to management and economy in private affairs, which was far from being unnatural, however much it was to be blamed in the duke of York, it was to be recollected that undoubtedly very large sums were supplied by his royal highness: upwards of £5000 in notes, and in payments to tradesmen for wine, furniture, and a variety of articles, to the amount, in the whole, of between 16 and £17,000, and all within the space of little more than two years. The extent of

Mrs. Clarke's debts was likewise to be considered. The existence of the conspiracy, and that the duke was a party to it being once supposed, how was it probable that there should have been any distress for money, when there was a mill for making it continually at work? There were then in the army as many as 10 or 11,000 officers; numerous changes were going on every day in the year; and such was always the eagerness for promotion, that there never could exist a deficiency of persons ready to give ample premiums above the regulated price. Where then would have been the difficulty, through the management of such a woman as Mrs. Clarke, with her subordinate agents, to relieve her from the pressure of her pecuniary difficulties, and to gratify her vanity and extravagance to the utmost? This argument of Mr. Burton seems to us to amount almost to a demonstration that, however much the duke of York might be to blame for suffering Mrs. Clarke to interfere at all in matters of military promotions or appointments, it never was any plan, on the part of his royal highness, to provide for the maintenance of his mistress by a deliberate system of bribery and corruption.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after speaking for many hours in defence of the duke of York, proposed a resolution, expressive of the conviction of the house of his royal highness's innocence; and that, after the insertion of this resolution in an address to his majesty, the address should proceed as follows: "And his majesty's faithful commons think



think it their duty further to state to his majesty, that, whilst this house has seen with satisfaction in the course of this inquiry, the unexampled regularity and method with which the business of the commander in chief has been conducted under the direction of his royal highness; and also the many salutary and efficient regulations which have been introduced into the army, during his command of it; some of which regulations have been specially directed to prevent those very abuses which, in the course of this inquiry, have been brought under the notice of the House of Commons;—they could not but feel the most serious regret and concern, that a connection should ever have existed, under the cover of which, transactions of a highly criminal and disgraceful nature have been carried on, and that an opportunity has been afforded of falsely and injuriously coupling with such transactions the name of his royal highness, whereby the integrity of his conduct in the discharge of the duties of his high office has been brought into question: that it is, however, a great consolation to this house to observe the deep regret and concern which his royal highness has himself expressed on the subject of that connection; as from the expression of that regret, on the part of his royal highness, this house derives the confident assurance that his royal highness will henceforth invariably keep in view that bright example of virtuous conduct which the uniform tenor of his majesty's life, during the course of his whole reign, has uniformly afforded to his whole subjects, and

which has so much endeared his majesty to the affections of every rank and description of his people." Such was the course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer recommended to the house, instead of the address proposed by colonel Wardle, for removing his royal highness from his office; and having thus put the house in possession of what he intended to submit to it, he yielded to its impatience, and moved an adjournment, which was agreed to.

House of Commons, March 9. The order of the day being read for resuming the adjourned debate on the evidence taken before the House of Commons respecting the conduct of the duke of York, the Chancellor of the Exchequer resumed his speech, which lasted for several hours, and was followed by Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Whitbread, the Attorney General, (sir Vicary Gibbs) and Mr. Bankes. Mr. Bathurst, having urged his objections to both the addresses, proposed respectively by colonel Wardle and Mr. Percival, thought it his duty to propose other terms of an address for the house, more consistent with the circumstances of the case, and more congenial with the feelings of the illustrious personage under whom the army had flourished for many years. Without, however, intruding his proposition at present, he should only suggest what he thought would be most proper upon such an occasion, namely, "That, while this house acknowledges the beneficent effects of the regulations adopted and acted upon by his royal highness, in the general discharge of his duties as commander in chief, it has observed,

with



with the deepest regret, that, in consequence of a connection the most immoral and unbecoming; a communication on official subjects, and an interference in the distribution of military appointments and promotions has been allowed to exist, which could not but lead to discredit the official administration of his royal highness, and to give colour and effect, as they have actually done, to transactions the most criminal and disgraceful." The house adjourned at half past four, on Friday morning.

Next day, March 10, Mr. Banks, pursuant to notice given at a preceding sitting, after a speech of considerable length, in which he took a clear view of the evidence on the table, proposed an amendment on the amendment of the right honourable Mr. Bathurst. Mr. Banks's amendment, of which Mr. Bathurst's was, he said, the basis, was as follows: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, stating, that information had been communicated to this house of various corrupt practices and abuses having prevailed in the disposal of commissions and promotions in his majesty's land forces, into which this house has diligently examined; and that we feel ourselves obliged to acquaint his majesty, that the result of our inquiries into the truth of these transactions by the examination, as well of oral evidence, as of various documents, has convinced us that such corrupt practices and abuses have unquestionably existed.—To assure his majesty that it is highly satisfactory to this house to find no ground, in any of these pro-

ceedings, for charging his royal highness the commander in chief with personal corruption or participation in any profits derived through undue means; but that, while we readily do justice to the exemplary regularity with which business is conducted in his department, and the salutary regulations which have been introduced by his royal highness, some of which are calculated to prevent such practices as have been brought under our review, we are obliged to express our opinion that such abuses could scarcely have prevailed to the extent to which they have been proved to have existed, without having excited the suspicion of the commander in chief. And we humbly submit to his majesty, even if it can be presumed that abuses so various and so long continued could have prevailed without the knowledge of his royal highness, whether the command of the army can with propriety be continued, or ought in prudence to remain any longer in his hands.—To express to his majesty that the abuses which have been disclosed during the progress of this examination have unveiled a course of conduct of the worst example to public morals, and highly injurious to the cause of religion, which, if not discountenanced by his majesty and by this house, cannot fail to have a pernicious effect upon those main springs of social order and well regulated society which it has been his majesty's uniform care to support and strengthen by his counsels, and to illustrate by his example." Mr. Banks was followed in the debate of this night by Mr. Yorke and



and Mr. W. Adam in defence of the duke of York, lord Folkstone in support of the address moved by colonel Wardle, and Mr. W. Smith who preferred the measure suggested by Mr. Bankes to any of the others that had been proposed. Among a great variety of shrewd observations made by Mr. Adam on the evidence adduced in support of the charges against the duke of York was, the following "the testimony given by Miss Taylor; her confirmation of the evidence of Mrs. Clarke; the existence of such a person or such a proof was never hinted at by the mover of the charges; nay it appeared that it was not only not known to that gentleman, but that it could not be known: and that it had been thought of, and discovered by Mrs. C. since the charges were brought. And yet, this was a charge in which corroborating evidence had been thought of beforehand, but was made to rest at the opening upon the payment for the plate and on that alone." The following anecdote which does great honour to the duke of York, and which was applied by the duke himself with perfect propriety or reason, was very judiciously brought forward by Mr. Adam. At a period, said Mr. A. of this proceeding, when some matter had been brought forward, which affected his royal highness deeply, by his finding the meanness of pecuniary corruption cruelly and falsely imputed to him; he communicated to me the promotion of general Graham, lately a member of that house, a person whose high character was well known; whose peculiar turn to military affairs had greatly distinguished

him; whose promotion had at a former period been refused for reasons which were then thought conclusive; the objections with regard to whose promotions had been since removed by subsequent events, and the long continuation of voluntary services. This gallant officer who fought at the battle of Corunna, and stood by the side of his friend sir John Moore when he fell, general Moore had recommended to the commander-in-chief, at the dying request of sir John Moore, in order that he might get his rank. When his royal highness communicated this subject to me, under the circumstances which I have just set forth, he said, "I know from your attachment to Graham, that it will give you pleasure to learn that I have passed a great part of this morning with his majesty, my reasons for thinking that the obstacles to colonel Graham's promotion are removed; and I trust I have given such reasons, as will induce his majesty to authorize the promoting him to the rank of major-general. The king's answer has not yet come back, but I impart the matter to you, because I know how much you will be gratified by being told what is so truly interesting and important to your friend."

I felt, Mr. Adam continued, the kindness of the communication, and being particularly impressed with the whole scene, with the excess of feeling, the fortitude in repressing it, and the kindness in devoting himself under these circumstances to the interests of others, I could not refrain from shewing and expressing what I felt. After a little time his royal highness



highness said, "you may now discover, from the communication I have made to you several days before it can be known to the public, how I may have been abused in similar cases and by what means communications which might drop in conversation with motives perfectly pure on my part, might be turned to purposes the most criminal and corrupt. If I had mentioned such a matter as colonel Graham's intended promotion in the parlour of Gloucester place, I have now reason to see that a communication, innocent on my part, would immediately have been made the subject of a base and scandalous traffic, from which I could not have been secured by the honour of the man who was the object of promotion."

House of Commons, March 13. The *Secretary at War* rose to oppose the address proposed by Mr. Bankes, who had declared that though no charge of corruption had been established against the duke of York, he must have entertained a suspicion that abuses existed, and that therefore it was the duty of the house to agree to a proposition, the tendency of which was, to deprive him of the command of the army—He was followed on the same side of the question by the master of the rolls, and the solicitor general. On the other side appeared sir Francis Burdett, sir S. Romilly, and Mr. H. Smith. Sir Francis at the conclusion of a long, yet lively speech, said by way of peroration that, "whether he considered the circumstances, the documents, the proofs, the defence, or the character, all with one ac-

cord compelled him to declare that in his opinion the charges were completely substantiated against the duke of York." Sir S. Romilly said "let us recollect that it was we who created the public agitation; that it was we who granted to the accused, that publicity which his defenders in this house so strenuously demanded; that it was we who sent by every day's post our proceedings on that subject, to be canvassed in every corner of the kingdom. With this recollection, and with the knowledge of what the effect has been, is this house now to be desired to turn a deaf ear to the opinions of the public?"

If once the opinion should prevail, that the House of Commons had heard of the existence of corruption in the state and heard of it with indifference: if ever such an impression should go forth, they would lose the confidence of the people, and the minds of the public would be alienated from parliament. If ever that fatal time should arrive, no man could tell the consequences. The master of the rolls, was of opinion that, from all the evidence that had come before them, and all the different lights in which he could view this inquiry, and the result it had led to, all that could be said was, that the duke of York had not been sufficiently cautious, that he had allowed Mrs. Clarke to believe that she had some influence over him, though it appeared at the same time that he had never acted upon this principle. The house adjourned at half past three o'clock on Tuesday morning.



House of Commons, March 14. The debate on the conduct of the duke of York was resumed. The principal speakers in this day's debate were, in support of the charges Mr. Charles William Wynne, M. H. Martin, and Mr. Coke; in refutation of them, Mr. Croker, Mr. Wortley Stewart, Mr. Windham, and lord Castle-reagh. The house adjourned at half past three o'clock on Wednesday morning; on the evening of which day the debate was resumed. In support of the charges, appeared lord Milton, Mr. Wilberforce, the earl of Temple, Mr. Ponsonby, and to a certain extent, sir T. Turton, who thought there was ground for charging his royal highness the duke of York with the knowledge of the corrupt practices, that had been proved at the bar: in vindication of his royal highness, the lord advocate for Scotland, the honourable Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Canning. The question being loudly called for, the house divided: for Mr. Banks's amendment 199. Against it 294. A second division afterwards took place on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's amendment on Mr. Wardle's address. For the amendment 364. Against it 123. The house adjourned at half past six o'clock on Thursday morning.

House of Commons, March 17. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced his intention to withdraw his resolution, to strike out the word "charges," and otherwise to alter it to the following effect, "That this house having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of his royal

highness the duke of York, as commander in chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption and connivance at corruption have been imputed to his said royal highness, find it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation." A long debate ensued, in which so great a number of members rose, (amidst reiterated cries from all parts of the house to pass immediately to a vote) to declare the grounds on which they should give their votes on the question now to come to a final decision, that to give even a list of their names would run into a degree of prolixity that may be avoided. Mr. Lyttleton hoped that the house would not add their own humiliation to the disgrace of his royal highness. If this should be the case, he trembled at the result. The people would sink into sullen despondency, and say, "These are men not to be trusted." He hoped that a British House of Commons would prove itself worthy of the epithet applied to the celestial fount of justice—that it "was not a respecter of persons."

Sir Thomas Turton moved as an amendment to the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "That this house has grounds for believing that his royal highness, the commander in chief, had knowledge of the corrupt transactions of which evidence had been given at the bar;" on a division of the house, sir T. Turton's amendment was negatived. Ayes 135.

Noes



Noes 334. The house then divided on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion. For it 278. Against it 196.

March 20. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated a fact which, he hoped might induce his right honourable friend Mr. Bathurst to forego the motion which he had promised to bring forward that evening; his royal highness the duke of York on Saturday morning, of his own accord had waited on his majesty, and tendered to him his resignation of the chief command of the army, which his majesty had been graciously pleased to accept. The communication made by his royal highness to his majesty upon tendering his resignation, was read to the house by Mr. Perceval at full: of this communication it is sufficient for our purpose to extract the first sentence.

“The House of Commons having, after a long and full investigation of the merits of certain allegations against him, passed a resolution of his innocence, he might now approach his majesty, and venture to tender to him his resignation of the chief command of his majesty's army, as he could no longer be suspected of acting from any apprehension of the result, nor be accused of having shrunk from the extent of an inquiry from which, painful as it had been, he trusted he should appear, even to those who had been disposed to condemn his conduct, to have met with the patience and firmness which could arise only from

a conscious feeling of innocence.” The Chancellor of the Exchequer, having made this communication to the house, without any comment of his own, left it to his right honourable friend to determine, after having heard it, whether he would think it necessary to proceed with his motion. Mr. Bathurst assured the house that he did not harbour even a lurking suspicion of any criminality which could prevent his royal highness the duke of York from going forth into the world with clean hands, and free from the charge of any foul imputation. But the principle on which his intention to propose a resolution had been founded was not at all altered, though he allowed that the ground on which he intended to have acted, had been in some degree narrowed, in consequence of what had transpired on the present occasion. A great cause was at issue, the cause of justice between two parties of important consequence, the public on one side, and the commander in chief on the other, and that house ought to decide. He did not, in the mean time, believe that a more judicious decision could be come to, than what should be at once an admonition and an example. He then submitted to the house the resolution which has been above stated.\*

Lord Althorpe, as an amendment to this, moved the following resolution.—“That his royal highness the duke of York, having resigned the command of the army, this house does not now think it



necessary to proceed any farther in the consideration of the evidence before the committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of his royal highness, as far as relates to his royal highness." The insertion of the word *now* was intended to express the opinion of the house that the duke of York should not, at any time hereafter, be restored to his late situation, as commander in chief; and consequently that if he should, the house would resume their proceedings on the charges against him. After a long debate, Mr. Bathurst's resolution was negatived without a division. On a motion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the word "now" should be left out of lord Althorpe's amendment, the house divided.—Ayes, 235; noes, 112.

Though the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York was confined to his official acts, respecting commissions, exchanges, and promotions in the army, and did not extend to mere recommendations to offices or emoluments not in the army, otherwise than as they might throw light on the question before the house; it may be proper to take notice of a few of those curious facts, which were disclosed in the course of the examination, and which, though not of a nature to fix any imputation of any corrupt practices on the duke of York, serve to shew the extent to which corrupt practices did prevail, and the still wider extent of the opinion that there was nothing so important in the state, or sacred in the church, that was not to be procured by bribery. The

whole of the inquiry exhibits a thousand circumstances tending to illustrate, in an accurate and impressive manner, a view of the ways of the world in London, and of the state of public morals and religion in England, at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It will be recollected that Mr. Wardle had stated, that the two members of the present cabinet to whom he alluded, as concerned in a corrupt traffic in patronage, were the Lord Chancellor and the duke of Portland. Some of our readers, no doubt, may have entertained a greater curiosity to know on what this charge could be founded, and how it would terminate, than any of the other allegations in the whole course of the examination, Mrs. Clarke, on her examination February 10, being asked through what person she held herself out as having influence enough to procure a certain situation, said, "I do not think any one was held out. I fancy they guessed the duke of York, but no one was held out; and I think it is very likely that Mr. Donovan supposed the duke of Portland. But I mean here to say that the duke is not at all connected with the office for disposing of government patronage. Of the office that Mr. Wardle mentioned in the city I know nothing. I was very sorry that Mr. Wardle had mentioned such a thing, because every one who knows the lord chancellor, must know that, besides being one of the highest, he is one of the most honourable, men in England: and, if there are any insinuations about the duke



duke of Portland, Mr. Maltby is the duke of Portland. He is my duke of Portland. I mean entirely to clear myself of holding out any insinuation against the duke's character. Mr. Wardle accused me once of going into the duke of Portland's, and said that he had watched me in. I told him I was not in the habit of going in there, and laughed at him, and said that most likely it was Mrs. Gibbs." Mr. Wardle was not the only person who believed, at one time, that Mrs. Clarke had influence with the duke of Portland. The marquis of Tichfield, (the duke of Portland's son) a member of the House of Commons, being called upon to state every thing he was acquainted with, as to an application from the reverend Mr. Basely to the duke of Portland, stated that Mr. Basely called upon the duke on the third of January, in the present year, and, not being able to see him, left the following letter for him.—

*"Norfolk Street, Grosvenor Square.*

*"My Lord Duke,*

*"I wished particularly to see your grace on the most private business. I cannot be fully open by letter. The object is, to solicit your grace's recommendation to the deanery of Salisbury or some other deanery, for the most ample pecuniary remuneration for which I will instantly give a draft to your grace. For Salisbury three thousand pounds. I hope your grace will pardon this, and instantly commit these lines to the*

*flames. I am now writing, for the benefit of administration, a most interesting pamphlet. Excuse this openness, and*

*I remain,*

*Your grace's*

*Most obedient and*

*Obliged servant,*

*J. BASELY."*

This note the duke of Portland transmitted to the bishop of London, in whose diocese he understood that Mr. Basely possessed one or two chapels.\* The bishop, in a letter in answer to the duke, dated Fulham house January 5, 1809, said, "It is too true that this wretched creature Basely has one if not two chapels in my diocese. I have long known him to be a very weak man, but, till this insufferable insult upon your grace, I did not know he was so completely wicked, and so totally void of all principle. And, as your grace is in possession of the most incontestible proofs of his guilt, you will, I trust, inflict upon him the disgrace and punishment he so richly deserves."

Mrs. Clarke in her evidence of the 9th of February, stated that a Dr O'Meara applied to her in 1805 to get him made a bishop. He made an offer of pecuniary remuneration, the exact amount of which she did not, at the moment, recollect. And he brought a testimonial in his favour, under the hand of the archbishop of Tuam, stating that the writer had received the most satisfactory assurances that the doctor was "a gentleman of most unexception-

\* Mr Basely was in fact one of the bishop of London's chaplains.



able character in every respect, of a respectable family and independent fortune." This letter was produced to the House of Commons. Mrs. Clarke gave Dr. O'Meara a letter of introduction to the duke of York. On the 13th of February, she brought to the bar a letter of his royal highness, written to her from Weymouth, telling her that Dr. O'Meara had applied to him in order to be allowed to *preach before royalty*, and that he would put him in the way of it, if he could. Dr. O'Meara did preach before royalty, and an article appeared in the Morning Post under the date of Weymouth October 3 1809, stating that "the reverend Dr. O'Meara preached on Sunday an excellent sermon, from Rom. chap. xii. ver. 5. on universal benevolence. He expatiated with great eloquence on the relation which the public and private affections bear to each other, and their use in the moral system. He inveighed with peculiar energy against the savage philosophy of the French deists. We wish our young ecclesiastics would arouse themselves, and shake off that mental languor which oppresses them in the pulpit, and shew themselves in earnest. Sacred eloquence is, in this country certainly feeble and unimpressive. No other excellence can supply the want of animation. That sweet charm, that celestial unction which christian oratory demands, this gentleman certainly possesses in an eminent degree. *His lips are*

*touched with the live coal from the altar.* The king was very attentive, and stood for the most part for nearly the whole of the sermon, which we never before observed, and expressed his high approbation to the earl of Uxbridge and others, whilst the queen and princesses and the whole audience were melted into tears." The public was at no loss to conjecture who was the author of this newspaper puff. But after all this alleged attention, and approbation of his majesty, Mrs. Clarke declared in her evidence, that after communicating the doctor's offer, with all his documents to the duke of York, the issue of the business as reported to her by his royal highness, was, that the king did not like the great O in his name. The reverend Dr. O'Meara became as general a subject of ridicule as the reverend Mr. Bowles.

An application was also made to Mrs. Clarke in favour of the reverend Mr. G. H. Glasse rector of Hanwell, by his intimate friend Mr. Donovan, who makes a great figure as a patronage broker in the investigation of the conduct of the duke of York.\* Mr. Donovan said, on his examination, February 9, that Mr. Glasse knew nothing of this application; that he was to pay the £1000 for Mr. Glasse out of his own pocket from the profits of his agency in procuring places for different parties. Mr. Glasse was dismissed from the office of secretary to the committee of the sons of the clergy.

\* He offered to give Mrs. Clarke £1000 if she could procure for Mr. Glasse the deanery of Hereford.



Mr. Donovan was asked whether he had been in the habit of trafficking in appointments from the East India company. Appointments that must come under the cognizance of the board of control? He owned that he had, and particularly that he had last year obtained the promise of a writership for a young man of the name of O'Hara, for £3,500, of which he was to have £250, as the price of his agency, or commission. The money was to be paid to a Mr. Fabourdin an attorney in Argyle street, who had procured the promise of the nomination, on the young man's passing as a writer to India. The negotiation however broke off in consequence of a difference about the banker in whose hands the money should be deposited. Mr. O'Hara's money was already lodged in a banker's in the city. The person who had the disposal of the appointment would not consent to its remaining there, but insisted on its being lodged at his own banker's. This matter is mentioned here not certainly as one of the most interesting or curious that were brought to light, but as it led to an inquiry into the disposal of East India patronage in general.

During this inquiry which was continued without intermission for seven weeks, Mrs. Clarke, the principal evidence, and as it were the heroine of the accusing party, was examined at the bar again and again, and by the readiness and smartness of her answers to an infinitude of questions, sometimes gave a degree of relief to the long and wearisome sittings of a protracted examination. She

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seemed to be very much at home, and to reckon with confidence on the complacent regards of a great part, at least, of the members of the House of Commons, and to be well pleased in the possession of so splendid a theatre for displaying the attractions of both her mind and person. She carried however her ease, gaiety, and pleasantry to a degree of pertness, in a few instances, which was very reprehensible, and contrary indeed to that sense of propriety and decorum, of which we cannot but suppose, from the quickness of her understanding, she was in reality possessed. Having said that she stated, or shewed something to Mr. Adam, the question was put to her what Mr. Adam thought of it, under the impression no doubt that Mr. Adam would naturally say something about it. Mrs. Clarke answered, "I do not know what Mr. Adam *thought*." The question being put to her by Mr. Croker, if ever she had written an anonymous letter to his royal highness, the prince of Wales, she answered that she had, and that Colonel Macmahon had called on her in consequence. Did you sign, said Mr. Croker, any name to this anonymous letter? Mrs. Clarke looking to the chairman, burst into a fit of loud laughter, in which, indeed, she was joined by the house. The question being put, what situations did you endeavour to procure through Mr. Maltby and for whom? she answered, I forget. Being closely interrogated and pressed on this point; she named a Mr. Lawson, but said she did not recollect any other. Do you stake the veracity of your testimony on that last answer,

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that you recollect but one of those persons? I think that I ought to appeal to the chairman now, whether I am obliged to answer that question. The chairman directed the witness to state the objection she had, observing, that the committee would decide upon it. "He is a very respectable man, and he has been already very ill used, and I am afraid of committing him and his family." The chairman directed the witness to name the man to whom she had alluded as a respectable person. That, said Mrs. Clarke, would be giving his name at once. Really I cannot pronounce his name rightly, though I know how to spell it, and I must be excused. The chairman observed to her, that her present conduct was very disrespectful to the committee. I mean, she replied, to behave very respectfully to the committee. I am very sorry if I do not. But I do not know but the gentleman may lose the money he has already lodged, if I mention his name. This objection was overruled, and Mrs. Clarke said, that the respectable person to whom she had alluded was Mr. Lodowick or Mr. Ludowick.—It is amusing to reflect on the change of manners in the course of a few generations. How differently would the gaiety and levity, and in some instances, the trifling conduct, of Mrs. Clarke towards the House of Commons, have been treated by the Long Parliament, she could not possibly have escaped a severe rebuke for even the elegance of her apparel, or being told, that it would have better become her to appear in *sackcloth and ashes*.

The inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York, interested the

public more deeply than any question had done since that concerning the succession to the crown, and the limitations of the regal power. The attention of all ranks was more or less eagerly directed to what was going on in the House of Commons. There was no one that now seemed to think it of any consequence what was done either in the prosecution of the war, or negotiation for peace, until that affair should be settled. The eyes of the whole nation were directed to its rulers in general: to the whole of the government, King, Lords, and Commons. Many persons little accustomed to take any interest in public affairs, took an interest in this.

The decision of the House of Commons, coupled with the spontaneous resignation of the duke of York, was such as became that great council; modified as it was by a regard to what was due to the duke on the one hand, and to the sentiments of the nation on the other. We say coupled as it was with the spontaneous resignation of his royal highness, because it was to be fairly presumed that this step was not taken by the duke without the advice of the leaders of that party who did all in their power to defend him. The issue of this great and important trial did great honour to the English nation. While it shewed that the people, notwithstanding the deficiency in the just measure of their representation in parliament, could yet make their voice to be heard on any great political emergency, and even on a charge against the son of the king, it proved at the same time, that popular clamour was to be moderated by the justice and candour



of legislative wisdom. The duke had certainly been guilty of great indiscretion, arising from facility of temper, or, it may perhaps be said, weakness; but a weakness often found in conjunction with great talents and many virtues. The motion of lord Althorpe, by which, if it had been agreed to, his royal highness would have been precluded from being ever restored to the office of commander in chief, was too severe. Most men attend only to what is present or recent.\* The character and general tenor of human conduct is to be judged of, not by any particular act, but the whole of the drama of life. No man is free from imperfections and faults:

*Nemo sine vitiis nascitur, optimus ille  
Qui minimis urgetur.* HORAT.

One reflection tending to the total exculpation of the duke from all participation and even knowledge and connivance of the corrupt practices of Mrs. Clarke, cannot but recur to the mind of the intelligent and candid observer again and again. She was extremely anxious on every occasion, as appeared from the testimony of every witness who was called on, or had occasion to speak on that point, and as she herself acknowledged, to admonish and enjoin, in the most earnest manner, the most perfect secrecy of all negotiations between herself and the applicants for her influence, from the duke of York. This admission she soon perceived, on her examination, would lead to the conclusion that she was afraid, lest the truth should come out, that she either

had no influence at all with his royal highness in affairs of military appointments or promotions, or at least, not so much as she pretended. In order to obviate this inference, she said that she was afraid lest the duke should say she had committed great imprudence. Imprudence with regard to whom? with regard to persons as well acquainted with those transactions as either she or the duke was? If it was to be concealed from the duke, that the favours obtained at his hands, were obtained by means of those negotiations, how could the duke imagine (as it was alleged he did) that she could have any claim for any pecuniary remuneration for any promotions or appointments so obtained? If the duke had once granted any thing from corrupt motives, at the solicitation of Mrs. Clarke, he would not have turned a deaf ear to their farther applications, or been disposed to incur the hazard of their blabbing about what had already passed. But on the contrary, the duke repelled with indignation all the menaces of Mrs. Clarke, major O'Hogan, and major Turner, and all the demands of colonel French, from the moment that it appeared that they were both inconsistent with justice to the public, and contrary to the rules of the service. When the duke of York had resigned his office, general sir David Dundas was appointed commander in chief in his stead.

After the examination of witnesses was over, the manly and disinterested conduct of colonel Wardle, and that of those too who had been his principal supporters, was publicly

\* *Sed plerique mortales postrema meminere.* Jul. Cæs. apud Bell. Catalin. Sall.  
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acknowledged in the warmest terms of gratitude, esteem, and admiration, by the cities of Glasgow and Canterbury; and after the inquiry was brought to an issue by the decision of the House of Commons and the resignation

of the commander in chief, by the cities of London and Westminster, the county of Middlesex, and a great proportion of the other counties, cities, and boroughs throughout the kingdom.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Inquiries arising out of that into the Conduct of the Duke of York.—A Bill to prevent the Sale and Brokerage of Offices.—Abuses of the Patronage of the East India Company.—Charges of the Abuse of ministerial Influence and Power against Lord Castlereagh.*

THE inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York by the House of Commons, gave rise to many other inquiries. On the 27th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, pursuant to notice, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the sale and brokerage of offices. The practices, he observed, lately disclosed, consisted not in the sale of offices by those who had the power to give them away, but in the arts of those who pretended to have influence over such persons, and issued public advertisements, giving occasion to the notion that these abuses prevailed to a much greater extent than they actually did. Some persons in a certain office, Kylock and Co. who had carried on this trade, were under prosecution. As there were several persons in that concern, they were prosecuted for a conspiracy. But if there had been only one individual, he did not see how the law as it at present stood, could have reached him, though perhaps he might have been indicted for obtaining money under false pretences. The material point then would be, to make it highly penal to solicit money for procuring offices, or to circulate any advertisement with that view.

Lord Folkstone did not object to the motion, but he thought it at present premature. As a vast scene of abuse had been disclosed, the house ought not to shut its eyes, but to go on to probe the matter to the bottom, to search into the abuses of all departments, and then to apply a radical and effectual remedy for the evil, with respect to which it was now legislating in the dark. Different plans for carrying on abuses to which the bill now proposed would not apply.—After a few words from the Attorney General, leave was given, the bill was brought in, and passed through the usual stages into a law.

In the course of the investigation of the conduct of the duke of York, it was ascertained beyond all doubt, that there was a regular, systematic, and almost an avowed traffic in East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government; wherefore a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons, to “inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices,\* in regard to the appointment and nomination of writers or cadets in the service of the East India Company: or any agreement, negotiation, or bargain, direct or indi-

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rect,

\* It appeared from the report of this committee, that when the charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1793, it was made a bye law, that each direc-



rect, for the sale thereof; and to report the same as it should appear to them, to the house, together with their observations thereon; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them, and their proceedings from time to time to the house." From the report of the committee it appeared, that a very great number of cadetships and writerships had been disposed of in an illegal manner; and though nothing had come out that could form any reasonable ground for suspicion that such bargains had been made or carried into execution with the consent or knowledge of the proprietors: yet, not only particular facts, but the general tenor of the whole investigation clearly proved, that if all the directors had exercised, in the disposal of their patronage, the same vigilance and caution

which are usually applied in the management of individual concerns, such a regular and continued traffic could not have been carried on for such a length of time. The committee having stated a great number of cases in which a traffic in the patronage of the East India Company had been most glaring, proposed a check against those who were inclined to purchase appointments in the service of the company,\* and gave it as their opinion, that the immediate consequence of the information contained in this report must be, that a certain number of persons in the service of the company will be instantly deprived of their employments and recalled from India. The committee concluded their report with the following paragraph: "The practices which are developed in the present report, and other transactions which this house

tor, within ten days after his election, should take an oath, that he would not receive any perquisite, emolument, or favour, for the appointment of any person to any office in the gift of the company, or on account of fixing the voyage of any ships in the company's employ. A heavy penalty was imposed on the abuse of patronage. And the director who should recommend a person to a cadetship, as well as the nearest of kin to the newly appointed cadet, was obliged to sign a certificate: the former, that neither he, nor any other for him, or any person to whom he had given the appointment, had received, or was to receive, any thing for it; the latter, that it had been given to his relation gratuitously. Within a very few years, however, after these enactments, suspicions of abuses in the nomination of writers were so strong and prevalent, that the court of directors thought it necessary, in 1798, to set on foot an inquiry into this subject. A committee was accordingly appointed, who came to some resolutions, which, if they had been adopted and acted upon, might certainly have had a very considerable effect in checking the abuses complained of. The court did indeed approve of the resolutions of the committee; but before any step could be taken, the direction was changed, and of course it became necessary to appoint a new committee. So many obstacles and difficulties were thrown in the way of this new committee, that their proceedings were very slow and unpromising. In 1800, a motion made before the general court of directors, that the declaration respecting patronage required from each member should be on oath, was rejected. The committee of patronage ceased in April that year, and it was never re-appointed. No farther proceedings on the part of the directors, respecting the abuse of their patronage, till the subject was forced on the attention of the House of Commons by the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York.

\* See the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the Patronage of the East India Company, Appendix to Chronicle, p. 477.

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has recently had under its cognizance, sufficiently demonstrate that the patronage of various descriptions has, in several instances, become an article of traffic; that an opinion of the generality of such practices has been prevalent to a still greater extent, and that fraudulent agents have availed themselves of this belief to the injury of the credulous and unwary, and the discredit of those in whose hands the disposition of offices is lodged. It will depend on the steps which may be taken in consequence of these inquiries, whether such abuses shall receive a permanent check, or a virtual encouragement."

The whole of the writerships in the disposal of which abuses were detected, were found to have been given by one man, Mr. Thelluson. And so strong and general was the persuasion that he was culpable, at least in not inquiring how the person, at whose disposal he placed the nomination of the offices to which he was entitled to nominate, had bestowed them, on what account, and for what purpose of personal interest he was so anxious to procure them; that on offering himself to be re-chosen a director, he was rejected by a great majority. It was determined by the court of directors, after long debates, that those young men who had been named by the committee of the House of Commons as having obtained their appointments by means of corrupt practices, should be recalled. The hardship of this measure towards the young men who were the objects of it, was felt and acknowledged. But it seemed indispen- sibly necessary; unless the court of directors had been willing, by

their own act, to render a solemn law of the East India Company a dead letter. No law, without the enforcement of this regulation, could ever be carried into regular and impartial execution.

In the course of the examination of witnesses by the committee appointed to inquire into the abuse of India patronage, it was discovered, that lord Castlereagh had endeavoured to procure a seat in parliament for his friend lord Clancarty, in exchange for a writership, which had been given to him when president of the board of controul, by some of the directors. Of the board of controul lord Clancarty also was a member. This negociation, doubly illegal, as it had for its object both the disposal of East India patronage, and the purchase of a seat in the House of Commons, was brought under the cognizance of that house on the 25th of April, by lord Archibald Hamilton. His lordship, after reminding the house, that he had ever been in the habit of standing as forward as any other member in pursuing practices of corruption, observed, that not long since they had sent two individuals to prison. If they wished this judgment to have the influence of example, they must take care of their individual and collective respectability. And what, he asked, could be more conducive to this end, than the enforcement of those laws and regulations which they had so repeatedly enacted for guarding against any improper interference in the election of their members. Against the noble lord, to whom his motion referred, he did not mean to assert one word beyond what the evidence before



the committee contained, or to make any charge against him that he had not made against himself. It was in evidence that, in 1805, lord Castlereagh received a letter from a Mr. Reding, (an advertising place-broker) who was a perfect stranger to him, stating, that he thought he had the means of assisting him in coming into parliament; in consequence of which, he had a meeting with him: at which meeting the proposition respecting a seat in parliament was renewed. Lord Castlereagh, as appeared from his evidence on the table of the house, told Mr. Reding, that he did not want a seat himself, but that a friend of his did, and that he sent Mr. Reding's letter to lord Clancarty, the friend he had alluded to. And he admitted that he had been induced to place a writership at lord Clancarty's disposal, in order that his coming into parliament might thereby be facilitated. It appears that different meetings took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding. At one of these, Lord Castlereagh asked Mr. Reding the name of the gentleman who proposed to vacate. But this he declined till the terms should be settled, and the negotiation was broken off. But, said Lord A. Hamilton, the noble lord has stated in his evidence, "that the writership was to be disposed of subject to certain qualifications; that the case before them had no reference to any pecuniary transaction; and finally, that the nomination to the writership did not take place." This plea, said lord A. Hamilton, cannot avail him upon this occasion, for his *intention is obvious, and of that intention we are to*

judge. Lord A. Hamilton having reviewed the whole case, moved, that the minutes of the evidence he had referred to be read.—Upon this, lord Castlereagh rose to defend himself, which he did in a modest and somewhat humble manner. The appointment of a writership, he said, was not within his official province as president of the board of controul. He had no doubt a degree of influence, but not of an official nature. Having tried, he said in conclusion, to strip the charge against him of all the aggravations, he left it for the house to consider whether, without any motive, he could be wilfully corrupt or so senseless as to commit a crime, which, from the very circumstances that attended it, he knew must be public. He had now only to regret, that the motives of private friendship or of public zeal (alluding to the benefit he had said the introduction of lord Clancarty into the House of Commons, would be to the public) could have induced him to do any thing requiring the cognizance of that house. He certainly had not erred intentionally, and would submit with patience to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred. Making an obeisance to the Speaker, he then withdrew.

The evidence of the minutes being entered as read, lord A. Hamilton proposed the following resolutions. 1st. "That it appears to this house, from the evidence on the table, that lord viscount Castlereagh, in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of president of the board of controul, and being then a privy counsellor and secretary of state, did place  
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at the disposal of lord Clancarty a seat in this honourable house. 2d. That it was owing to a disagreement among other and subordinate parties to the transaction that it did not take effect. 3d. That lord viscount Castlereagh has been, by the said conduct, guilty of a violation of his duty, of an abuse of his influence and authority as president of the board of controul, and also of an attack upon the purity and constitution of this house."

The debate that ensued was long, but not very keen or animated. There was in the long debate of this night a wonderful air of candour and moderation.—Lord Binning said, that though it was impossible to defend lord Castlereagh upon principle, the resolution proposed by the noble lord involved a greater punishment than the offence deserved. There were degrees of offences: A man was not to be punished for a bare *intention* with the same severity as for an actual commission. What was necessary to constitute an offence was here wanting. There was no *malus animus*: no corrupt design appeared in the whole transaction. The noble lord acted not in his official capacity, but as an individual wishing to oblige his friend. Officially he had committed no offence, and the degree of punishment ought to be proportioned to the degree of guilt. On these grounds lord Binning moved, that the other orders of the day be now read.—On much the same grounds as those stated by lord Binning, lord Castlereagh was defended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Mannors Sutton, and Mr. Canning. Mr. Perceval observed, that Lord Castlereagh

had stipulated that the person to be appointed to the writership must be a proper person; one who was sufficiently qualified for the situation. The affair could not have been completed without giving his lordship full time to review the whole, and to make every proper inquiry. There were shades of offence. Were the resolutions proposed agreed to, the noble lord must in the end be removed from his official situation. Thus the punishment would be made as severe as if the imputed offence had been actually committed.—Mr. C.W. Wynn thought that the intention manifested and acknowledged by Lord Castlereagh was sufficient to establish his criminality. It had been said, that the patronage in question did not fall to the noble viscount by virtue of his own office, but was attached to some other department distinct from his. This circumstance did not indeed appear to him to be any aggravation of the noble viscount's fault, but as little was it an extenuation of it. If this were admitted, a door would be opened to numberless other abuses. If a Chancellor of the Exchequer, for instance, was through corrupt means to procure for any one an appointment in a public department, he might say, "I have nothing to do with that. It does not come immediately under my office. It was in the department of my friend, the Secretary of State." This exchange, this borrowing of patronage for the purpose of influencing the return of members to parliament ought to be prevented. If the negociation failed, it was not from want of inclination on the part of the noble lord.



lord. He should therefore vote for the resolutions proposed by his noble friend.

Mr. Grattan liked the candid manner in which lord C. had made his statement. His defence, such as it was, was frank and well-judged, for there was throughout a decent respect for constitutional principles. But then, what had the noble lord confessed? That he had evaded a great principle of the constitution; but that he had not so evaded it with a view to attack the constitution, but with a view to accommodate a friend—an offence in either case. But in either the motives were so widely different as strongly to mark a distinction between offences in both. The attack on the constitution was direct; but then it did not as it stood seem to be one of a series. There did not appear to be any evidence of a system. It stood alone. And it did appear to him that the noble viscount, at the time when he was guilty of that offence was not aware of its extent. But still the offence called for the animadversion of that house. It had been said, that government had a right to use its patronage in its own support.—Then why not all patronage, civil, military, and ecclesiastical?—And for what was any government to be allowed the right of calling forth all its patronage on this specious principle of self-defence? Why, to model the parliament to the government.—All this was to be done in order to new-model the parliament. The house had in a late instance shewn a laudable jealousy of corrupt practices. How could they now reconcile that jealousy with

a connivance at this principle?—A writership might have been given to facilitate a return to parliament. Though lord C. had denied any intention of attacking the freedom of parliament, he had not denied that offence. And Mr. Grattan thought it was not possible that the house could refuse to infix upon such a transaction the reprobation due to it.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that Lord C. in proposing to dispose of the writership in the manner stated in the evidence, had not been simply guilty of an abuse of his patronage as a servant of the crown; he had been guilty of a violation of the East India acts to a peculiar degree, by doing that, which it was the object of that act to prevent, in applying India patronage for purposes of parliamentary influence. His conduct was not only an offence, but a perversion of the duties of an office created for the purpose of preventing such perversion. Sir F. Burdett, after some prefatory matter about the lateness of the hour, and the general gravity of Mr. Bankes, (who had just spoken, he thought with ludicrous intention) said, with respect to the question before the house, that he could not see any objections to the resolutions proposed by lord A. Hamilton. Though the fact stated in the second resolution was not exactly made out by the evidence, that resolution might be easily amended, because the truth was, that the negotiation had failed in consequence of the inferior agents not having been able to accomplish what they had undertaken. Did lord C. perceive, on reflection, the impropriety of his conduct, and

stop



stop short in his progress towards its accomplishment? No such thing; the offence, as *far as he was to act*, was intentionally committed; and he had no plea of extenuation because it ultimately failed from the inefficiency of minor agents.—Mr. Whitbread observed, that the converts to parliamentary reform were now numerous in every part of the country, and that if the motion which his noble friend had submitted to the house should be negatived, they would be still more numerous.—Mr. Tierney did not see that it was any mitigation to say that lord C. was so particular about the fitness of the person to be recommended to the writership, as those writerships were always given to boys, and the son of a chimney-sweep might just be as proper as the son of a member of parliament, if he had interest to get a recommendation.—Mr. Windham said, that the house in giving their decision were called upon, in his opinion, to make a distinction between the act and the offender. Should they pass to the other orders of the day, he feared it would be regraded as an implied approbation of the principle. He admitted that any attack on the privileges of that house, or the purity and freedom of elections, was a very fair and fit object for parliamentary cognizance. But he would be glad to know how far the principle was to be carried? Whether it was to be applied to any man influencing, or endeavouring to influence a vote, or procure a seat in that house, under certain circumstances, or whether it was meant to limit it to ministers? He feared that his noble friend had

taken his principle too wide. If he meant that it should be declared criminal in a man to endeavour to obtain a seat in that house, under those circumstances with which they were all acquainted, that design would embrace much more than this motion. There was not a place in the kingdom that sent members to parliament, to which, with the exception of Old Sarum, it would not apply. When they were called upon to condemn so violently the noble lord, they would do well to ask themselves whether they would hesitate, for the purpose of securing an election, to recommend a friend to government. It was not the intention of the noble lord, from what he could collect, to put a person in that house to answer an improper purpose. It was incumbent on the house to give an opinion on the transaction, but not too strong an opinion on the man.—Mr. Canning perceived that every gentleman who had spoken entertained a due sense of the manner in which his noble friend had conducted his defence, and did not wish to press any severe sentence upon him. To this consideration, was to be added another, namely, that the intention of the noble lord was never carried into execution, and that it certainly would have been retracted if the noble lord had afterwards come to learn the circumstances of the offer, and the character of the person who made it.—The voting for passing to the other orders of the day was according to parliamentary usage, a way of shewing that the house had taken a case in consideration, the result of which had been, that they did not think it necessary to  
come



come to any criminating resolutions. In order, however, to express this opinion more clearly in the present case, he would rather wish that instead of a vote for passing to the other orders of the day, a resolution should be substituted, declaring that the house saw no reason for a criminating resolution. When therefore the question before them should be disposed of, he should submit to the house the following resolution. "That it is the duty of this house to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of parliament; but that this house duly weighing the evidence before it, and all the circumstances of the case, and considering that the intention referred to in that evi-

dence was never carried into effect, this house does not think it necessary to come to a criminating resolution on the same." On a division of the house there appeared for the original motion 167; against it 216. After this Mr. C. Wynne proposed that there should be added to Mr. Canning's resolution words to this effect, "That the house was confirmed in its opinion that it was unnecessary to proceed farther in the case from the openness which the noble lord had displayed, and the regret he had expressed for his conduct." This motion was negatived without a division. The house adjourned about three o'clock on Wednesday morning.



## CHAP. IX.

*Charges of Corrupt Practices in influencing the returns of Members to Parliament against Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh, by Mr. Madocks.—Motion of Mr. Madocks on this Subject.—An Amendment proposed by Lord Milton.—Another by Mr. Davy Giddy.—The avowed Object of Mr. Madocks's Motion, a Reform in Parliament.—Both Amendments negatived.—As well as the original Motion by Mr. Madocks.—Plan and Motion of a Reform of Parliament by Mr. Curwen.—Long Debate on the Bill proposed by Mr. Curwen, with Modifications so great as, in the Opinion of some Members, to reverse its original Tendency and Object, entertained by the House—and passed.—A Plan for Parliamentary Reform proposed by Sir Francis Burdett.—His Motion for taking this Plan into its future Consideration negatived.—Mr. Whitbread's Motion for limiting the Number of Persons holding Seats in the House of Commons, together with Places, Pensions, Sinecures, and Places under the Crown—After a Debate, negatived.—Mr. Wardle's Plan for Public Economy—and Motion for the production of Papers for the purpose of justifying his Statement on the Subject.—After many Observations or Strictures on those Statements, this Motion agreed to.—Attention of the House of Commons directed to the Improvement of both the Criminal and Civil Law of the Country.—Motions respecting the former by Sir Samuel Romilly.—Agreed to.—Scotch Judicature Bill.—Relief afforded, and intended to be extended farther to the Poor Clergy.—Speech from the Throne.—Close of the Session of Parliament.*

THE principal subject of attention and debate that occupied the House of Commons for the remainder of this session, was the great question of parliamentary reform. On the 5th of May, Mr. Madocks rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given repeated notice, relating to corrupt practices of the treasury, with respect to the return of members of parliament. The charges he had to bring forward were against two of his majesty's ministers. One was against the right hon. Spencer Perceval, for having, through the agency of the hon. Wellesley Pole, been guilty of corrupt practices respecting the

return of members to that house: the other, the right hon. lord viscount Castlereagh, for similar practices. He concluded a short speech with moving, that these charges be heard at the bar on Tuesday next. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that throughout the whole of his acquaintance with the proceedings of that house, he had never known an instance when an accusation was brought forward against a member, without the substance of it being previously communicated to him; or that he was not allowed, through the common courtesy of the house, to be heard in his own defence. The honourable member, however,



however, was the best judge of the course he meant to pursue; and nothing remained for him but to make his bow and retire from the house. Sir John Anstruther said, that the form of proceeding proposed by Mr. Madocks was one of the strangest he had ever heard. What information had been given as the ground for calling on the house to adopt so solemn a proceeding as a hearing at their bar? What charges had the honourable gentleman specified against Mr. Spencer Perceval or lord Castlereagh? Was it ever heard that a member was to be set down as one under accusation, and consequently obliged to quit the house, without the slightest information being laid before the house in support of the accusation? If every member against whom indefinite and vague charges of this kind might be brought forward must withdraw, as a matter of course, the honourable member might soon have the house to himself.—Mr. Madocks said he was willing to adopt any mode of proceeding the house should recommend. Mr. Canning was clearly of opinion that the house ought not to agree to the withdrawing of the motion, (without intending any personal disrespect to the honourable mover) but to mark its disapprobation in so decided a manner as not to render itself liable to the recurrence of such a proceeding. Mr. Whitbread asked if any man could arraign the conduct of his honourable friend who had made the motion, and venture to say that there was not corruption in the election of members of parliament? Corrupt conduct was

imputed to Mr. Spencer Perceval and lord Castlereagh; the responsibility was on the mover, and let the house decide fairly. He thought his noble friend might stand on the question of form, and take the sense of the house. It might have been more prudent to consult the opinion of the chair as to the proper mode of proceeding; but, the motion being made, he thought the principle of the right to make it ought not to be yielded. This was an attack, not on all public men, as had been alleged, but on their corrupt practices; and if this attack should be repelled on the question now, he hoped it would be brought on again almost immediately. Some reasons in support of Mr. Madocks's motion were stated also by Mr. Bidulph; but it was negatived, without a division.

House of Commons, May 11. Mr. Madocks rose, and moved that the resolution of that house, passed in the year 1799, be now read, which was done. The resolution stated in substance that it was "highly criminal for any minister or ministers, or any other servant of the crown in Great Britain, directly or indirectly, to make use of the power of his office in order to influence the election of members of parliament; and that an attempt to exercise that influence was an attack upon the dignity, the honour, and the independence of parliament; an infringement of the rights and liberties of the people; and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution." The resolution of the 25th of April last, just stated in our last chapter,



chapter, stating that it was the duty of that house to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of parliament, was also read. Mr. Madocks then rose, and enumerated various cases in which the influence of the treasury had been exerted, in returning members to that house —“ But, (said Mr. Madocks) having enumerated these cases, which, in my opinion, ought to be submitted to a committee to examine, sift, and regulate, I come now, sir, to a case of what I consider as aggravated in the extreme, and one that calls for an immediate investigation at your bar.— It is to this case that, for the present, I propose to call the particular attention of the house, and to conclude with a motion for hearing evidence at the bar in support of the statement I am fully prepared to prove.” The case was this.—In the last general election, Mr. Quintin Dick purchased a seat in that house for the borough of Cashell, through the negociation of lord Castlereagh to Mr. Henry Wellesley, as the agent of the treasury. That, on a recent occasion of great importance, (the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York) lord Castlereagh intimated to that gentleman the necessity of his either voting with the government, or resigning his seat in that house. That Mr. Dick, sooner than vote against principle and conscience, made choice of the latter alternative. To this transaction Mr. Madocks charged the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Perceval) as being privy, and having connived at it. This he would engage to prove, by wit-

nesses at the bar, if the house would give him leave to call them; than which they could not take a more direct method to remedy the abuses of the representative system of such places as Hastings, Rye, Cambridge, Queensborough, and many other places.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered this not merely as a criminatory charge against an individual, for alleged mal-practices, (in which case he would have no doubt that the house would readily entertain it). But he did not look upon the present charge in that light: the honourable gentleman had intimated in the opening of his charges, that there was still behind them a mass of other matter; which had been sufficiently illustrated in his detailed statements respecting the boroughs of Hastings, Rye, Cambridge, and Queensborough. It was not so much the vindication of the injured honour of the house that appeared to be the object, as that more general one of following up the system of what was denominated “a certain system.” This, it seemed, was to be a first step towards general reform.—Whether, at such a time, it would be wise to warrant such charges as merely introductory to the agitation of the great question of reform, he left it to the house to determine. For the present, he declined putting in the plea he could conscientiously put in, until that house should have come to a determination on the propriety of entertaining the charge or not; protesting, at the same time, against the slightest inference of his guilt, from his deferring such a plea.



a plea till after that decision.— After this, making his obeisance to the speaker, he retired; so also did lord Castlereagh, after stating that what he felt on the present occasion was in perfect consonance with that of his right honourable friend who had just left the house. Mr. Madocks moved that “the matter of his charge against the right honourable Spencer Perceval and lord viscount Castlereagh be heard at the bar of the house.” Mr. Whitbread and sir Francis Burdett both rose to second the motion. A long debate ensued: one party contended for the necessity of parliamentary reform; another for at least the correction of public abuses, and the propriety, whatever might be the result, of investigation; another insisted on the blessings we derive from the present order of things, the danger to be apprehended from innovations, and, at all adventures, whatever might be thought of the expediency of a parliamentary reform, the present was not a time for the discussion of that subject. Besides, it was observed by Mr. Cartwright, who opposed the motion, that there was a bill now before the house, respecting the subject of Mr. Madocks’s charges, the sale and disposal of seats in parliament, and that whatever might be its fate, it would undoubtedly receive a cool and impartial consideration. Whatever restrictions and regulations respecting that subject might be determined on in future, it was inconsistent with justice and equity to act upon them retrospectively.

Lord Milton, though not a friend to the project of parliamentary

reform, to the success of which he did not see any tendency in the present motion, was yet impressed with the necessity of correcting public abuses, and none, he said, called more imperatively for correction than palpable interferences of the king’s ministers in obtaining the return of members to that house. The present ministry, his lordship observed, were not a whit more criminal than all former administrations had been. The evil, however, ought to cease, and any *prospective* remedy should have his support. With a view to that object, he moved, as an amendment, “That in place of the words ‘of the bar,’ the said charge be referred to a select committee.” Mr. Davy Giddy moved an amendment to the motion, for excluding that part of the charge relating to Mr. Perceval and Mr. Wellesley, and retaining only that which related to lord Castlereagh. Mr. Canning reminded the house that the main and sole object of the present motion and its abettors was, as avowed both by Mr. Madocks and lord Folkstone, a reform in parliament. They had already advanced two steps; they had but one more to take, which was to relieve his majesty’s ministers from all attendance in parliament. They meant first to rob public men of all the influence of character, well knowing that without such a shield they must prove defenceless and impotent; and next to take every thing that was liberal from the ambition for place, and reduce public men to that degraded standard to which such a motion as the present must level them.

Mr. Hutchinson said, that when posterity should learn that a  
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House of Commons was found so debased as to acknowledge the existence of corruption in its formation, and justify the existence of it—[Here Mr. Hutchinson was interrupted by cries of withdraw! withdraw! and a violent uproar.] When this subsided, Mr. H. said it was at least consistent in those who had recourse to such vociferation, to drown, if possible, the voices of those who opposed them; convinced, as they must be, that such conduct as they pursued that night could neither bear argument, inquiry, nor the touchstone of common integrity.

The question being loudly called for, the two amendments were negatived without a division. The house then divided on the original motion, as proposed by Mr. Madocks; when the number of votes were—ayes, 85; noes, 310.

House of Commons, May 4.—Mr. Curwen made a variety of observations with the view of proving the propriety of bringing forward the measure of parliamentary reform, at the present moment. He took a view of the circumstances under which former reforms had been attempted.—At one period reform would have been obtained, if Mr. Pitt had maintained his consistency. The next serious attempt was made by the “Society of friends to the people:” they sought to inspire the country with their own sentiments; but the times were unpropitious; a reform was neither called for nor wished. He made remarks on the difference that the lapse of time had occasioned between our present state and that in which we were at either of the periods to which he had before particularly alluded.

VOL. II.

The power and influence of the crown had received considerable increase; our army, navy, system of taxation, and expenditure, were, at present, on such a scale and under such management, as materially to increase that influence. Mr. Pitt’s profuse creation of peers, without much enriching that noble body, had tended to impoverish the commons. This weight of landed property and influence had been subtracted from that house and added to another, which might fairly be supposed to direct its views more towards the crown than the people. During the present reign, the selection of persons clad in the ermine of justice had certainly done honour to his majesty’s government. From that body he drew his authority; he had the direct authority of sir W. Blackstone for the extension of the oath against bribery, from the electors to the elected. Under such authority as his, Mr. Curwen felt confidence in adopting this, as a leading feature in the proposed measures for reformation. Another measure he should propose would be to impose penalties on the sale, or contracting to sell a seat in that house; and next, to extend the bribery laws to agents or public persons attempting to corrupt electors, during the whole period of parliament; to preclude their receiving a corrupt consideration for procuring the votes of electors, at any period, as well subsequent, as prior to the election. In the paths of commerce there were to be found men of as high honour, independent minds, and general information as in any other; but to every class of society there was attached

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attached a peculiar character. In former days the mercantile character was marked by frugality and industry; but trade was now commuted for speculation: a lucky hit produced the objects of a whole life; if the speculation was unsuccessful, hundreds were reduced to poverty, and the principal consigned to a prison and oblivion. War produced loans, contracts, and not unfrequently an extension of commerce to those engaged in certain branches of it. Was it uncandid to suppose that those who contemplate war under this aspect would not be as averse to it as the landed proprietor, who knows and feels its miseries? He who spends a considerable portion of his time in the country, necessarily witnesses the hardships to which war subjects the lower classes. The power of interest over judgment and every patriotic feeling was strongly exemplified by an occurrence which Mr. Curwen wished to God could be erased from the memory of man and the page of history.—On the Royal Exchange, when the lord mayor communicated, in 1806, the miscarriage of our negotiations for peace, his auditors expressed their indecent and unfeeling exultations by three cheers!

By the alterations Mr. Curwen proposed, a larger proportion of the landed interest would appear amongst them in the House of Commons; while the mercantile portion of the community would continue to represent the metropolis, and those other cities and boroughs where they had a natural interest; as it was fit they should, since the very excellence of parliaments consisted in their con-

taining a due proportion of all ranks in society. Considering the importance of our commerce, he should be very sorry, he said, if they had not amongst them of those who pursue it their due proportion, as well as of the army and learned professions. But the peculiar advantage of having the landed proprietor in that house was, that each individual brought with him the affections and the confidence of a portion of the people. Thus the united affections of each portion of the empire were concentrated in parliament; and hence the moral power which it possessed. The infallible consequence of increasing the number of our country gentlemen within these walls would be to make us more pacifically disposed; it would give a different tone to our councils; it would check the rage for foreign commerce, and the acquisition of fresh colonies; it would turn our attention and our efforts to domestic improvement, to the melioration of our internal resources, and the happiness of our country. It would inspire greater moderation of conduct towards other nations, and dispose us not to imitate on the ocean those strides of power which we deprecate on the continent.—“If we evince a disposition (said Mr. Curwen in conclusion) to reform, we shall heal our divisions, and re-establish ourselves in the good opinion of the people. Then may the British minister proclaim to all Europe, it is not on the bravery of her troops, or the unparalleled prowess of her navy alone that our country builds her strength; it is on the hearts and affections of her children; possessing these, she can



can securely bid defiance to a world in arms; with increasing difficulties she can call forth increased exertions; her soldiers are every man who can wield a musket; her resources every guinea we possess; in her defence every arm will be uplifted, every danger despised; and no other object of emulation can then exist among us, than how each in his station can yield the best service to his sovereign and his country." Mr. Curwen then moved: "That leave be given to bring in a bill for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats in parliament by corrupt practices; and likewise, more effectually to prevent bribery."—

Mr. Windham said that there were some measures, of which this was one, that ought to be rejected in limine to prevent the evil consequences of giving them the slightest encouragement. It had been for many years his opinion that the house ought strenuously to oppose, as dangerous and mad, any proposal for parliamentary reform, every system and every feature of which, that had hitherto been produced was, in his mind, extravagantly and even ludicrously wrong: both practically and philosophically wrong. Among the various plans of parliamentary reform, that of universal suffrage was the most predominant; the monied interest might then say, this is very well for you who have landed property, but it won't do for us. Other objections would be started by those who had neither money nor land, and the progress of the passion for parliamentary reformation would event-

ually turn out just as the French revolution had done. Nothing could do; it would be impossible to produce a plan, at which one party or other would not snap their fingers. It was the object of the bill to do away borough-mongering and corruption; would it do away the influence of property? the influence of the landlord over the tenant was equally corruption with that complained of. If men took bribes, it was not a corruption of that house. That house had made a law respecting elections, for guarding against the very shadow of corruption, namely, the act against treating, after so many days allowed by the law, for the test of the writ, by inadvertently having infringed which rule, he himself, though he had done nothing immoral or wrong, had lost the representation of the county of Norfolk. Bribery and corruption were coeval with the people, as a body or branch of the legislature: co-extensive with the constitution. Such corruptions existed in times when the country was the best governed, and the most prosperous. Mr. W. denied that the transactions which had been brought to light in the course of the late inquiry were at all to be considered as corruptions of government. All that had been proved was, that such persons as Mrs. Clarke, Mr. Basely, and Dr. O'Meara, had been trafficking for places and commissions; but there was not any proof of corruption in the government. If there were corruptions in that house, they could not be cured by parliamentary reform. As to probability or possibility of pacifying and pleasing the people by this bill, it was



extravagance to suppose it. If once the house began with reforming, they could never stop; if once they made any change to please the people, the people would go on; they would never know when they had enough; and therefore he would oppose the general principles of reform.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that whatever he might think respecting the inconvenience of any change at the present moment, he had no hesitation in giving it as his opinion, that there could not be any inconvenience in discussing any project of reform. What was said to be the growing sentiment of the country respecting reform had arisen from the silence of parliament, and the only effectual mode of putting an end to the delusion practised upon the public was, to take up the discussion of such subjects in that house, and not leave them to be discussed in popular meetings and inflammatory papers, out of doors. On these grounds, he should allow the bill to go to a second reading, but without giving any pledge to support it.—To Mr. Bathurst it appeared, that his friend Mr. Windham had taken the alarm at the idea of reform too soon. If the practice complained of, namely, that the influence which individuals had in the return of members to that house had been transferred to others for a pecuniary consideration, was wrong: it was no reason to urge against the adoption of a remedy, that it might lead to the adoption of still further measures. The bill proposed by Mr. Curwen was a mere act of regulation, and had no connection whatever with

the more difficult and dangerous question of parliamentary reform. The arguments urged against this bill would have been advanced with equal propriety against the Grenville act, and all the other acts for regulating the conduct of parliament, passed since the Revolution; nay, he contended that the present question had less reference to parliamentary reform than any of the other acts to which he had alluded.—Mr. Ponsonby too observed that the measure proposed was simply an act of regulation. Mr. Curwen expressed his obligations for the qualified support of Mr. Bathurst; but he would not admit that he was, in the smallest degree, obliged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he wondered that this right honourable gentleman did not oppose the bringing in of the bill, when he had plainly intimated his design to oppose it in its progress. Was it for the purpose of putting him [Mr. Curwen] in a situation of difficulty, and thereby to shew his inability? He knew that he had great difficulties to encounter; but he trusted that, with the assistance of the house, he should be able to surmount them. The question being put, the motion was carried; and Mr. Ponsonby, sir A. Pigot, sir S. Romilly, lord Folkstone, Mr. Windham, and other members, were ordered to join Mr. Curwen, for the purpose of preparing and bringing in the bill.

In the progress of this bill through the different stages, many clauses proposed by Mr. Curwen were struck out, and many others proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer inserted; the consequence



quence of which was, that it was so much stripped of its most important provisions, that a number of gentlemen who had supported the bill in its first stages, disapproved of it on the motion for the third reading, June 12, as not calculated to effect what they had first in view: they thought farther, that if the bill was suffered to pass, it would stand in the way of something better; and that on the other hand, if it was thrown out, something more effectual would be substituted in its place. Nay, not a few members were of opinion, that by the enactments as they came out of the hands of the committee, it had become a bill calculated to increase the very evils it pretended to remedy. And the following amendment, after the third reading, was moved by lord Folkestone as a proper preamble to the bill: “A bill for more effectually preventing the sale of seats in parliament for money; and for promoting a monopoly thereof to the treasury, by means of patronage.” On this singular motion the house actually divided, for lord Folkestone’s amendment, 28—for the original title, 133.—After a division of the house, which was very thin, the motion for reading the bill a third time, was carried by a small majority. Another division took place on the motion, that “this bill do now pass,” ayes 97—noes 85. It was also passed, June 15, with but little opposition, in the House of Lords.

House of Commons, June 15.—Sir Francis Burdett rose to offer to the house a plan of reform, not for its immediate adoption, but its future consideration. The course he had to prescribe to himself was,

to state the evils arising out of the defective part of the representation of the people in parliament, and then to point out the remedy, which was simple, perfectly applicable, and not only consistent with the interests and habits of the people, and in unison with the laws and constitution of the country, but the constitution itself, having taken the laws and the constitution for his guide in preparing the measure he had to propose. He at the same time examined attentively all those plans for carrying the same principles into execution, which had at different times been proposed; and, having avoided all those intricacies, which he considered as so many impediments in the way, he had reduced it to a plain and simple form: the express image of the constitution itself. His plan consisted in a very few and very simple regulations; and, as the disease we now laboured under had been caused by the disunion of property and political right, the remedy he should propose would consist in re-uniting them. For this purpose he should propose:

“That freeholders and others, subject to direct taxation in support of the poor, the church, and the state, be required to elect members to serve in parliament.

“That each county be subdivided according to its taxed male population, and each subdivision required to elect one representative.

“That the votes be taken in each parish by the parish officers; and that all the elections should be finished in one and the same day.

“That the parish officers make the return to the sheriff’s court, to  
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be held for that purpose at stated periods.

“ And that parliaments be brought back to a constitutional duration.”

The benefits that would immediately follow the adoption of this system of reform and economy were incalculable.\* Though sir Francis Burdett was not one of those who would apply a sponge to the debt of the nation, yet he was firmly persuaded, that a reformed House of Commons would introduce such a system of economy in both the collection and expenditure of the public revenue, as would give instant ease to the subject, and would finally, and at no very distant period, by a due application of national resources to national objects, and to these alone, free the people from that enormous load of debt, and consequently taxation, under which the nation was weighed down.

Three descriptions of persons, sir F. Burdett admitted, would have great cause to complain of this reform: the boroughmongers, the lawyers, and the king's printer. The whole of the cause then was, which was to be preferred, the interest of the empire, or the interest of the boroughmongers, the lawyers, and the king's printers. The honourable baronet concluded a long and lively speech with moving, “ That this house will early in the next session of parliament take into consideration the necessity of a reform in the representation.”

The Chancellor of the Exche-

quer was really at a loss to know what the honourable baronet proposed to himself. He had said, that all he wanted was to be found on the statute law of the land. But what could he find there that could destroy the ordinary practice of the constitution? The right of originating taxation belonged to that house at present by the practice of the constitution, although not confirmed by an express statute. Was the honourable baronet content to get rid of this too among other things? Why should perjury be more difficult under the plan proposed than it was at present? The truth was, that such a plan could never produce the expected effects, unless the honourable baronet could alter not only our political constitution, but the frame of the human mind; unless he could at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions.—Sir James Hall, allowed that the motives of the honourable baronet might be good, but his conduct, he thought, extremely dangerous. The plan which he had stated amounted to complete and radical revolution: the first savage in the world would certainly have thought an attempt to cut down the tree which afforded him protection from the weather, a great insult. It would be the ruin of a ship if you took away her ballast: the ballast of the British state vessel might be sometimes too heavy; but on the whole she proceeded very well in her course, and even the rotten bo-

\* This plan of sir Francis Burdett coincides very nearly with that proposed thirty years ago in the House of Lords by the late duke of Richmond. At that period many detailed plans of reform were offered by different members to parliament, besides the general sketches thrown out in the speeches of the various advocates for reform.



roughs might ultimately do a great deal of good.\* These inappreciable causes produced what was called chance. Many things which appeared ridiculous at first, might be good in their ultimate effect.—The motion was supported by Mr. Hutchinson and sir T. Turton. Mr. Hutchinson said, that a speech more constitutional than that of the honourable baronet, better entitled to the respectful attention of the house and the confidence of the public, or indicating a stronger wish to conciliate, he had never heard in parliament. It was directed to the judgment, not to the passions, and certainly did not in the smallest degree justify the tone of scoff and ridicule in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had replied to it.—Sir T. Turton observed, that in ancient times the representation in parliament was a representation of property. The rotten boroughs were once places of great wealth and property, and on that ground sent members to parliament; but circumstances being altered, the representation ought to be varied accordingly. To the plan of reform just proposed by sir Francis Burdett he saw great objections in many points of view; but he understood the honourable baronet to require no more than a pledge from the house that it would consider the subject. On the division of the house the numbers were, for sir Francis Burdett's motion 15—against it 74.

House of Commons, June 8.—Mr. Whitbread, after a suitable preface, moved a resolution to the following effect: "That this house

will, early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration, how far it may be expedient to provide some farther limitation to the number of persons holding seats in this house, together with pensions, sinecures, and places of emolument under the crown." Mr. Rose, the famous placeman, observed, that even the celebrated resolution of Mr. Dunning, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished," did not go so far as to take away all influence from the crown: for otherwise the motion would have been, not that the influence should be diminished, but that it should be entirely abolished, and removed out of those walls. It was certainly practically of advantage to the country that the crown should have some influence in that house. He could not conceive any good that could possibly result from this motion, and therefore he could not support it.—Lord Petty did not conceive that the reduction of placemen in that assembly would produce much effect. Though the influence of the crown upon the whole had greatly increased, it had rather diminished in that house. The separate establishment of the Welsh judges, however, he thought might be spared.—Mr. Ponsonby thought that, without encroaching on the constitutional influence of the crown, something might be done by agreeing to the motion of his right hon. friend, which would prove useful to the country, creditable to the house, and satisfactory to the public.—Mr. secretary Canning observed, that the plan

\* This is a profound observation. The ingenious baronet might have added, that it might be hereafter found, that they had done a great deal of good already.



of choosing ministers from among members of parliament, though not established by law, was sanctioned by the practice of the constitution; and he was convinced that it could not be changed without great public detriment. The House of Commons must always want information on various public subjects from the members of administration; and it was much better that ministers and other persons in ostensible situations should be spoken to in their places, than brought up to the bar like culprits. If no placemen were to sit in parliament besides ministers, when the present generation of ministers should be over, they must be succeeded by raw and inexperienced persons. He believed it would be admitted, that both in that and the other house of parliament there were at least as many persons holding pensions and sinecures, who voted against ministers as for them. Mr. Ponsonby himself had a pension for life; and yet the present ministry had always the benefit of his vigilance and correction. He wondered that Mr. Whitbread, who was himself a colonel of local militia, a very conspicuous situation, should consider appointments of that sort as likely to influence the votes of members.—Mr. Whitbread said in reply to Mr. Canning, that so far from having an idea of excluding the members of administration from the House of Commons, he had expressly said in the speech prefatory to his motion, that it was his wish that a liberal portion of the public functionaries should be allowed to sit there. The experience, Mr. Whitbread affirmed,

that recent circumstances afforded of almost the highest power in the country yielding to the unanimous feeling of the nation, must ensure the cause of the reformation. The great danger to be apprehended was, lest the people, by any precipitancy in pressing the question, should throw themselves into the power of their opponents. On a division of the house there appeared for Mr. Whitbread's motion 54—against it 113.

House of Commons, June 19.—Mr. Wardle called the attention of the house to public economy; a most important subject; upon which, however, he should not have thought it necessary to trouble the house at the present moment, if he had not been so loudly called upon to explain a statement he had made on a recent occasion.\* On that occasion he had said, that in the event of an efficient reform in parliament, the amount of the income tax might be done away, and thus upwards of eleven millions a year saved to the country. In consequence of that observation a great clamour, had been raised at which he should not have been surprised if no preceding declaration of a similar nature had been made by others; but he confessed he was not a little surprised at the clamours and insinuations that had been made, when he had discovered that language similar in its tendency, though much stronger in itself, had been used by a statesman so peculiarly respected by gentlemen on the opposite side of the house; he meant Mr. Pitt. That Mr. Pitt had used such language, Mr. Wardle most completely evinced by ample quota-

\* The occasion to which he alluded was a public meeting at the Crown and Anchor.  
tions



tions from his celebrated speech, urging the necessity, and the immediate necessity of a reform in parliament. So much, said Mr. Wardle for the system of corruption. And after these quotations from Mr. Pitt's speech, he trusted the clamour that had been raised by the friends of that statesman would cease to exist. Without farther preface, Mr. Wardle proceeded to state the reasons on which he had founded his opinion that so great a saving might be made by economy. He went over the various points in which great savings might be made under different heads of the army, army agency, the ordnance department, fortifications, the royal military canal, the commissariat, the barrack department, the militia and the volunteers of the united kingdom, the staff of the army, the medical department of the army, and the cloathing of the army. Having done with the military part of the subject, Mr. Wardle proceeded, 2dly, to the civil: the collection of the revenue, the bank, pensions, and offices executed by deputies, the colonies, catholic emancipation; and lastly, the expenditure of the navy. He calculated, as he went along, the saving that might be made on each of these points or articles and some others which he mentioned of less moment. The saving to be effected by catholic emancipation he set down at £2,000,000: the total savings he calculated at £16,516,193 13s. 4d. He then proceeded to move for such papers, to the number in all of 24, as, if granted, would enable him to go farther into detail early in the next session.

Mr. Huskinson, without attempt-

ing to follow Mr. Wardle through all his details, made a great many remarks on his principal statements, with the view of shewing that his plan was a delusion, and would end in the disappointment of those who gave credit to his assertions. In the whole statement, the honourable gentleman appeared to proceed on the principle, that the large establishment we were obliged to maintain for the purpose of security and defence, as that house and the country had hitherto foolishly conceived, had no such object; but that the real object of them was to create a large expence. Mr. Wardle was ably and cordially supported by Mr. Parnell, who thought that he had made good by very fair and regular calculations, what he had undertaken. Mr. Parnell said, in conclusion, "the hon. member has undertaken a task of great responsibility, and one attended with great labour, with a view to promote a public object. His exertions and the manner in which he has made out the grounds of his opinion entitle him to the thanks of the country." All Mr. Wardle's motions were agreed to.

The attention of the House of Commons was also called to an improvement in both the criminal and civil law of this country.

In the House of Commons, May 26th, sir Samuel Romilly rose, pursuant to notice, to submit certain motions, preparatorily to a measure which he had had some time in contemplation to propose for the amendment of our criminal law, with a view to diminish its severity, and at the same time to ensure the certainty of punishment. They comprehended the period



period from 1802 to 1808. It was understood that it would be difficult to procure returns farther back. The first motion, referring to the several gradations between committal, conviction, and execution, which could not be made out, was withdrawn. The second motion was for the number transported to New South Wales, and the period of sentence from their embarkation. The third, for a return of the number who died before the period of sentence expired, or before they were embarked. These two last motions were agreed to.—Mr. Horner expressed his hope that the house would feel itself pledged seriously to consider this subject; and particularly how far the experiment of transportation upon our criminal law had been successful.

House of Lords, June 6.—The Lord Chancellor moved for the third reading of the bill to afford farther time for the commissioners to report upon the judicature of Scotland; which, after a great deal of conversation about the monstrous expence of lawsuits in Scotland and trial by jury, was read a third time accordingly.

Lord Grenville was greatly struck by a fact stated in the report of the commissioners: the gross and scandalous anomaly in judicial proceedings, by which persons, who had obtained the sentence of the court of session in their favour, were yet, before they could reap the consequent benefits, compelled to get a copy of the sentence, or as it was in Scotland legally expressed, “an extract of the decret.” In one case, that deed or document cost an individual £1,200; and in another case, where

the whole property in question did not exceed £500, the charge for such copy was above £300. He had drawn up a bill on this subject, for the relief of suitors in the court of session in Scotland, which he was about to propose to their lordships; and he should conduct his perseverance in the measure, agreeably to the sense of the house manifested on the present occasion. He concluded by moving, that the bill be read a first time. To this the Lord Chancellor consented. Alluding to an observation of lord Grenville, he admitted, that lawyers should not have a greater share in legislation than other peers. But he could not help observing, that there never was a lawyer who did not fancy himself a statesman, and that there never was a statesman who did not fancy himself a lawyer. He was of opinion, that the introduction of trial by jury in civil cases would not answer the expectations of those who most contended for the measure. It reminded him of a conversation on the subject between two very learned persons in the north. The one asked the other by what means he would introduce trial by jury? Nothing more easy: make an act of parliament for its introduction. The first replied in his northern dialect, “My friend, if an act of parliament were passed to make us speak English, I believe we should still speak Scotch.”

House of Commons, June 13.—Lord Binning brought up the report from the committee on the Scotch judicature bill. Mr. Horner spoke at considerable length on the evil for which lord Grenville had proposed a remedy in the House



House of Peers ; namely, the necessity under which suitors were placed, when answering the allegations of their opponents, of first taking out copies of all the elaborate pleadings required to be entered by the other side, as records of the court, before they could proceed to any replication by plea or evidence. These pleadings, in some instances that came within his own knowledge, amounted to a volume of 1500 pages. He had known instances where, though the sum in litigation did not exceed £200 or £300, the fees of the court alone amounted to £500 or £700 ; and one, in such a case, to £1500. Such an arrangement had long prevailed in the practice of Scotch courts, for no other reason that he could see, than to create a fortune for the Scotch law officers.\* But it was a bar in the pursuit of justice wholly insurmountable to all suitors in ordinary circumstances ; and even where a suitor was successful, if his antagonist chose to appeal to the House of Lords, he could not proceed without taking out complete copies of the proceedings in the courts below, although not of the least use to him, nor competent to furnish any new light to his advocates before the higher tribunal. This intolerable tax on the justice of the country argued the necessity of introducing the trial by jury in civil cases.—Mr. R. Dundas said, that this measure could not be adopted without a most important

alteration in what had been the legal practice of Scotland for three hundred years ; and, therefore, that the house should wait deliberately to hear the final opinions of the commissioners appointed to discuss the subject, and examine it in all its bearings. The opinion of Mr. Dundas was supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The bill for granting farther time to the commissioners on the Scotch judicature bill, was passed.—A bill was also passed this session for augmenting the salaries of the English and Welsh judges : of the former, for an augmentation of £1000 a year ; of the latter, an augmentation of £300 a year. Nor were the poor clergy altogether forgotten. On the 7th of June the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by way of pledge that the relief of the poor clergy would be ultimately reduced to a system, moved in the House of Commons, “ That a sum not exceeding £100,000 be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to pay the same to the governors of the bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, according to the rules and regulations by which the funds of that corporation are governed ; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatever.” This resolution was agreed to unanimously ; at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed much satisfaction. Suggestions for im-

\* In fact, the Scotch lawyers and law officers do amass larger fortunes, in proportion to the wealth of the different countries, than are acquired in England. If so great a proportion of the land in Scotland were not locked up by entails from the invasion of industry, the greatest part of the country would, by this time, have passed into the hands of lawyers. There is so much writing in the Scotch law, that all the men of law, except the judges and advocates, are called, not attorneys, or solicitors, or agents, but writers, i. e. scribes, or copiators.



provement and the formation of a system, he said, would be considered afterwards. The present grant, if continued, would in four years raise the lowest livings in England and Wales to fifty pounds a year; and it was his intention, on a future day, to move an address to his majesty for extending similar additions to poor livings in Ireland and Scotland.

For a summary account of the transactions of parliament of a less important, or a less general or public nature, we must refer our readers to a list of acts passed in this session.\*

On the 21st of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, which was delivered by lords commissioners appointed by the king.†

\* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 615.

† See State Papers, p. 765.



## CHAP. X.

*Affairs of the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal.*

**B**UONAPARTE, in his address to the legislative body, 25th of October, 1808, said, "In a few days I shall put myself at the head of my armies, to crown, with God's assistance, in Madrid, the king of Spain, and to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon."\* Accordingly Joseph Buonaparte was, towards the end of January 1809, crowned king of Spain and the Indies at Madrid, after he had been previously acknowledged and proclaimed in the principal towns throughout the country, with the exception of those of Arragon, Murcia, Granada, and Andalusia. The ceremony was performed with the utmost pomp, and attended by persons who assumed the character of deputies from the different kingdoms of Spain. But the French eagles were not yet planted on the towers of Lisbon. Very serious obstacles were opposed to the execution of that design. Though the brave English army under sir John Moore had been forced, by an immense superiority of numbers and that still increasing, to retreat to their ships, or, in the style of Buonaparte, driven into the sea; his march through Spain had occasioned such a diversion in favour of the patriotic Spaniards, that they were enabled to recruit and re-organize the armies of Palafox, the duke of Infantado, the marquis del Palacio,

and general Cuesta. They reconquered La Mancha and part of Estramadura, which had been over-run by the French. A great number of towns in the south of Spain were converted into places of arms; and the French dislodged from their positions in Catalonia, were compelled to retreat to Figueras and Rosas, which last place had fallen into their hands in the end of the year 1808. Saragossa still held out with the most heroic courage and patience: so also, with equal fortitude, did the important fortress of Gerona, in Catalonia. There is not a doubt but Buonaparte, by pursuing the advantages he had obtained, and pouring in fresh troops from France, and, if necessary, the whole continent of Europe, would have effected the reduction of Lisbon as well as the coronation of his brother Joseph at Madrid. But his attention was imperiously demanded by the vast military preparations and even movements of the Austrians, who very naturally deemed it expedient rather to fight for their national independence, hand in hand with the Spaniards, supported by the English, than single handed and alone as they inevitably must do, or yield their necks to the yoke of Buonaparte, after the Spanish nation, though perhaps not finally or wholly subdued, should have been driven from all their cities and strong

\* See Vol. L. (1808) Appendix to Chronicle, p. 285.



holds, and forced either to submit to the conquerors, or take refuge for a time in the mountains. The mutual jealousy which subsisted between the house of Austria and the ruler of France had long been apparent to the whole world. It was generally understood, and seriously believed, if we may credit the declarations of the French ministers, that if the Prussians had been the conquerors in the battle of Jena, or the allied armies of Prussia and Russia in that of Friedland, the Austrians pouring down from Bohemia, would have made an effort for cutting off the retreat of the French to the left bank of the Rhine. A long correspondence on the subject of those preparations on the part of Austria, was maintained between the French minister for foreign relations, Champagny, and count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris. The count, according to instructions from Vienna, continued almost to the first hostile step taken by his government, to protest in the strongest terms, according to the usual policy of courts preparing for hostilities, that the views of the emperor Francis were wholly pacific. And so, said Buonaparte, they may be, and probably are; but, he said, that there was a party of hot-headed and young men in the Austrian territories that were employed with unceasing industry to foment a spirit of animosity, hatred, and war against France. That this spirit was nourished, not only by conversation in public places, but by the publication of rumours injurious to France in newspapers in different parts of the Austrian emperor's dominions, and some of

them even at Vienna. And it was the decided opinion of Buonaparte, that although both Francis II. and those most in his confidence should be averse to war with France, yet if the movement given to public opinion and public spirit in the Austrian empire should not be sincerely and vigorously checked and repressed by some contrary movement and impulsions, the general voice of that misguided and abused country would sooner or later involve in its rapid current both the emperor and all his court, and precipitate them to inevitable ruin. This salutary counteraction was to be effected only by a general disarming, and every possible encouragement to the pursuit, not of arms, but all the good arts of peace. What was Austria afraid of, that she had carried her war establishment to such a monstrous extent beyond what it used to be, or was at all necessary in a time of peace? He reminded the court of Vienna of his former moderation; and, he added, in which it is probable in itself and rendered more probable by what has since appeared, he was perfectly sincere—that it was no part of his politics to overthrow, or greatly to humble the house of Austria. If the presence of the French troops in the garrisons of Silesia gave any alarm, they should be withdrawn; if French encampments in any part of Germany gave uneasiness to the emperor Francis, they should be broken up. In short, it appears to have been with an extraordinary degree of earnestness and anxiety that Buonaparte set himself to incline the Austrian government to remain at peace. The Austrian ministry, still protesting



ating the most pacific disposition, urged in explanation and defence of their vast military preparations, the formation of magazines, and the distribution of the Austrian troops, that the military establishment of their neighbours, and of every country of any weight in Europe were augmented in the same ratio, in proportion to their means and the extent of territory to be occupied and defended. The pacific protestations of Austria were continued; but so also were her measures of defiance and an intention of hostile aggression. A secret correspondence between the patriots and the archduke Charles had been also discovered. Buonaparte returned from Spain to Paris on the 22d of January, 1809; and his imperial guard, 15,000 strong, set out on its march to join him there as soon as possible. When he was "marching," as he told the legislative body, Dec. 3, 1809, "on Lisbon and Cadiz, he was under the necessity of treading back his steps, and of planting his eagles on the ramparts of Vienna."\*

After the reduction of Madrid in December 1809, a large force was sent by Buonaparte to Talavera del Reyna, with the view of reducing Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon. Marshal Soult took possession of Oporto, though occupied by a garrison three times his numbers without any resistance. Ney, strongly reinforced by general Kellerman, with Mortier and Bonnet at Lugo, made progress in Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay. Ferrol, as well as Corunna, Bilboa, and St. Andero, and all places of most im-

portance on the northern coast of Spain fell into the hands of the French. On the whole, it was evidently the design of Buonaparte, in the last month of 1808, having obtained possession of Madrid and the fortresses on the frontier, to subdue the whole peninsula by sending corps, or columns, according to the nature and strength of the different territories, against the most important towns, and into all the vallies, great and small, of the country. But it appears from the whole tenor of Buonaparte's conduct, both military and political, that it was amongst his leading maxims, never to carry on more than one arduous design at one and the same time; but to bear with his main force and undivided attention on one object. Wherever the main strength of his enemy lay, thither he bent his most strenuous efforts. If that were once broken, secondary objects would fall into his hands of course. If that were suffered to remain entire, no conquest could be other than precarious and transient. When, therefore, it became evident to Buonaparte, that a war with Austria was altogether unavoidable, the war in Spain assumed a new form. Instead of pushing forward detachments into unsubdued provinces or districts, the first care of the French, for the present, was to provide for their own security by concentration. The march on Cadiz and Lisbon was suspended: the French were every where seen drawing nearer and nearer up the Tagus towards Madrid; or creep-

\* Vide speech of the emperor Napoleon, at the opening of the meeting of the Legislative Body. State Papers, p. 803.



ing near the frontier fortresses of Catalonia and Navarre; or concentrating their force in the northern provinces of Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay. To retain a sure footing in Spain by keeping open the communication between Bayonne and Madrid; retaining possession of the capital and other towns in the interior of Spain; the northern provinces, together with Navarre and Catalonia; and to complete the conquest of all that lay on the east side of the Ebro, by reducing the fortified cities of Saragossa and Gerona, were the objects that seemed to bound the views of the French in Spain during the first part of 1809, and until the decisive battle, July 5th, of Wagram on the Danube.

But while hostilities were carried on with alternate success in Asturias and Biscay, and several important places were taken, and retaken by the joint exertions of the Spanish patriots, supported by English ships of war, a line of which extended from Cape Finisterre to the Garonne, the French were, at the close of June, obliged to evacuate both Ferrol and Corunna. St. Jago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, fell into the hands of the patriots. St. Vigo too, garrisoned by 1,400 French, surrendered to the Gallicians, supported by two English frigates. The French were afterwards driven from the towns of Tuy and Viana. In a word, all Galicia was evacuated by the French. The corps under marshal Soult having evacuated Oporto, together with that of Ney, which had evacuated Corunna and Ferrol, proceeded through Leon towards Madrid, threatened by for-

midable preparations on the part of both the Spaniards and the English. Three armies were formed for acting, it would seem, in concert, (rather in conjunction) with each other, against the French, and even advancing on Madrid. One of these armies was commanded by general Cuesta, another by general Venegas, and the third, which was the auxiliary British army, by sir Arthur Wellesley.

There was a French army in La Mancha, under general Sebastiani; and one under Victor, duke of Belluno, in New Castille. These two bodies drew nearer both to each other and the capital, and concentrated their force at a short distance and to the south-west of Toledo; a position admirably well chosen for making head against the force of the allies, cutting off their effective communication with each other, and attacking them in detail.

The position of the allied army was as follows. Cuesta, with what might be called the central army, (though all the three armies were at a considerable and too great a distance from each other) was contiguous to Talavera del Reyna, from whence the French had just retreated. Venegas, with the right wing, was descending from the heights, called the Mountains of Toledo. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with the left, occupied a position north of the Tagus, in the vicinity of Monte Claros. Cuesta had, under his immediate orders about 38,000 men, of which 12,000 were cavalry; the right wing, commanded by Venegas, was 26,000 strong; and the left, under sir Arthur Wellesley, 30,000.

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By this rapid view, this bare outline, our readers may be enabled to trace the principal links in the chain of events that brought the hostile powers in Spain to measure their main strength with each other, more easily than if the attention to these principal links had been distracted by a vast number of intervening circumstances and events of subordinate and inferior importance. Nevertheless, at the point when the contending armies, gradually concentrated, were placed in relative positions that were to lead to a succession of battles decisive of the campaign, (the only point in which its history begins to possess any great degree of interest) it may be proper to pause, and to take a brief retrospect of such of the occurrences as were most interesting in themselves, or were most immediately and materially connected with the main action.

On the side of Portugal, general Beresford, with the rank and title of field marshal, was appointed generalissimo, and was employed with great activity and success in organizing and disciplining a Portuguese army. The general was in the laudable practice of occasionally issuing bulletins for the information of the Portuguese army and nation, in which he communicated events both favourable and unfavourable, and took occasion to illustrate the happy effects of discipline and good order on the one hand, and the fatal consequences of insubordination and anarchy on the other. Chaves, a frontier town of Portugal, in the province of Tral-os-montes, a most important military station, and garrisoned, it was said,

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by upwards of 10,000 French, was besieged by a numerous force of Spanish patriots, under the command of general Silveira. The citadel of Chaves surrendered by capitulation on the 25th of March. During this siege the communication between the French and the north of Portugal, was wholly obstructed by the patriots on the frontiers.

The character of the war in Spain, at this period, is well exemplified by the complete victory gained, 28th of March, at Medellin, by marshal Victor over general Cuesta; and the celerity with which the Spanish general was enabled to reassemble and recruit his broken and dispersed army, and again to make head against the enemy. On the day above mentioned, the Spanish general found the whole division under Victor, consisting of about 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, drawn up in front of Medellin, a town on the Guadiana, in the province of Estramadura. The French infantry, formed into close columns presented a formidable front to their opponents for repelling an attack; and at the same time one fitted for making an attack, if the French should deem it advisable to risk one. The flanks of the infantry were covered by the cavalry, and in their front were raised six batteries. Against the enemy, so drawn up and defended, general Cuesta did not hesitate to commence a rapid and general attack. His infantry advanced with great steadiness and gallantry, notwithstanding the tremendous fire from the batteries in front of the enemy. The manœuvres which he directed for the purpose of

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gaining possession of these batteries, were executed with a promptitude, precision, and regularity, that would have done honour to the most veteran and experienced troops. The left wing of the Spanish infantry advanced within pistol shot of the French. The first battery was already taken. The French cavalry made a charge, in order to regain possession of it. Two regiments of Spanish cavalry and two squadrons of chasseurs were ordered to oppose them. But, instead of executing this order, the whole, both cavalry and chasseurs, immediately wheeled round, fled before the enemy, and threw the left wing of the Spanish army into confusion. The French, perceiving this, directed their undivided efforts against the right and the centre of the Spaniards. General Cuesta did every thing in his power for the restoration of order in his left wing, and to check and repel the attack on his centre and right. His efforts were in vain: he was obliged to retreat.—Of this battle of Medellin we find an account in the gazette of king Joseph, dated Madrid, April 18. “Ten thousand Spaniards have been killed, and four thousand made prisoners by our light troops; the rest saved themselves by flight in the best manner they could. Their whole artillery, to the number of twenty-five pieces, with six standards, fell into our hands. The greater part of the upper officers and staff-officers were left on the field. Our loss, in comparison of that of the enemy, appears incredibly small, as this glorious day cost us only three hundred men. The army of Cuesta, and a part of that of

Andalusia are by this fortunate event annihilated. This victory secures us the conquest of Andalusia, the whole of which will be shortly in possession of our troops.” Great allowances are to be made for French exaggeration now reduced to a system; the proportion of which to the truth some ingenious men from an accumulation and combination of data have attempted to calculate. But it was admitted on all hands, that the loss of the Spaniards in this engagement was very great: upwards of 170 officers were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and the loss in rank and file bore rather a greater than the usual proportion to this number of officers.

The supreme junta issued from Seville a decree, declaring to the Spanish nation that the general of the army of Estramadura and the corps who had withstood the enemy before Medellin, had deserved well of their country. Cuesta was raised to the rank of captain general; the officers of his army of whom he reported favourably were advanced one degree; the soldiers were decorated with a badge of honour, and received for a month from the battle double pay. In this decree no notice was taken of the officers and men to whose misconduct the victory of the enemy was owing; but general Cuesta, in his general orders, suspended, or, according to some accounts, cashiered three of his colonels, and severely reprimanded the two squadrons of chasseurs and two regiments of cavalry. The pay of these regiments and squadrons was reduced for the space of a month, and the surplus resulting from



from this operation formed part of the fund for granting double pay for the same space of time to the soldiers who had sustained with honour the Spanish character.

After the defeat and flight of the Spaniards from Medellin, the French, under Victor, immediately entered Merida, where, and between which place and Badajoz, they remained for a considerable time stationary; after which they marched from the Guadiana to the Tagus, and, having forced the bridge of Alcantara, proceeded down the river with their face towards Abrantes and Lisbon. Cuesta on the confines of Estramadura and Andalusia re-assembled and strengthened his broken army, which increased fast in numbers, although they were, for some time, greatly in want of arms. It is the noble character of the Spanish nation to rise under misfortune. Though, like all raw and undisciplined troops, they were subject to panics, and were easily drawn to follow any example of flight, they were as easily rallied. Though dispersed, they re-assembled. Though vanquished, the unconquerable will remained to defend their country at the risk of their lives. It is this invincible spirit of liberty, which, by protracting the war, and keeping up a warlike disposition and warlike habits, may be favoured by some of those events which we call chance, that opens a gleam of hope at the present moment that the Spanish cause, even against such fearful odds, may yet be ultimately triumphant.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had arrived at Lisbon on the 22d of April, proceeded on the 28th to

join and take the command of the army, whose head quarters were at Coimbra, and advanced against Oporto. At the same time, marshal Beresford, at the head of a body of Portuguese, marched to the upper Douro. Marshal Soult, who commanded there, knowing how unequal he was to its defence against an English army of superior force, the forces under general Beresford, and the spirit of the country, determined to evacuate Oporto and proceed through Leon to join the other French corps in Gallicia, according to the general system of concentration adopted after the certain and immediate prospect of an Austrian war, as already stated. The marshal, that he might effect his retreat with the least danger of being overtaken by the English, adopted a curious stratagem, which was found not to be altogether unsuccessful. While he talked loudly of defending Oporto to the last extremity, certain of receiving all necessary succour and support from his sovereign and nation, he sent out one detachment of his army after another, on pretence of exercising. The commanding officers of these alone were entrusted with the secret orders, to send back a few companies, by way of a blind, but to march the main body, with all possible expedition, in an opposite direction. Thus the marshal stole away from Oporto; but, at the same time, from the view, it was conjectured, of drawing sir Arthur further on in pursuit of him, thereby to give general Victor an opportunity of pushing down the Tagus into the south of Portugal, or from whatever other motive, he left his rear



guard on the left side of the Douro. When the advanced guard of the British army arrived at Verdas Novas, they fell in with the outposts of the enemy, consisting of about 4000 infantry, and a few squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted in the heights above Grijon, having their front covered by wood and broken ground; but their flank was soon turned by a brigade under the command of general Murray; and, while their right was vigorously attacked by a Portuguese brigade, their centre was driven in by a body of riflemen, drawn from different companies, under the direction of major Way. On the night of May 11th, the rear guard of the French crossed the Douro, destroyed the bridge over that river and were closely pursued by our army, which also crossed the Douro, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the French to oppose it at the ferry of Ovintas. About four or five miles above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova, our troops, after sustaining repeated attacks, made their appearance on both the left and the right flanks of the French, who then retired, as the dispatch to our government states, in the utmost confusion towards Amarante, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight tumbrils of ammunition, and many prisoners.\* They were pursued by the British to a short distance, and some skirmishing took place between our advanced guard and the rear of the enemy, in which it was stated we had uniformly the advantage; Soult, however,

made good his retreat, it would appear, with very little molestation, though it was said, that, in order to render his flight more rapid and successful, he was under the necessity of abandoning the greater part of his artillery and baggage. He was pursued by general Beresford as far as Orense.

When sir Arthur Wellesley's letter to lord Castlereagh, giving an account of these and other particulars respecting the evacuation of Oporto, and what had been done by our army, arrived, his lordship ordered the Park and Tower guns to be fired.

Sir A. Wellesley, after he gave up the pursuit of Soult, immediately commenced his March to the south of Portugal, where his presence had become necessary to watch the motions of Victor.

Marshal Ney, when he evacuated Corunna, at first took the road towards Vigo. Thither also a body of Spaniards, under the Condé de Norona, were on their way, with the twofold view of obtaining supplies, of which they stood greatly in need, and occupying an advantageous defensive position. On the 7th of June the opposite armies met at the bridge of St. Payo, on the small river of Soto-major, within three leagues of Vigo. The Spaniards were 9000 in number, whereof 6000 were armed; and they had some small field artillery, with two 18 pounders. The number of the French was 8000, of which 2500 was cavalry; for artillery, they had only five 12 pounders. After repeated attacks on the Spaniards,

\* See London Gazette Extraordinary, May 24, App. Chron. p. 508.



on both the 7th and the 8th, the French retreated to St. Payo, from whence also they were driven back farther, throwing their dead bodies in great heaps into pits and wells.—When the French had sufficient time, it was their practice, on some occasions, in order to conceal the number of their killed, to burn the dead bodies of the men they had lost, and bury the ashes.—The Spaniards, in these actions with the French, were very materially assisted by four gun-boats, sent up the river by the British commodore at Vigo. The loss of the Spaniards, in the encounters at the bridge of St. Payo, did not exceed 110 in killed and wounded; the reason of which was, that the Spaniards had chosen their ground in a situation where it was impossible for the French cavalry to act with effect. Besides this, a chain of parapets or wide battlements was thrown up, behind which the Spaniards were protected from the fire of the enemy. Four hundred prisoners were taken by the Spaniards.

In the north east of Spain, after the fall of Saragossa, a Spanish army under the command of general Reding, employed chiefly in attempts to raise the siege or else to throw succours into Gerona, was exposed to the whole force of the enemy. Two conflicts were sustained by the Spaniards with great valour. The strength and the resolution of the opposite armies seemed to be nearly balanced, but the French received a reinforcement of 8000 men, which turned the scale in their favour. Thus encouraged, they made a third attack, when

the patriots were completely routed; and general Reding, who had received five severe wounds, was conveyed from the field of action to Tarragona. The general, in his dispatches to the junta, gave a faithful account of what had passed, without saying a word of what he had personally suffered. He was afterwards joined by the army under general Blake, and both were employed in opposing the progress of the French in Catalonia.

On the 19th of May, the joint army of Valencia and Arragon, under the command of general Blake, proceeded against Alcaniz, a town in the kingdom of Arragon, on the river Guadaloupe, near the frontiers of Catalonia, which was occupied by the French; drove them in great disorder from that important post, and afterwards routed and forced smaller parties of French from other places. On the 15th of June, general Blake made an attack on Saragossa, which had fallen at last, as will by and by be related, but was repulsed with great loss. For two successive days he was attacked by general Souchet, in the neighbourhood of Belshite, when the enemy was repulsed. On the third day the battle was renewed in the valley of Almonazir, when the whole of the Spanish army, without firing a shot, though opposed by only one third of their numbers, suddenly took flight, and left their general attended by only six or seven officers. This army consisted principally of raw recruits from Valencia; but they had acted with courage before, on sundry occasions, and would probably have continued to display the



the same spirit, had not some insidious arts been employed to excite alarm, and produce their dispersion. There is nothing, it is true, so striking in the conduct of new and undisciplined levies (and in none more than that of the Spaniards, both in this and the preceding campaign) as the proofs they exhibit of courage on some occasions, and cowardice on others. Yet it is scarcely credible that a whole army should have taken to their heels, without having made the least shew of resistance, without treachery. General Blake, wrung with grief and anxiety, in his dispatches to the junta, spoke of the base cowardice of his army in the terms it deserved. He vindicated his own character and conduct, and observed, that neither can the circumstances that give rise to a panic fear be foreseen, nor its contagion prevented, by a general. In some instances, parties of Spaniards, making their escape from the dangers of the field before the issue of the battle in which they had been engaged, were received by their countrymen, as we have had occasion to notice, without any marks of displeasure or disrespect; but the fugitives of Belshite were treated, and every where spoken of, with ridicule and contempt.\*

The Spaniards, in their precipi-

tate flight from Belshite, not only abandoned their baggage, but threw down their arms. The regiment of Valencia rallied about two leagues from the field, or rather what was designed for the field of battle, and attempted to make a stand, and defend themselves: but they were soon dispersed or cut down by the enemy's hussars. Nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of provisions, stores, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the French, together with 3000 prisoners. After this sad disaster, general Blake quitted Aragon, and, at a distance from the enemy, employed himself with great diligence, in disciplining his army.

The corps or armies of the French generals Victor and Sebastiani, after long retrograde marches: the former on the shores of the Tagus the other through the deserts of Castille, had united their forces, as above observed, at a short distance from Toledo. Their united force, with the reinforcement brought by King Joseph from Madrid, has been computed variously, from 34 or 40 to 50,000; the command of the whole united army was, of course, exercised in the name of King Joseph. It was stationed in the neighbourhood of Talavera del Reyna, and along the banks of the river Alberche.

\* In the correspondence of the marquis of Wellesley with Mr. Canning, secretary for foreign affairs, printed and laid before parliament in May, 1809, we find a letter from sir Arthur to his brother, the marquis, dated at Deleytosa, 8th of August, 1809, from which the following is an extract: "I am of opinion that an effort should immediately be made for clothing the Spanish troops in a national uniform. The adoption of this measure would put a stop to the custom which, I am sorry to say, so generally prevails, of their throwing down their arms and accoutrements, dispersing, and betaking themselves to flight, on pretence of their being, not soldiers, but simply peasants." If they were understood to be soldiers, deserters, and fugitives from the army, sir Arthur thinks their danger would be increased, from the indignation and resentment of their countrymen.



In the mean time sir Arthur Wellesley, after his return from the pursuit of marshal Soult, had remained long inactive in the vicinity of Lisbon; not by any means from his own disposition, which was full of activity and ardour in the cause, and forward and adventurous in quest of personal reputation. He was as anxious as possible to strike some decisive blow; but before this should be attempted, it was necessary that some plan should be concerted of co-operation between him and the Spanish generals, particularly general Cuesta. Sir Arthur was not more desirous of having the co-operation of general Cuesta, than solicitous that the Spanish general should not make any attempt of importance without that of the English army. Sir Arthur solicited and obtained the promise of Cuesta, that he would suspend his operations till the English army had reached the Tagus. It appears from the correspondence between the marquis of Wellesley and secretary Canning, above quoted, that sir Arthur Wellesley had to encounter many obstacles in managing and coming to a clear understanding with the central junta, and that the junta found as much difficulty in calling forth the means and energies of the country; in guiding general Cuesta, who was a crusty old gentleman, of undoubted bravery and decision of character, but who was considered by most military men as not fitted in any other respect for the command of an army. He was a friend to a kind of harassing warfare, and not very willing to run the risk of any great and decisive battle. At length, however, a

plan of operations was concerted between the British and Spanish generals, and both began their march towards Madrid. A complete junction of their armies was effected on the 20th of July, and immediate measures were taken for carrying into effect the plan of operations agreed on. Sir Robert Wilson, who commanded a corps of Portuguese to the number of three or four thousand men, which he had brought into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to proceed to Escalona on the river Alberche; and the corps under Venegas advanced to Argonda. The main strength of the allied army marched on towards Ollala, where the enemy was posted.

After the junction and march of the allied armies up the valley of the Tagus towards the French under Victor, when an engagement began to be daily expected, prayers for their success were offered up at the cathedral church of Seville, at which the central junta assisted in a body.

On the 26th of July general Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back to the left bank of the Alberche. The French army remained still at Ollala, thereby indicating an intention to try the result of a general action. For this the best position appeared to sir Arthur Wellesley to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera del Reyna, a town half way between Placentia and Madrid, and about sixty or seventy miles distant from both; and general Cuesta having consented to take up this position, on the morning of the 27th the British general, Sherbrooke, was ordered to retire with his corps to



its station in the line, leaving general Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberche, which covered the left flank of the allies. The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles. The ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which there was drawn up in echelon and in second line, a division of infantry under major-general Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still farther to the left, there was a valley which was not occupied, as it was commanded by the height just mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence on the expected action. The right wing of the allied army, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche, was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner, and the town itself was occupied. In the centre, between the English and Spanish armies, there was a commanding spot of ground on which the English had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear; at this spot was posted a division of infantry, supported by a brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry.

At about two o'clock on the 27th, an attack was made on the division under general Mackenzie, who gradually fell back in good order, though not without some loss, on the left of the position of the combined armies. Towards the evening the French made an attempt to overthrow the Spanish infantry which formed the right wing of the army, but without success. In the dusk of the evening the enemy commenced a general attack on the allies, by a cannonade on the left of their position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry; which attempt entirely failed. A division was then pushed along the valley on the left of the height occupied by major-general Hill, of which the French gained a momentary possession; but major-general Hill instantly regained it by an attack with the bayonet. This attack was repeated in the night, and again at daylight in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, but was repulsed by our division under major-general Hill. Nor was the enemy more successful in their attack on general Campbell. They were completely repulsed by that officer, supported by a regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry, and lost their cannon. General Sherbrooke's division, which formed the left and centre of the first line of the army, was next attacked. They immediately attacked with bayonets, and drove back the enemy with great slaughter. The brigade of guards, which formed part of this division, in their eagerness to pursue the enemy, advanced too far, and were thrown into



into a temporary confusion, having exposed their left flank to the fire of a battery. A part of general Cotton's brigade of cavalry, on observing this, pushed forward and covered their retreat towards their original position. The enemy being thus foiled in all his attempts against the allied army, and having lost twenty pieces of cannon and a few prisoners, retreated in complete order across the Alberche.\* Their loss in killed and wounded was never calculated with any degree of exactness. Sir A. Wellesley was inclined to estimate it at 10,000. The French said that our loss was greater than theirs, owing to the greater number of cannon they had brought to play against us. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 6000. Among the killed were major-gen. Mackenzie, brigadier-gen. Langworth, and brigadier-gen. Becket. As the Spanish troops were only partially engaged, their loss was comparatively small, not exceeding 1000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

We do not meet with many harder fought battles, than that of Talavera, in history. The ground on which the British were posted was well chosen, and the troops were distributed with great judgment. This praise is due exclusively to the general in chief. That the French were finally repulsed and defeated in their various and reiterated attempts, is to be ascribed to the military skill, presence of mind, and promptitude of the generals of division, and the cool

and well disciplined bravery of both British officers and soldiers.

The love of glory, that noble and animating passion, sometimes degenerates into too anxious a concern, and a kind of importunate claim of praise. Neither the ardour nor skill of the British general, nor the skill and courage of the officers and men under his command, were such as to require any thing in the semblance of exaggeration to call forth our respect and admiration. Sir Arthur Wellesley observes, that "the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops, who had to fight against more than double their number." Hence it seems to be insinuated, that the Spaniards in the battle of Talavera were of little or no service. But in a general engagement, a corps or division of troops may be of most essential service, without being actually engaged, and merely maintaining their position. The Spaniards, we are told, formed the right wing of the allied army; and that an attempt was made to overthrow the Spanish infantry, which entirely failed. And in another part of his dispatch, not yet noticed, sir Arthur says, "the Spanish commander in chief, his officers and troops manifested every disposition to render us assistance, and those of them who were engaged, did their duty. But the ground they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of

\* See sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatches to lord Castlereagh, July 29. App. Chron. p. 527.



the enemy while he was engaged with us." If the right wing had been drawn out of this strong and important ground, or had abandoned it when cannonaded by the enemy, sir Arthur would have been exposed to an attack on his right flank. This danger the Spaniards averted by maintaining, and to a certain extent at least defending, their position. Therefore they had some share, though nothing like that of the British, in the victory of Talavera.

The joy of victory was of exceedingly short duration. The victorious quickly found itself in the situation of a vanquished army. On the 2d of August intelligence was received, that Soult, Ney, and Mortier having formed a junction, had advanced through Estramadura to fall on the rear of the British; and that the French, in two columns, had already entered Placentia. As Victor, though repulsed at Talavera, would advance again against the allies as soon as he should hear of the junction and march just mentioned, there was no time for doubt or delay. The allied army was now to be saved, in the words of sir Arthur Wellesley, only "by great celerity of movement." General Cuesta, the moment the intelligence was received, called on the British general, and proposed that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, while the other half should remain at Talavera. Sir A. Wellesley said, that if by half the army he meant half of each army, he could only answer, that he was ready either to go or to stay with the whole British army, but that he could not separate it. General Cuesta then

desired him to choose whether to go or stay. Sir Arthur chose to go, thinking, he states in his dispatches, "that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually and without contest." General Cuesta was accordingly left at Talavera. If he should be compelled to quit this post, it was requested and expected by sir Arthur Wellesley, that he was to bring the wounded, amounting in number to near 4000, along with him.

On the third of August the British army marched to Oropesa. In the evening of that day advice was received, that the French, stated to be 30,000 strong, having advanced from Placentia, had got between the British and the bridge of Almaraz; and nearly at the same time, that general Cuesta was on the point of leaving Talavera, letting most of the wounded and sick fall into the hands of the French, from the want of means of conveyance. On the other side, there was reason to expect, as soon as general Cuesta's march should be known, the advance of Victor's corps, 25,000 strong (after leaving 10,000 to watch Venegas) to Talavera. Our army, if unsuccessful in a contest with either Victor, or Soult and Ney, would have been without retreat; and if Soult and Ney, avoiding an action, had retired before it, and waited the arrival of Victor, it would have been exposed to a general action with at least 50,000 men, and equally without a retreat. Sir A. Wellesley, in these circumstances, judged it advisable to retire to the bridge of Arzo Bispo, where he crossed the Tagus on August 4, from whence he continued his route



route to Deleytosa, and from thence to Badajoz.\* General Cuesta too retreated by the bridge of Arzo Bispo, where he crossed the river on the night of the 5th. About half the number of the sick and wounded were brought away from Talavera; the other half remained there, and were treated by the French with great humanity. The reason given by general Cuesta for his leaving Talavera was, that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to St. Ollala in his front; and farther, that without his assistance, sir Arthur would not be strong enough for the united corps of French coming from Placentia. "These reasons, sir Arthur Wellesley tells us in his dispatches of August 8, did not appear sufficient to him for giving up so important a post as Talavera, for exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear, and for abandoning his hospital." But sir Arthur did not state the whole of Cuesta's reasoning. General Cuesta represented to sir Arthur, "not only that he thought it his duty to fly to the aid of his good ally, but lest, in the case of a defeat of the British army, the Spaniards should find themselves between Victor and Soult, with the most perfect certainty that they must share the same fate if they should remain at Talavera." Under these impressions general Cuesta, following the same route with the British, arrived, August 4, at Oropesa; where he was surprised to find them, as he had supposed that sir

Arthur Wellesley had gone in quest of the enemy, who was still at Naval Moral. Still greater was general Cuesta's surprise to learn that general Wellesley was determined not to hazard an action with Soult, without securing a retreat in case of discomfiture, and for this end taking up a position beyond the Tagus. Gen. Cuesta urged to the British commander, that the accounts he had received of the force of the enemy were greatly exaggerated; and that it was by no means sufficient for a conflict with the two armies: the British and Spanish armies united could easily defeat and dispose of the French; but if general Wellesley should retreat beyond the bridge of Arzo Bispo, a passage would be opened for a junction between Soult and Victor."† This reasoning of the Spanish general was certainly not unpalatable, and would not, it may be fairly presumed, have been without effect on the mind of sir Arthur Wellesley, who was any thing but deficient in personal courage, if he could have reckoned on the prompt and steady co-operation of our Spanish allies, political and military. But from a good deal of uniform experience he had learnt to make a just estimate of both the one and other.

A great majority of the supreme and central junta was composed of weak and feeble characters, chosen, not on account of their personal merit, but by the preponderating influence of great families, and were very ill qualified to call forth, combine, and direct

\* See dispatches from lord viscount Wellington. App. Chron. p. 540.

† Note from don Martin de Garay, secretary of the junta, to the marquis of Wellesley, October 3, 1809.



the energies of the country. They were greatly deficient in ability or talents, and equally so in pure patriotism, or a desire to promote not only the political independence, but the general interests of all classes of the Spanish nation. They were more desirous of acquiring places and power or patronage for themselves, than of effecting any good in which the people might participate. They seemed in fact to be more afraid of riots, and even of ideas and designs of innovation among the mass of the people than of the enemy. For defence against the latter they relied principally on the exertions of Great Britain and in the progress of time and events, those of Austria, than their own plans. Yet they thought they did great things, by issuing from time to time the most ardent proclamations for rousing the energies of the people; as if popular or individual energies could have tended to any thing but tumult, disorder, and distraction, if not harmonized by government, that is, by themselves, into a system of action. And above all things, they appeared to be solicitous to suppress what they considered as the most immediate danger to their own power, the spirit of liberty among the people by the suppression of newspapers and other productions of the press, and to keep them in the same state of ignorance and slavery under the junta, as they were under their late monarchs.

The want of activity, and ability on the part of the junta and of timely concert and co-operation on the part of that council and its allies, had been

fatally experienced in the case of sir John Moore. The English ministry were not insensible how necessary it was both to arouse the exertions of the Spaniards, and to give and urge, as far as could be done without offence, advice for their proper direction; and for this purpose they made choice of the marquis of Wellesley, than whom a fitter person indeed could not have been chosen in the British empire. But this was not done in time. The appointment of the marquis as ambassador extraordinary to Spain did not appear in the London Gazette until the first of May, nor did he arrive at Cadiz till the 31st of July; two months after the British general had taken the field, and exactly at the moment when that general, for whom the British ambassador had come to concert a plan of operations, victorious in battle, but defeated in the war, began his retreat on Portugal. This long delay between the appointment of the marquis and his arrival in Spain, did not arise from any inclemency of weather or any other accident by land or sea; for he arrived at Cadiz on the seventh day from his embarkation at Portsmouth. It was occasioned by the private contentions of ministers about the great offices of state, to one of the most important of which the marquis had an eye, and which he afterward obtained. But though the marquis of Wellesley did not arrive in Spain in time for influencing the issue of the campaign of 1809, which, though there were some battles after that of Talavera, was in fact decided by the retreat of the British



British army,\* (for the Spaniards were by no means fitted as yet to maintain a contest with the French single handed) he gave the most important and excellent advice to the junta, which this council appeared to be disposed to follow; of which they gave earnest in the recal of that refractory and capricious man, Cuesta, from the command of the army, and by greater exertions to furnish both to the British and their own armies provisions, stores, and the means of transport. It appears from some of sir Arthur Wellesley's letters in August and September, 1809, to his brother, the marquis, that while Cuesta was in the habit of

intercepting occasionally convoys of provisions designed for the English army, and applying them to the use of his own, he on several occasions refused to the entreaties of the British general the means of conveyance or transport, mules, carts, and cattle for drawing them.

But whatever may be thought of the effect produced by the information and counsels that the marquis of Wellesley carried with him to Spain, much important and useful information was certainly brought back by the marquis from Spain to Britain. The marquis himself was received both at Cadiz and Seville with every

\* Sir Arthur Wellesley calculated the disposable force of the French in Spain, after the battle of Talavera, at 122,000 men, well provided with cavalry and artillery, without including in this number the troops in Pampeluna, Barcelona, and other garrisons. In that number, however, he reckoned the corps employed under the generals St. Cyr and Souchet in Catalonia, amounting to 32,000 men. The other 90,000 were distributed in Castille and Estramadura. Of the aggregate force 70,000 were actually in the field, namely, the corps of Victor, Soult, Ney, Mortier, and Sebastiani. The remainder of the 122,000 were distributed in different garrisons, such as Madrid, the Escorial, Avila, Valladolid, Toledo, and other places, or employed in keeping up the communications between one place and another. But they could be brought into the field in an instant if occasion required it.—To this force the Spanish government had nothing to oppose but the two corps under the command of Venegas and Egiva, who had succeeded in the command of the corps to general Cuesta. Blake might have re-assembled about 6000 men. The marquis of Romana had under his command 15,000 men; but having neither cavalry nor artillery, he was confined to the mountains of Gallicia. There was a garrison of 9000 men at Ciudad Rodrigo; but the duke had a repugnance to their being moved to any other position. The English army might be calculated at from 20 to 25,000. Considering the difference in the activity and discipline of the opposite armies, sir Arthur was decidedly of opinion that no enterprize could be undertaken with any prospect of success; especially when the difficulties arising from local circumstances, which the allies had to encounter, were compared with the advantages possessed by the enemy. The French could assemble the whole of their forces in Castille and Estramadura, and place part of them in front of the allies, and part in their rear, as they might think proper.—The anecdote that follows places the character of the supreme junta in a degrading, but, we doubt not, a very true light. The junta was disposed to reinforce the army under Venegas; not that this was necessary or eligible in a military point of view, but because they were persuaded that this army, which was a dangerous instrument, was safer in the hands of Venegas than of any other general. They stationed no more than 12,000 men in Estramadura, because they were unwilling to place a more considerable force under the command of the duke of Albuquerque, who was called for by the junta of Estramadura to take the command of the army stationed in that province.—*Letter from sir A. to the marquis of Wellesley. Merida, September, 1809.*

demonstration



demonstration of kindness and respect. He explained the nature of the orders with which he was charged by his British majesty, which as far as they related to objects of internal regulation, were to be confined within the limits of what might be agreeable to the Spanish government; and was very careful neither to alarm the jealousy nor to offend the pride of Spain. Our army was in the greatest distress from want of provision, which was owing in part to the poorness and the exhausted state of the country, and in part to the indolence and timidity of the magistrates, and the contempt of the people for the authority of government itself, as well as that of its officers. The British army for want of necessaries, was obliged to retreat down the Tagus. The junta contemplated the bare possibility of the British army returning to Portugal with terror and despair; and if such an intention should be carried into execution, the Spaniards were disposed even to consider it as a symptom on the part of the British government to abandon the cause of the Spaniards and give up their alliance. So great was the blind confidence of the junta in the British troops, notwithstanding their consciousness how imperfectly they were supplied, and how feebly supported by the Spaniards, that even after the retreat of the British to Badajoz, the marquis of Wellesley received several notes from the junta, urging the British army to advance again against the enemy; and Garay, in different conversations with the marquis, suggested the possibility of driving the French beyond the Pyrenees.

The marquis of Wellesley was well assured, that in the frequent encounters between the Spaniards and French, it was a common thing for whole divisions and even corps of Spaniards, to take to their heels on the first appearance of danger, without waiting either to receive or give a shot. According to the ordinary course of human passions, they ascribed to the English the consequences of an evil which they themselves had occasioned, and were willing to ascribe the retreat of the British army to any other cause than their own bad conduct. The apprehensions that had been excited by the retreat of the British army, had been in some degree tranquilized by the firm and prudent manner in which that retreat had been conducted, and by intelligence that had been received of a renewal of hostilities between France and Austria. On this supposed event the junta had founded the most sanguine expectations; which it would have been wiser to ground on the prompt correction of their own faults, on a judicious application of the great resources of the Spanish empire, and on an enlightened direction of the genius and dispositions of the Spanish nation. That nation, the marquis hoped, would see in the calamity that had occasioned so much alarm (the retreat of the British army) the natural consequence of its own weakness, and the urgent necessity of greater decision and vigour of both counsel and action. A relaxation of domestic government and indolent confidence in the activity and aid of strangers, had endangered all the noble and virtuous objects for which



which Spain had suffered so much and been so lavish of her blood. Spain must learn to administer her resources, and to ameliorate the organization and discipline of her armies before she could expect to derive any advantage from the support and co-operation of strangers. Until some change should be effected in the distribution or application of the military resources of Spain, and in the state of its army, no British force could attempt with safety to co-operate with Spanish troops on Spanish ground.\*

The greatest aid, the marquis of Wellesley said, to be expected by Spain from an English army should be confined to that kind of occasional concert and co-operation which lately took place between the forces commanded by sir A. Wellesley and those under the orders of general Cuesta. In case of a British army of 30,000 men being employed in a campaign in Spain, our troops should be assured in the first place of being provided with the means of movement and with necessary provisions. In case of necessity that our troops should retreat, the supreme command of the Spanish armies should be vested in the commander in chief of the English army; and an English garrison should be established in Cadiz, if these conditions should be deemed indispensibly necessary for our security in Spain. The disposition of the people was in ge-

neral favourable to the great cause in which the nation was engaged, and the great mass of the population in Spain certainly presented means for organizing a powerful government, and elements for the formation of an excellent army. But in the higher and in the middling classes too many traces were to be found of French intrigue, and of its success. In those two classes one could perceive a disposition to watch events, and to practice and keep terms with the party that should ultimately prevail in the present struggle.† Many persons of this description, if they received no favours at the hands of government, were nevertheless never in any way molested by it. Thus no pains were taken to form one public opinion, to cultivate and exalt public spirit, and to direct its energy to great national objects. The population of the country had not yet furnished the proportion of recruits demanded by the dangers of the country: nor could any accession of numbers avail without a change in the organization and discipline of the army. Many officers of the army, in the most important stations, made no secret of their hostility to the cause of Spain and her allies, and were not sufficiently watched by government. On a review of the principal events of the last campaign, it appeared impossible to account for the conduct of some Spanish generals and other officers on any other hypo-

\* Dispatch from the marquis of Wellesley to secretary Canning. Seville, September 2, 1809.

† Thus in the war of the Succession, a great many of the nobles of Spain were in a continual state of vacillation between the side of Charles of Austria and Philip of Bourbon, according as the fortune of either rose or fell in the balance amidst the vicissitudes of war.



thesis, than that they had concerted their operations with the French, instead of coming to an understanding with the English generals.

It was necessary, in order to vindicate the independence of Spain, not to depend merely on that general spirit of resistance which animated the bulk of the people in the provinces, but to concentrate and direct that spirit in such a manner as to call forth with effect the military resources of the country, and to form an army which might give time to Spain, with the assistance of her allies, to establish the restoration of the monarchy on a legitimate basis. The nomination of a central junta was no doubt the first step towards the consolidation of public authority; but the constitution of the supreme junta was not founded on the basis of union among the provinces, and still less on a just and wise distribution of the elements and force of government. There was not hitherto any confederation among the provinces. The executive power was weakened by a distribution of it into a number of hands, in an assembly too numerous to possess unity of design or promptitude of action; and yet, at the same time, too limited and narrow in its constitution to be considered as the representative body of the Spanish nation. The central junta were neither just representatives either of the crown, or the aristocracy, or the people: they neither possessed the properties of an executive council, nor of a deliberative assembly.—It was principally in this body, and

among the officers under its employment, that one could plainly perceive an animosity against the British government: very different from this was the general disposition of the people.\* At some moments of danger and alarm, the junta seemed to be impressed with a conviction that it was their duty to choose a regency, to assemble the cortes, redress grievances and remedy abuses. The question of a regency was discussed in the junta again and again, but the discussions on this subject ended always in an adjournment: the meeting of the cortes was put off to a distant period; the crying abuses in the administration of justice, the collection of the revenue in all the principal branches of the administration of government, were continued.—In short, the supreme junta thought of nothing so much as how to preserve their own power to the last extremity.

The marquis of Wellesley, in a conversation on public affairs with Don Garay, held at the desire of this statesman, recommended the appointment of a regency, the speedy convocation of the cortes, and that the act of the junta for appointing a regency and convoking the cortes, should provide for the correction of abuses, and the suppression of arbitrary exactions, in both Spain and the Indies; and also that the same act should declare the general principles on which concessions were to be made to the colonies for securing to them a share in the representation of the Spanish empire; and, above all, that the first

\* In like manner, and partly owing, no doubt, to the same cause, there was always a strong French party in the states general of the United Provinces, while the people and the princes of Orange were the friends of England.



care of the regency should be to reform the whole military system of Spain.

On the whole, the marquis of Wellesley was of opinion that, in all events, even the very worst to be apprehended was, that the disposition and character of the Spanish nation would prolong the difficulties that the French had met with from their first attempt to subdue that country. The grand obstacle to the deliverance of Spain was, beyond all doubt, the state of its own government; but still, even if the faulty state of government, so favourable to the success of the French arms, should be continued, a long interval of time must elapse before a French government could be established in Spain, during which interval events would happen and circumstances occur, which might be improved for the advancement of British interests, both in Spain and her colonies.\*

In perfect unison with the sentiments and views of the marquis were those of his brother sir A. Wellesley, who, in a letter to the marquis, dated at Merida, August 2, 1809, wrote as follows: "In the battle of Talavera, in which almost the whole of the Spanish army was engaged, whole corps threw down their arms in my presence and saved themselves by

flight,† although they were neither attacked nor menaced with an attack, but merely frightened, I believe, at their own fire. In the public orders of general Cuesta, after praising the conduct of his army, he declares his intention of decimating the fugitives; an intention which he afterwards fulfilled. Those base soldiers in their flight from Talavera pillaged every thing that came in their way, even the baggage of the English army, which was at that very time fighting in their cause.‡ There cannot be a doubt that in any farther conjoint operations the whole burthen must fall on us; and certainly the English army ought not to be considered as sufficiently strong for being the only corps to be opposed to a French army not less than 70,000 strong. On considering therefore the object in view, and calculating our means and our dangers, I am of opinion I ought to renounce all ideas of co-operation with the Spanish army; which opinion your excellency will communicate to the supreme junta. At the same time I am well aware of the difficulties into which that government must be thrown, if its armies should be seized with any of those panic fears to which they are subject, and take to flight, leaving all behind them to certain

\* Dispatch from the marquis of Wellesley to Mr. secretary Canning. Seville, September 15, 1809. Included in *the Correspondence relative to Spain and Portugal*, laid before parliament.

† It may be allowed to a commander of an allied army to pass over, in his public dispatches, egregious misbehaviour in the conduct of his allies. In sir Arthur's dispatch from Talavera, July 29, above quoted, the reader is led to suppose that the whole of the Spanish army was not engaged, but that such of them that were did their duty. Here we are told that the whole were engaged, but that whole corps failed in their duty.

‡ Of the officers who headed the fugitives, we are told in another part of the correspondence about the affairs of Spain and Portugal that a fourth part, by the orders of Cuesta, was put to death.



loss and ruin. To this I can only answer, that I am not pressed by the most urgent necessity, nor in extreme haste to retire immediately out of Spain. I want provisions and some repose for my troops; and at all events, before I retire into Portugal I shall wait for your excellency's opinion on the points which I have submitted to your judgment. If I should retire to Portugal, it is my intention to proceed no farther than the frontier (though I will not come under any formal engagement to this purpose) where I shall be so near to the enemy that he will not venture to cross the Guadiana, unless he be in very considerable force, and leave me on his flank and rear. I shall, therefore, in reality be as serviceable to the Spanish government on the frontier of Portugal, as I should be in the position pointed out to me by your excellency: nay, and even more serviceable, as the nearer I am to Portugal, the greater certainty I shall have of recovering the means of acting with effect; and inasmuch as I shall then be unincumbered entirely by the Spanish army, and able to decide whether I ought to co-operate with it all, in what manner, to what extent, and on what conditions, according to circumstances."

It is to be observed in justification of sir Arthur Wellesley's retreat, not only on military or political, but moral principles, that the instructions given to that officer by his government, though they allowed him to pass the frontier of Portugal, and to co-operate with the Spaniards occasionally to a certain extent, did not recognize any right on the part of Spain

to claim such a co-operation. The primary and main object of sir Arthur was to protect Portugal. The aid to be given to the Spaniards was discretionary and gratuitous, of which the Spanish government and military officers were fully apprized; nor did they in their earnest entreaties that sir Arthur should march into Spain, ever pretend that they had any.

It is perfectly easy to justify the retreat of sir A. Wellesley from the interior of Spain: not so easy to vindicate the propriety of his advancing thither; nor yet perhaps altogether that of the immediate motives of his retreat. His retreat was a measure of precaution adopted to save his army from being overwhelmed by the immense force gathering around him; and therefore it did not seem glorious to leave the Spanish army alone in a situation in which the conjoint force of the Spaniards and British could not remain with safety. Cuesta indeed gave him the option of going to meet Soult or remaining at Talavera. He preferred the former; but at a time when, being ignorant of the force under Soult, Mortier, and Ney, he thought that the "business might be done most effectually and *without contest*," general Cuesta was to be exposed to the attack of the greater, while sir Arthur Wellesley was marching to encounter the smaller force. This gave occasion to many taunts in the French demi-official paper, the *Moniteur*. "The post of honour," the French critic observed, "is that which is nearest the enemy. But lord Wellington, having it in his option to give the post of honour either to the English, or those Spaniards of whom he



he speaks so ill, determined in favour of the Spanish troops."

Lord Wellington (the new title of sir Arthur Wellesley) was universally condemned for having dashed into the heart of Spain without having even any tolerable idea of the force opposed to him, and at the risk (for he was aware of the incapacity and remissness of the junta, and even their inability to do all the good they wished) of being starved out of it. The corps of Soult, Ney, and Mortier, which lord Wellington estimated at first, when he thought "the business might be done without a contest," at 10 or 12,000 men; and afterwards, when he determined to cross the Tagus at the bridge of Arzo Bispo, at 30,000 men, were found afterwards to have amounted to not less than 70,000 men. And from the most deplorable and inexcusable ignorance, (as he might in a friendly country have commanded spies in the greatest abundance) he thought he could cover his left flank against this formidable army by leaving two battalions at the Puerto de Banos!

While lord Wellington gave himself up to the impulsion of courage and a passion for fighting, the combinations of the French generals were most skilful, and the plan concerted, notwithstanding the check at Talavera, executed on the whole with alacrity and success. Marshal Victor manœuvred in such a manner as to draw the British army farther on up the course of the Tagus. A junction was formed with the corps or army of Sebastiani, and a reinforcement with king Joseph at their head from Madrid. The French were re-

pelled at Talavera, not put to rout. It was indeed most glorious to the British; but, in regard to its result or consequences, little if any thing, more than a drawn battle. In the mean time marshal Soult, with still more considerable forces than those under Victor, or, it may be said, king Joseph, marched upon the rear of lord Wellington, who prudently saved himself by a timely and well-conducted retreat. But if the French armies under king Joseph and marshal Soult had avoided an action with the English before they were united, as Buonaparte himself would have continued to do, if he had been present instead of Joseph, the British army would never have left Spain with their colours flying. Or again, if Victor or Joseph had drawn lord Wellington still farther on, or delayed for a few days their attack at Talavera, the marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, with an overwhelming force, might have come between him and the bridge of Arzo Bispo. In short, the march of lord Wellington into the very throat of danger was most improvident; his escape most fortunate.

As to general Cuesta, he was surprised at Arzo Bispo by the French, who forded the river some miles above the bridge, and obliged him to retreat across the Ibor with the loss of all his cannon. He resigned on account of ill health, and was succeeded in the command of the army by general Equca.

In the beginning of August, while so great a part of the French forces in Spain was drawn down the valley of the Tagus in pursuit of the allied army, general Venegas, with not fewer, it was said by



the French gazettes, than 30,000 men, descending from the Sierra Morena, took up, on the 10th of August, a strong position on certain heights amidst broken ground near Almanacid, a town in Old Castille, three leagues S. E. from Toledo, where he was attacked on the 21st by a corps of French under Sebastiani. Being driven from post to post, he drew up his troops on a plain, extending his line on either hand, with a view of turning the flanks of the enemy, to as great a length as possible. This line was penetrated in different places by some squadrons of French cavalry. The Spaniards throwing down their arms, and abandoning their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fled, every one by himself or in small parties, becoming still smaller and smaller as they proceeded in their flight, in a variety of directions towards the mountains. They were pursued by the French for about two leagues; but so completely were they dispersed, that the French cavalry, not being able to set their eyes on any other than handfuls of men in one place not worth pursuing, gave over the pursuit. Nevertheless, a great many prisoners, the French stated, fell into their hands, to the number of some thousands.

In the command of the army of La Mancha, general Venegas was superseded by the marquis of Ariezaga. It was strongly reinforced, and abundantly provided with artillery, stores, provisions, and the means of carriage. In numbers it amounted to 50,000 men, infantry and cavalry. Ariezaga conceived the bold design of quitting his strong ground in the

Sierra Morena, marching on Madrid, and bringing on a general engagement with the French, the issue of which might reduce them to the necessity of quitting that city. The French army, consisting of three corps headed by king Joseph, waited for the Spaniards in a strong position near Toledo. The Spaniards on finding this, prudently repassed the Tagus: the French followed them. The Spaniards concentrated their force near Ocana, a city of La Mancha on the side of New Castille, situated on an eminence at the entrance of the vast plain of La Mesada Ocana. About nine o'clock in the morning of the 19th of November, the advanced parties of the French came in sight of the Spanish army. At eleven o'clock the action commenced, and in two hours it was decided in favour of the French. The following notification was published by order of king Joseph, and set up, November 20th, in all public places:—"Yesterday the king gained a signal and decisive victory at Ocana: two hours were sufficient to disperse the army of the insurgents, who expected within two days to make their entry into Madrid. It was dispersed or destroyed: four thousand men were left dead on the field of battle; twenty thousand were made prisoners, among whom were 200 officers. From thirty to forty thousand muskets, twenty standards, thirty pieces of artillery, and an incredible quantity of baggage, were the results of this splendid victory." This is, no doubt, as usual on the part of the French, great exaggeration; but the loss of the Spaniards was terribly great, and the victory complete.

Ocana



Ocana was the Tudela of 1809.\* The French newspapers allowed that the Spaniards, encouraged by the superiority of their numbers, made a vigorous resistance. The Spanish newspapers stated, that for a considerable time victory was expected by the patriots, and that acclamations of triumph were heard from the ranks, when one disgraceful incident turned the tide of fortune in favour of the enemy. A single regiment of cavalry, which in an advantageous position covered a large body of Spanish infantry, shamefully took to flight at a critical moment, and spread disorder and consternation among the Spaniards. The confusion and alarm became instantly general; and the superior tactics of the French enabled them to take advantage of such a situation.

For the encouragement of the patriots, the members that had most influence in the junta of Seville, appeared in the rear of the army, expressing their confidence that they should hold their next sittings in Madrid.

In consequence of the intelligence received by the duke del Parque, commander in chief of what the Spaniards called the army of the left, consisting of 25,000 or 30,000 men, of what had happened to the army of La Mancha, he retreated from Carpeo on the night of the 26th of November, first by the way of Alba de Tormes, on the river Tormes, that falls through Old Castille into the Douro, and afterwards in a retrograde direction by Tamames, a town in the

province of Leon, to the mountains of Feanza on the borders of Gallicia. This retrograde movement was occasioned by the attacks made by the French at Alba de Tormes, which were vigorously repulsed by the Spaniards; by which means the enemy being kept in check, they were enabled to make good their retreat, though with the loss of great numbers of men, artillery, and in a state of great dispersion. In the mountains of Feanza the dispersed troops joined their respective divisions under the duke del Parque.

The battle of Ocana was quickly followed by the reduction of Cordova and Seville, and a road was opened to Cadiz.

While these and other subordinate, and also many detached or isolated operations in the peninsula were going on in the field, sieges were carried on by the French against Saragossa and Gerona. The first siege of Saragossa has been related in our volume for 1808.† The second siege commenced early in the month of January, 1808, and on the 21st of February, in the midst of ruins and dead bodies, it was compelled by all that could assail and overcome human nature, to capitulate. The heroism, the patience, and the constancy of the Arragonese in this second siege were not inferior to those displayed in the first. But we are not tempted to exceed the just proportions that ought to pervade a narrative of events, coincident or nearly coincident in time, by any account of it so extremely interesting as well

\* See last Volume (for 1808). HIST. EUR. p. 232.

† HIST. EUR. p. 210.



as accurate, as that given by Mr. Vaughan, an eye-witness of the first siege; nevertheless, we cannot refrain from recording what follows. A considerable body of the enemy was decoyed into the town by a stratagem, which was fallen on by the women (who had enrolled themselves into a regiment to the number of 800) within the walls of Saragossa. A large number of white handkerchiefs waved on the battlements and ramparts, seemed to indicate that the inhabitants had at last determined on submission. The French party were defeated, and almost all of them destroyed in the streets. The women in this action zealously supported, in various ways, and all that they could think of, their countrymen. It was lamentable to perceive, after the affair was over, how many of those heroic women were killed or wounded. When marshal Lasnes, or marshal Augereau, or which ever of the two was the commanding officer before Saragossa, summoned the town, declaring, that if it did not surrender on that day, he would storm it and put all the inhabitants to the sword, Palafox assembled his troops and the armed inhabitants of the city in the churches, where they solemnly swore to defend the place to the last; and, rather than surrender, to be buried in its ruins. An unsuccessful sortie was afterwards made: the Spaniards were defeated with great loss; and the French entered the town along with those who escaped slaughter. A sanguinary contest then took place in the streets, in which the French had again the advantage.

Some of the inhabitants in despair sprung a mine, the explosion of which destroyed a considerable part of the city, and produced a dreadful carnage. The number who perished, French and Spaniards, was estimated at several thousands. The remainder of the Spaniards defended themselves for some time in works erected in another part of the town; but at last surrendered at discretion, the French commander having refused a capitulation. But immediately on obtaining possession of the posts, he issued a proclamation containing a general pardon, in the name of king Joseph; and a stop was put to all hostile acts on the part of the French troops. The personal heroism that was displayed by the Spaniards in the sieges of Saragossa, and that of Gerona, equalled, if they did not exceed, that of the 15th and 16th centuries.—General Palafox was sent a prisoner to Bayonne, and immediately, on the 17th of March, lodged in the castle. Thousands of other Arragonese prisoners were sent to France, and on their way most brutally treated. Some of them that were unable to walk were shot. It is recorded for the honour of Bourdeaux, that they were treated with great humanity and compassion at that city; which always expressed in pretty loud murmurs its extreme dissatisfaction of the usurpations of the Buonapartes, and the war in Spain. It is remarkable that the French were much more humane towards the English, as well as towards the Russian and Austrian, than their Spanish prisoners.

We have already had occasion  
to



to notice the patriotism and valour of Gerona, which equalled those of Saragossa.\*

It is remarkable, that the provinces nearest the Pyrenees were those that evinced the most determined and persevering resistance to the French. After Gerona had been twice invested, and the assailants twice driven back, the French again advanced to besiege it with more formidable means, and in a more regular manner. For its defence the inhabitants had little to trust to but their own valour. There was scarcely any other strong post in the city than the castle of Mountjoy. Against this the French made repeated attacks, which were repulsed with the most heroic bravery. On the 7th of July, the assailants having effected three breaches in the walls of the castle, proceeded to the assault. The garrison, though fewer in number and enfeebled by unremitting duty, repelled the French five times with considerable slaughter. The French therefore began to raise the necessary works; which they were forced to do under great difficulties, being obliged to raise them on a rock, and to form their entrenchments under the fire of the garrison.

On the 12th of August, the besieged finding themselves unable any longer to defend the castle of Mountjoy, retired unmolested into the city of Gerona, leaving the enemy only a heap of ruins, and a few pieces of almost useless cannon. While the French, from the possession of the citadel, were enabled to carry on the siege of the

city to greater advantage, the inhabitants, become more numerous by the addition of the garrison of Mountjoy, were reduced to greater extremities from want of provisions, and even from that of the most necessary articles for the sick and wounded. Gen. Blake, who commanded the Spanish army in Catalonia, determined to throw into Gerona not only a supply of provisions and other necessaries, but also a reinforcement of troops. With this view, he made such movements and arrangements as seemed to indicate an intention of attacking the enemy in a quarter directly opposite to that by which the convoy was to be sent into the city. A body of 1200 infantry, supported by cavalry, sent against the enemy's troops stationed at Brunolas, commenced an attack upon them with so much vigour, as induced them to think that the convoy for the supply of Gerona was under the escort and protection of this body of Spanish troops. Notwithstanding the excellent position the French occupied at Brunolas, and that strengthened by entrenchments, the Spaniards gained the summit of the hill, and there planted the Spanish colours. The enemy weakened the other part of their army for the purpose of sending reinforcements to Brunolas, and by threatening to turn the Spanish detachment, obliged it to descend into the plain. In the mean time, a body of 4000 infantry and 500 cavalry escorted along the right bank of the river Tor, on which the Gerona is situate, a convoy of nearly 2000 mules; and after defeating

\* Vol. L. (1808). HIST. EUR. p. 209.



the enemy, succeeded in effecting their entrance into Gerona. The French contracting their forces, invested the city more closely, in order to prevent the return of the mules and horses with their drivers. But by the manœuvres of Blake the whole were enabled to get back, after being one day in the town and two nights, without so much as losing one mule or one horse. An addition of 500 men was on this occasion made to the garrison of Gerona, which consisted before in only 2,500.

The garrison of Gerona was now strengthened and refreshed by a plentiful supply of provisions. But three large practicable breaches had been made in the walls of the city, and a great part of the houses was in ruins. Against these three breaches the French generals Verdier and St. Cyr, on the 19th of September, sent three strong columns; which after repeating their attack four times, were driven back by the garrison, supported by the inhabitants. The ladies of the town, in assisting the wounded, freely exposed themselves to every danger.

So much enraged was Buonaparte at the failure of this assault, that the generals St. Cyr and Verdier were recalled, and the command of the besieging army given to marshal Augereau, who, altering the plan of operations, resolved before he should make another assault on Gerona, to bend all his efforts to the defeat and destruction of Blake's army. The Spanish general had posted his troops on the heights of Brunolas. By repeated attacks general Blake was driven from that advantageous position, and compelled to retreat to

a considerable distance from Gerona. Marshal Augereau having been informed by some of those spies, or, as the French generals called them, agents, which he took care to have in every part of Catalonia, that large magazines were formed at Hostalrich, for the purpose both of supplying Gerona and Blake's army, sent early in November a strong division against them under the command of general Pino. Hostalrich was strongly fortified, and defended by a body of 2000 soldiers and nearly all the inhabitants. Fire was set to the gates, and one quarter of the town taken by storm. But in the streets the Catalonians made the most determined resistance: every position was disputed. From every house the French were assailed with a destructive fire of musquetry: and when the enemy gained possession of all the principal quarters, the inhabitants joining the troops of the line, drew up on a level piece of ground, in the middle of the town, and for some time made an obstinate resistance to the repeated attacks on their centre as well as on both their flanks. At last they were forced to give way, and the whole town with all the magazines fell into the hands of the French.

By the reduction of Hostalrich Gerona was cut off from all hopes of supply. They had nothing to hope from general Blake, who after the total defeat and dispersion of his army at Belshite, was so much inferior in strength to his adversary, that he did not think it prudent to make any attempt to defend the magazines. Nor was this all. Marshal Augereau, by the defeat of general Blake



Blake, had been enabled to place himself between Gerona and the Spanish army. It did not, however, surrender till its walls had become wholly useless; nor till the strength of its inhabitants had been wholly exhausted by fatigue and famine. It capitulated on the 10th of December, 1809, and the French on the 11th entered the city, where they found eight standards and 200 pieces of cannon. By the capitulation the garrison was to evacuate the city with all the honours of war, and be conducted prisoners of war to France. The inhabitants were to be respected; that is, both their persons and property was to be safe: and the catholic religion was to be continued and protected.

Thus at the close of 1809, all the fortresses of Spain had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and all her principal armies been defeated and dispersed; and by dispersion, for a time annihilated. The defects to which these evils are to be attributed, need not be pointed out to any one who has perused even a general and imperfect account of the campaign. But the grand cause of the whole was undoubtedly the senselessness, the ignorance, the contracted views, and the paltry intrigues among the supreme junta, who were more attentive to the preservation of their own power than to the defence of the country. If at the same time that they had declared an intention of reforming abuses and respecting the rights of the people, they had diffused a knowledge of all that was going on on the theatre of the peninsula of Europe, of the relative interests and strength of different powers

and parties, and collected the public opinion into one luminous focus, and cherished the public spirit to which public opinion would have given birth, public virtue, genius, talents of every kind would have sprung up, raised their heads, and flourished. But instead of this, their very first and chief care was to prevent the intercourse of minds, by restraining the press. They were more afraid of tumults among the Spanish people than of the French. They neither knew how to infuse energy where it was wanting, nor to direct it where it existed. In many parts of Spain there was a spirit of resistance, which in the hands of an able government, might not only have rendered it of avail against the enemy, but in rousing the indifferent, and even forcing the unwilling to co-operate in the struggle. But selfishness, indolence, procrastination, and imbecility marked throughout the conduct of the junta. The war that was kindled on the Danube, and in Italy and the Tyrol, procured them a respite when they were on the point of destruction. This fortunate juncture fed the hopes, but did not call forth exertion on the part of the Spanish government.

The mighty and decisive battle of Wagram was fought on the 5th of July. Though no troops were sent from France to Spain until October, after the conclusion of a peace with Austria, intelligence of that decisive victory of Wagram conveyed by the telegraph had a visible influence on the conduct of the Spanish army in Spain, which after that crisis were seen withdrawing from the north towards the



the southern provinces of Spain, and indicating a disposition to resume offensive operations. Towards the end of the year Buonaparte poured fresh troops into the peninsula, and resumed the design of reducing Cadiz, the most important point in Spain, and planting his eagles on the towers of Lisbon, which the war with Austria had suspended.

The aspect of affairs became now more alarming than ever; and the junta, whether from a consciousness of their own imbecility and want of authority, or an apprehension that the public dissatisfaction with their management, for it can scarcely be called go-

vernment, might burst into some fatal explosion, issued a proclamation for the meeting of the cortes\*. The first of January, 1810, was fixed for the assembling of the cortes, and the first of March following that for entering on their functions. But if this great national assembly had been convened in January, 1809, when Buonaparte set out from Valladolid to make war on the Austrians, the French troops he left behind him, before the conclusion of the year, might have been driven out of the peninsula; and at all events, some efforts would have been made worthy of a great and high-spirited nation.

\* State Papers, p. 797.



## CHAP. XI.

*War on the Danube—in Italy—and the Tyrol.*

IT is not the least remarkable among the circumstances that attract attention in the conduct of Buonaparte that he thought it worth while to have recourse to the aid of excessive exaggeration, fictions, or in plain term, lies. This was a system which so profound a calculator must have been well aware could not maintain itself long. But he calculated, no doubt, that certain objects of importance would be obtained before his lies should be detected. At the same time that the correspondence between Count Metternich and Champagny betrayed the utmost jealousy and mistrust on the part of both France and Austria, Buonaparte proclaimed daily in his newspapers in France, Italy, and Spain, that the most perfect harmony and cordiality prevailed between the courts of the Tuilleries and Vienna. And in his German and Polish newspapers again, he represented the cause of the Spanish insurgents, as he called the patriots, as quite desperate; their tumultuous parties as broken and dispersed. He stated that Saragossa was reduced some weeks before it actually surrendered; and that Lisbon, in the beginning of 1809, was in the hands of the French. He wished

to discourage the Austrians by his account of the state of affairs in Spain; and to dishearten the Spaniards by precluding all hopes of co-operation from the Austrians. Having so uniformly and strongly declared that the views and inclinations of Austria towards France were wholly pacific, he was, when on the very point of breaking out, under the manifest dilemma of either contradicting himself on this subject, or of admitting that he plunged both his French and Italian subjects and his vassals in Germany deeper and deeper into the gulph of war without necessity. He made a distinction, therefore, between the will of the emperor Francis and even that of those most in his confidence, as we have noticed above, and the general spirit and tone of the country, which, if not vigorously counteracted, would draw along with it both the emperor and his ministers.\* He derided, in his journals, the Austrian project of making war on France. He said that the maintenance of this must depend, as the preparations for it had done, on paper money, which would soon fall to an enormous discount, and at last to nothing. But it was evident to all the world, and to none more manifest than to Buonaparte him-

\* In this belief it is not improbable that Buonaparte was perfectly sincere. He urged it in a conversation with count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, with a degree of earnestness and emotion that could not well be counterfeited. Nor was his reasoning on this occasion addressed to his own people, or to one of them for the purpose of being reported to the public. *Dispatch from Champagny to general Andreossi, at Vienna, 16th of August, 1808.*



self, that the credit or discredit of that money would depend on the fortune of arms to which the Austrians were now to appeal.

The point of time for commencing hostilities against France was well chosen. If they had been commenced or unequivocally and decidedly announced sooner, the designs of Buonaparte on Spain would have been suspended, or so artfully disguised that the mass of the Spanish nation might not have discovered them. After his decoying and dragging into captivity the royal family, all Spain, as we have seen, was in a blaze. If, again, the Austrians had delayed hostilities until Spain should be subdued, the courage and the military glory of the French would have been more increased, and their power more irresistible. In either case France would have been involved in only two wars; one with Austria and one with Spain. But in April, 1809, there was presented to France the prospect of three successive wars; the war begun, but far from being terminated, in Spain, which must, for a time, be turned from a system of attack to one of defensive measures, and thereby give the Spaniards an opportunity of drawing breath and recruiting their strength; a war with Austria; and, thirdly, what may be called a definitive war in Spain, in case of the French being successful in their war against Austria. By this prolongation of war the chances of success to the general cause of the final deliverance of Europe, a benefit by which Austria, however humbled for a time, must be ultimately bene-

fitted, would be multiplied. While the tyrant of France should thus drag his fatigued troops from one extremity of Europe to another, some portions of those troops might be brought to put the question to themselves, to what end they were thus toiling, shedding their blood, and endangering their lives, and act accordingly. While the great French army, with Buonaparte at its head, should advance from one quarter of Europe to another, fortunate circumstances might occur sufficiently powerful to excite formidable insurrections in his rear.

War was declared by Austria against France in the form of a proclamation of the archduke Charles, glowing with sentiments the most fitted to rouse indignation against the French, and awaken all their love for their own country, dated at Vienna, April 6, 1809.\* Proclamations in the same strain were also issued, one by the emperor Francis to the Austrian nation, April 8; and of the same date by the archduke Charles to the German nations. These proclamations were followed by a manifesto, detailing the various causes of just offence, provocation, and alarm, which Austria had received from France; the sacrifices the emperor had made for the continuance of peace; the principles of self-defence; and a due regard to the independence and the interests to the neighbouring and all other nations that guided the conduct of his imperial majesty at the present crisis.

The principal consideration that

\* State Papers, p. 749.



determined the Austrian government to enter on war with France at this particular time was the great distance of Buonaparte's strongest army. In order to take advantage of this circumstance, it was necessary to act with promptitude and celerity. And as an immense line of frontier might be attacked by the French, whom it was therefore necessary to keep in check, the Austrians could not concentrate their forces without opening a passage to Vienna for five different French armies, viz. from the Venetian territory, from Bavaria, from Franconia, from Saxony, and, lastly, from Silesia. This concentration of the Austrian forces too would have required much time, and the combined movements of so many troops would have been the signal of war to Buonaparte. But of all the passages that might be opened the most to be dreaded by Austria was that to Vienna from Munich. It was the shortest and the easiest, as well as that on which the greatest number of troops could be brought to march at the same time. It was in this direction, of course, that the main force of the Austrians was to proceed, and bear on Bavaria, for the defence of the Austrian dominions. It is farther to be considered that the most important conquest that could be made by Austria in a military point of view, as appears from a single glance at her frontiers, was the Tyrol. That as the course of the war would in its progress be directed by that of the Danube it would be necessary to have the command of a bridge across that river, even in Bavaria, for establishing a communication between the troops of

Austria and those of Bohemia; and that the most convenient point for such a communication was Ratisbon, as it is nearest to the two routes of Egra and Pilsen, between Bohemia and Bavaria.

The state and distribution of the Austrian arms, in the beginning of April, 1809, was as follows. The whole of the army was divided into nine corps, each corps consisting of 30 or 40,000 men. The first six of these corps was under the immediate orders of his serene highness the archduke Charles, commander in chief of all the forces. Under the archduke the count de Bellegarde was at the head of the first corps; count Kollowrath of the second; the prince of Hohenzollern of the third; the baron of Rosenberg of the fourth; the archduke Lewis of the fifth; and general Hiller of the sixth. The seventh corps was sent under the archduke Ferdinand into Poland; and the eighth and ninth to Italy, under the archduke John. The lieutenant-general of the eighth corps was the marquis of Chastellar; of the ninth corps general Guilay. Besides these corps there were two of reserve; one of 20,000 men, commanded by prince John of Lichtenstein; the other of 10,000 under the orders of general Kinmayer: and troops to the number of 25,000 in the Tyrol, Croatia, and in small parties acting as partizans on the confines of Bohemia. In addition to all these there was a kind of militia in the interior of the Austrian kingdoms and provinces, called the land-wehr. So that it was computed, that when the archduke Charles entered on the campaign, he had at his disposal not much less than 400,000 men.

In



In the mean time the positions of the French and their allies, or vassals, were these. There was a corps of French under Davoust, at Ratisbon; another under Massena, at Ulm; and a third under general Oudinot, at Augsburg; the head quarters were at Strasburg. Three divisions of Bavarians were posted, the first under marshal Le Febre, at Munich; the second under general De Roy, at Landshut; and the third under general Wrede at Straubing. There was a division of Wirtemburghers at Hydenheim. The Saxon troops were encamped under the walls of Dresden. And the corps of the duchy of Warsaw were encamped under the walls of that city, and commanded by prince Poniatowsky.

The main Austrian army passed the Inn on the ninth of April; and, on the tenth the Iser at Munich, driving the French and Bavarians before them to and from Landshut. Corps arriving by the way of Pilsen from Bohemia drove the French garrison left by Davoust from Ratisbon, and secured to the Austrians that important passage of the Danube, which it was necessary to preserve until the arrival of the army under Bellegarde, which covered the frontier of Bohemia towards Saxony and Franconia. For this purpose it was necessary to cover the post at Ratisbon from the armies of France that had begun to advance rapidly along the course of the Danube, and at the same time not to advance a step farther than was absolutely necessary for securing that object. It was with a view to this that the archduke extended his front from Landshut on

the Iser as far as the town of Abensberg, near which his right wing rested on the Danube. This right wing was advanced about fifteen English miles beyond, that is, farther up the Danube than Ratisbon, on which it had a safe retreat, being flanked all along by the Danube. The extent of the whole Austrian line, from the Iser at Landshut to the Danube at Newstadt, was about twenty-eight English miles. A little in the rear of Abensberg there was a body of reserve at Eckmull.

Buonaparte having learned by the telegraph, late in the evening of the 12th of April, that the Austrians had passed the Inn, set out early in the morning of the 13th from Paris. At Dillingen on the 16th he had an interview with the old elector of Bavaria, when he promised in the space of fifteen days to restore him to his capital, to revenge the affront that had been given to his family, and to make him a greater sovereign prince than any of his ancestors had been. On the 17th he arrived at Donauwerth, where he established his head quarters. Here, on the same day, he issued to his army the following proclamation. "Soldiers, the territory of the Confederation of the Rhine has been violated. The Austrian general wishes us, on the sight of his arms, to fly and abandon our allies. I come to you with the speed of lightning. Soldiers, I was in the midst of you when the sovereign of Austria came to my bivouac [wake] in Moravia. You heard him imploring my clemency, and promising me eternal friendship. Austria, vanquished in three wars, owes every thing to our



our generosity. Our past successes are a pledge of the victory that awaits us. Let us then march on; and let the enemy on seeing us recognize his conqueror." On the 19th the different corps of the French began to unite; and general Oudinot having advanced from Augsburg, arrived at day-break at Pfaffenhoffen, attacked and drove from thence 3 or 4000 Austrians, and took some hundred prisoners. At Pfaffenhoffen too Massena arrived with his corps the day after. On the same day, the 20th of April, marshal Davoust with his corps quitted Ratisbon to march to Newstadt, and draw near to Ingolstadt. Then it was that the plan of Buonaparte was unfolded; which was to manœuvre on the enemy, whose line was extended, as just noticed, from the near vicinity of Newstadt to Landshut; and to attack him at the moment when, supposing himself to be the assailant, he was on his march to Ratisbon;\* to break the line of the grand Austrian army, according to his usual mode of warfare; and to come between the archduke Charles and the corps commanded by his brothers. Such was the strength, and such the opposite designs and views with which the campaign on the Danube, of 1809, was opened, by the archduke Charles on the one part, and Buonaparte on the other; the two first generals of their age, and at the head of greater numbers of disciplined troops than had ever met in Europe! Were we in any degree competent to the task, the limits within which our work is necessarily confined would not ad-

mit an account of such a campaign, which may well furnish to military critics materials for volumes; nor is it required in a sketch of the history of Europe, not military but political. It will be sufficient, and probably most satisfactory to our readers, just to notice the principal circumstances and events on which the fate of the campaign turned, and the influence and effects of this on the state of nations.

A great battle was fought at Abensberg, April 20, in which Buonaparte appeared in person at the head of his Bavarians and Wirtembergers, against the two Austrian corps commanded by the archduke Lewis and general Hiller; and another with four Austrian corps under the archduke Charles, on the 22d, at Eckmull, in which two battles, according to the French accounts, 40,000 Austrians were taken prisoners, and 100 pieces of cannon. The archduke was forced to cross the Danube at Ratisbon, in order to form a junction with general Bellegarde, who did not arrive at that river before the 24th or 25th of April: nor was this any fault on the part of general Bellegarde, who, until he should be accurately informed of the direction taken by the French troops, could not quit his position, which was intended to keep them in check on the frontier of Bohemia, towards Saxony and Franconia. Some scattered divisions of the Austrians endeavoured to make a stand at Ratisbon, which the archduke had ordered to be covered with cavalry. But after three successive charges,

\* First French bulletin, Ratisbon, 24th of April, 1809.



they gave way, and were all either cut to pieces or obliged to flee across the Danube. Ratisbon was taken; the Austrian garrison was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, or saved themselves by flight. The archduke, when he found the current of war running strongly against the Austrians on the right bank of the Danube, and was under the necessity of passing over to the left, sent a strong corps under general Hiller to the Inn, to join the other troops to be assembled for the protection of Vienna; it was expected by the archduke to rejoin the corps under Hiller at Lintz. The French, however, by the rapidity of their movements got there before them.

Buonaparte, following the course of the Danube, advanced rapidly towards Vienna; before which he appeared on the 10th of May. For upwards of a century the fortifications of this city had been neglected; and by various means, chiefly the improvement and embellishment of the place rendered, useless. In the city, properly so called, there were not more than 80,000 people. In the suburbs, which were composed of eight divisions, the number of inhabitants was computed to be 220,000. The city was defended by about 3 or 4000 regular troops, as many armed citizens, and a few battalions of the land-wehr, the whole under the command of the archduke Maximilian. There was for about twenty-four hours some show of a pretty determined spirit of resistance. But when the French had dislodged the Austrians from the islands adjacent, and threatened to cut off all communication with the left bank, it was thought

prudent to surrender the city; but not, however, till the regular troops had effected their retreat by the bridge of Tabor, to which, their retreat being accomplished, they set fire. The emperor of Austria, after the misfortunes that had befallen the army of the archduke Charles, and the rapid advance of the French, left his capital, and retired to Znaim in Moravia.

Buonaparte, who, after any great victory or advantage always assumed a religious tone, and who was abundantly sensible that the nation was not conquered by the reduction of the capital, while their will was not subdued, addressed a proclamation to the Hungarians, in which he expressly attributed his victories over the emperor Francis to the interference of a particular providence; and represented them as punishments inflicted on that monarch for his perfidy and ingratitude in again taking up arms against the man to whom he had been thrice indebted for his crown. He reminded them of the glory of their ancestors, and the blessings of independence. He who had broken the links of bondage that had united them to the house of Austria required no other return than that they should become an independent nation, and choose a king from among themselves; and he gave them a pretty broad hint that he wished and expected their choice to fall on himself. "Animated," said he, "by the spirit of your ancestors, assemble, as they were wont to do on the plains of Racos and choose your sovereign. Let me know the result, and my power shall support your choice against all opposition."



tion." Finding that the immense number of prisoners that he had already taken were likely to become troublesome, he issued an order that on their arrival in France they should be placed at the disposal of prefects of departments. Such agriculturists and manufacturers as were at a loss for workmen were to apply to the prefects or to the mayors of municipalities, who were ordered to allot to them as many as they could employ.

In the mean time the archduke Charles, who had by incredible activity re-inforced his army with the wrecks of regular divisions and new levies from Bohemia and Moravia to the number of 75,000 effective men, having learned the fall of Vienna, moved down on the left bank of the Danube for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy, and checking any attempt that might be made to cross the river. He fixed his head quarters, on the 16th of May, at Ebersdorf. The chain of his out-posts extended, on the right, as far as Krews, while lower down the river some battalions occupied Presburgh. The advanced guard was pushed forward near to the Danube, and the cavalry was posted along the banks of a small rivulet, on ground covered and partly concealed by bushes. Buonaparte having resolved to attack the archduke in his position, marched his army along the south bank of the Danube, till it had reached the distance of about six miles from Vienna. Here the breadth and rapidity of the Da-

nube are broken by two islands. From the south bank to the smaller island on that side the distance is about 1000 fathoms; from this smaller island to the larger island, called the isle of Lobau, the distance is 120 fathoms; from the isle of Lobau to the north or left bank of the Danube the distance is only about 70 fathoms. At this favourable point Buonaparte determined to cross the Danube.

As soon as the engineers had established two bridges across from the south side to the smaller island, and from the smaller island to the larger, Buonaparte fixed his head quarters in the latter, and in less than three hours threw a bridge of pontoons from it to the north bank. As the French advanced the archduke retreated, and permitted them to extend themselves along the north bank of the river. Buonaparte, left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, posted the right wing of his army on the village of Essling, and the left on the village of Aspern. The archduke, who in his retreat had halted when he came to a favourable position, on the 21st of May at day-break called his troops to arms, drew them up in the order of battle, and communicated his plan of an attack on the French to his generals of division. For a particular account of the two dreadful battles that ensued on that day, the 21st and 22d of May, we refer our readers to the supplement to the London Gazette of the 11th of July.\* They were both of them most sanguin-

\* Appendix to Chronicle, p. 436.



ary and destructive, and harder fought, even by considerable odds, than that of Prussian Eylau, in 1807.\* The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the darkness of the night. The French had by this time been driven from Aspern. They still retained possession of Essling : but the general position of their army was nearer the Danube than it was at the commencement of the engagement. The morning of the 22d saw Aspern again in possession of the French ; but by repeated attacks, after repeated repulses, the French were driven from both Aspern and Essling. In the night between the 22d and 23d they effected their retreat from the left bank of the Danube, and took up a position in the island of Lobau. In these two battles, obstinate and bloody, hitherto perhaps beyond example in military annals, the intrepidity and perseverance of the soldiers, as well as the cool courage and presence of mind of the generals and other officers, on both sides, was astonishing. Both the archduke and Buonaparte exposed their persons wherever circumstances called for their presence. The archduke being entreated not to endanger himself by exposing so very much his own person, replied, " I am determined

to terminate this contest or to die in the streets of Vienna." The hostile parties combatted each other with bayonets and sabres, as had been done in Saragossa, in every street of Aspern, in every barn and every house, and even amidst the flames of Essling. The loss on both sides was very great ; but few prisoners were taken by either party, both being determined to conquer or die. The prisoners taken by the Austrians did not exceed 2,300. The loss of the French was immense : it amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners, according to a computation founded on the most probable data, to not less than 30,000 men. Five of their generals were killed, eight wounded, and two taken. The loss of the Austrians was also very great : eighty-seven officers of rank and above 4000 subalterns and privates killed, from 2 to 3000 officers and privates wounded, and 830 officers and privates taken by the French. Many hundreds of dead bodies were floated down and thrown up on the shores of the Danube. A long time was necessary to the burying of the slain on the field of battle ; " and (in the picturesque style of the Austrian Gazette) a pestilential air was wafted down the theatre of death."

\* See Vol. XLIX. (1807). HIST. EUR. p. 11.



## CHAP. XII.

*Protracted inaction of the opposite Armies.—Observations on the conduct of the Archduke Charles.—Insurrections in the North of Germany.—Vicissitudes of War in Poland and Saxony—and in Italy.—Concentration of the French forces.—Preparations on the part of the Archduke for defence—and on that of Buonaparte for an attack.—Battle of Wagram.—Armistice.—Peace.*

IN proportion to the general consternation excited not only in Germany but throughout Europe, France itself perhaps not excepted, was the joy and exultation at the result of the two battles on the Danube, of Aspern and Essling. The invincible, it was said, was at last vanquished; the tide of fortune has turned; Germany is saved; Europe breathes; the world is revived! There was a general expectation that the repulse of Buonaparte to his island would be quickly followed by further disasters, and that the glorious achievements of the Austrians would immediately be followed up by farther successes. But day elapsed after day, and week after week. No intelligence of any farther operation on one side or other: an unequivocal sign that both parties were excessively weakened and exhausted. But while the archduke Charles contented himself with recruiting his army by new levies, as well as some garrisons in Moravia and Bohemia, and strengthening his position on the left bank of the Danube by new works and entrenchments, Buonaparte was allowed for the space of six weeks to restore the spirits, and to reinforce his army by troops called from different quarters, and to make every other preparation

for crossing the Danube; and with a greater force, and greater wisdom or skill too, derived from the experience of the two former battles, to attack the Austrians.

On the morrow after the battle of Essling, when general Hiller was advancing against the French in the isle of Lobau with 60 pieces of heavy cannon, colonel Smolla, the particular favourite of the archduke, came up at full gallop, with orders to the general to desist from his enterprize, as his imperial highness did not think it worth while to waste his troops, or even ammunition, for the possession of the isle of Lobau. He was no doubt aware of the desperate resistance that would be made in so perilous a situation by such a general as Buonaparte. It was said by some, that the archduke, by crossing the Danube, might have cut off the retreat of the French from the island. But if the archduke had ventured on this enterprize, he would have placed himself between Buonaparte and the numerous corps that were advancing rapidly to his assistance. There were some other animadversions on the conduct of the archduke that appear to have been better founded, or at least much more plausible. The first movements of his highness, it was said,



in the present campaign, were faulty. Instead of taking advantage of the great superiority of his numbers, his army being little short of 200,000 men, he marched with his undivided force to one part, namely, Ratisbon, suffered Davoust with his corps to escape, and gave Buonaparte an opportunity of beating the Austrian corps one after another. The operations of the archduke Charles, it was observed, were so ill combined, that there were no less than three corps of the Austrian army that were not engaged in the battles of Abensberg, Eckmüll, and Ratisbon; although these French corps or armies were not at a greater distance than one day's march from the Austrian army. When the archduke found it necessary to cross to the left bank of the Danube by the bridge at Ratisbon, he should have withdrawn the garrison there and cut down the bridge. If he could not withstand the impetuosity of the French with his whole force, how could it be expected that it should be withstood by 10 or 12,000 troops, including the cavalry and others stationed without the city for covering it, as above related, and the garrison. In truth, the conduct of the archduke on this occasion, bore a strong resemblance to that of sir A. Wellesley, when he chose the option given him by Cuesta, of going or remaining at Talavera.—The archduke, instead of attacking Davoust at Ratisbon while Buonaparte was in pursuit of fieldmarshal Hiller to Lintz and Vienna, and of obliging the French, by this diversion, to halt in Bavaria, (where Buonaparte had just the same reasons to defend the passage

of the Danube against the archduke, as the archduke had to defend the passage of the Danube against Buonaparte at Vienna) ran with the main Austrian army along the left bank of the Danube after Buonaparte to Vienna. After the defeat at Aspern and Essling, Buonaparte extended his right wing along the Danube into Hungary, exercising his troops by excursions, and thus preparing them for a fresh, general, and decisive engagement.

The same motives that induced Buonaparte to occupy the territory of his adversary to the right, should have induced the Austrians also to have extended their right, and made incursions into the north of Germany. They might have employed in this quarter, besides what regular troops could be spared, 30,000 militia of Bohemia. It should have been their object to place Germany in a state in which that large and populous country alone would have engrossed the whole attention of Buonaparte, namely, a state of insurrection. That the German nation was ripe for such an explosion was manifest from the insurrections that burst forth in so many parts of the German empire, even divided as it was into so many hands. It may easily be conceived what the 80,000 Germans who were forced to fight the battles of Buonaparte against the Austrians could have done, if they had been encouraged by the presence of a great Austrian army. The king of Saxony, who like the rest of Buonaparte's vassal princes had been forced to take up arms against Austria, was stripped of a great part of his dominions by the army sent under the archduke Ferdinand into Poland, and compelled to



to abandon his capital. The Austrians had not only obtained possession of Dresden and Leipsick, but even threatened the territories bestowed on Jerome by his brother Napoleon Buonaparte. A formidable insurrection had started up in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover. At the head of the insurgents appeared two men well fitted to unite and to animate them by their characters, their talents, and their influence, colonel Schill and the duke of Brunswick Oels, the only German prince (the Austrians in the present case of course excepted) who needed not to blush in the present struggle for his conduct. Colonel Schill had been raised for his eminent services to the rank of lieutenant-colonel by the king of Prussia, who gave him a regiment, with which he was doing duty at Berlin, when he formed the resolution of again trying his fortune against the common enemy of Germany. He was soon joined by a very considerable number of partizans, calculated in the German newspapers, not yet under the entire control of Buonaparte, at not less than 40,000 men: an exaggeration undoubtedly, but which exaggeration plainly indicated the wishes of the country. That the insurrections headed by colonel Schill and the duke of Brunswick were considered to be formidable by Buonaparte, appears from the circumstance that marshal Kellerman was sent to the Elbe with a force from 30 to 40,000 men to watch and counteract their movements. Colonel Schill, after traversing the whole of the north of Germany in different directions, and after defeating or perplexing the troops sent

against him, by the boldness and vigour of his attacks and the rapidity of his movements, was compelled to take refuge in Stralsund, where the town being forced he was killed with 20 of his officers, in the act of a brave and glorious resistance to overwhelming numbers. Such of his officers as were taken prisoners were tried, condemned, and executed, as deserters from the service of the king of Prussia.—The duke of Brunswick distracted for some time the attention of the French, and arrested the progress of those troops which, but for him, would have reinforced the army of Buonaparte, but he was compelled, with his little corps, not exceeding 2000 men, to retreat to the shores of the German ocean, where he, with his troops, was received on board some British ships of war, and conveyed safely to England. The tide of war had been turned against the Austrians in Poland and Saxony; but it was stemmed and driven back by the Austrian general, Kinmaire, who defeated the French general Junot, and defeated the Saxons, Hollanders, and Westphalians, under the authority and orders of king Jerome.

In a word, the state of affairs in the north of Germany was such as to invite the archduke to turn his main force towards that quarter, where he might have gained as much territory as Buonaparte did to the south of Vienna, and where his power might have been consolidated by an easy co-operation with England. Ideas of this kind had been entertained by the emperor Francis, who had issued proclamations for rousing the exertions of the whole of the German nations; but after the



successes of Aspern and Essling, insurrections began to be considered as dangerous to the predominating influence of Austria in Germany. The archduke said, "It is on the field of battle that we must contend with Buonaparte; thus Germany shall be freed without the dangers of insurrection;" which was, in other words, to say that all Germany as well as the glory of having defended it, should appertain solely to the Austrians.

After the disastrous battles of Eckmüll and Ratisbon, the archduke John was recalled with his army from Italy, where he had at first met with rapid success, to form a junction, or to co-operate with the main Austrian army under the command of Charles on the Danube. He had taken Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice; but he was stopped in his career by Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy, who, reinforced by 10,000 men from Tuscany, retook Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Brenta, drove the Austrians from the Pavia, and pursued them in their retreat across the Tagliamento. Two engagements took place and several skirmishes. The Austrians sustained the greatest loss of men; but they every where presented an undaunted front to the enemy. The viceroy of Italy still hung on the rear of the retreating Austrians. It had now indeed become as necessary for the French army of Italy to hasten their junction with the main army under Buonaparte, as

it had been before for the archduke John to form a junction with his brother Charles. On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo,\* the two armies came to a third, and that a very severe and important engagement, near Raab. The numbers of Eugene Beauharnois's army, according to the French bulletins, was thirty-five, and that of the archduke John fifty thousand. According to the Austrian accounts, the combined Austrian army was not more than 36,000 strong, while that of the French was 50,000. The combined Austrian army was composed of the army of Italy, now reduced greatly in numbers, 10,000 men drawn from different garrisons in Hungary, five or six thousand of the corps of general Jellachek, and other columns that had come from the Tyrol through the Gorges of Carinthia, and finally the *Hungarian insurrection*, from 12 to 15,000 infantry and cavalry. The Hungarians were conducted to the army of John by his brother, the archduke Palatine, who was present in the engagement; but they were under the immediate orders of general Haddick. The battle began about 2 o'clock p. m. victory was long doubtful; but in the space of four hours it was decided. That part of the archduke's army which consisted of the undisciplined troops of the *Hungarian insurrection*, and formed the greater part of the right wing, gave way before the impetuous at-

\* This frivolous circumstance, and other lucky omens of the same kind, are always noticed in Buonaparte's orders to his army on the eve of any important engagement. An opinion, we believe, was once very generally entertained that even the privates of the French army were above such silly superstition.



tack of the French soldiers and the dreadful fire of the French artillery. The loss of the Austrians, according to the French, was 3000 killed and 3000 prisoners, while their own did not exceed 900 in killed and wounded. The Austrian bulletin stated that the loss of the French was 2000 killed or wounded, and 400 taken prisoners; their loss they admitted, in killed or wounded, was 1300 men; they also admitted that they had lost some prisoners, but the number of these was not stated. The exaggerations of the gazettes and bulletins had now become commonly so excessive that it is a wonder that the French and Austrian accounts of the battle of Raab do not differ still more widely. It is of no importance to calculate the exact numbers either of those engaged or those lost in this action on either side. The French were decidedly victorious: the Austrians were forced to save themselves by flight. The archduke John retreated to Comorn, a town in Hungary, at the confluence of the Waag and the Danube, so strongly fortified that it never had been taken, in order to secure and facilitate a junction with the grand Austrian army. On the 26th day of May the most advanced parties of the French army of Italy came up with the most advanced posts of the grand French army, and early in June their junction was completed. The French army occupied a long line from Lintz to Raab.

On the 4th of July the different divisions were called in, and the whole of the French army concentrated in and about the island of Lo-

bau. Never did the strength and resources of Buonaparte's mind, whether in planning campaigns, or giving orders for battle, or improving to his own advantage every occurrence or accident in the heat of action, appear in so striking a light as during the solemn pause that intervened between the battles of Aspern and Essling, and the great and decisive engagement that took place there six weeks after. The first step towards an ascendancy over other men, is to acquire the perfect command of one's self. Buonaparte commanded his own passions, restrained the natural fire and impetuosity of his temper, assumed not only a calm but cheerful aspect, and set himself to recover and raise the spirits of his discomfited army by a series of bulletins, in which he made no scruple to vilify the Austrians, whose successes he affected to ascribe to the great swelling of the river, which he stiled general *Danube*. He exaggerated the losses which the Austrians had sustained from the opening of the campaign to the battle of Raab; congratulated them on the junction that had been formed with the army of Italy; and confidently predicted complete success in his intended attack, as general Bertrand would soon triumph over the only general, at all formidable to the French, namely general *Danube*. In an incredibly short time general count Bertrand raised three bridges between the island he occupied and the left bank of the river.—In order to protect them against fire ships,\* stockadoes, raised on piles, were placed 250 fathoms

\* Buonaparte knew the necessity of providing against these: though, that nothing might seem due to the genius of the Austrians, he had given out in his bulletins that his bridges had been destroyed by the aggregates of trees, mills, and other masses precipitated by the increased weight and current of the mighty Danube.



higher up the river. Besides these bridges formed on piles, a bridge of boats was constructed. Each of the bridges was covered and protected by a *tête-du-pont* [a bridge head] 160 fathoms long, formed of redoubts, and surrounded by palisades, chevaux de frise, and ditches filled with water. Magazines of provisions, 100 pieces of cannon, and 20 mortars, were stationed in the island of Inder-Lobau. In the mean time the Austrian army was strongly entrenched on the left bank of the Danube.

Besides the bridges just mentioned, another was thrown over to the left of the Danube, from a small island on the left of the river, opposite to Essling, not with a view of facilitating the passage of the French, but of diverting the attention of the Austrians from that quarter where it was really intended. The manœuvre succeeded. On the night of the 4th of July, when the Austrians were expecting an attack on their right, a heavy fire was opened upon the village of Enzersdorf which supported the left wing of their army. In the short space of two hours the French army crossed the river, and appeared in the morning of the 5th drawn up in order of battle, on the Austrian left flank. In consequence of this masterly disposition the archduke was obliged to change his front, and quit his entrenched camp, or to march forth and give battle to the enemy on ground which the enemy had chosen. Buonaparte, instead of being confined as before within the limits of a number of small villages, where he had to fight corps to corps, division to

division, column to column, and even man to man (a species of warfare in which the Austrians were fully a match for the French), had now the vast plain of Enzersdorf on which to manœuvre, and what was of all the most important consideration, he had rendered it impossible for the archduke, in case of a defeat, to fall back upon Hungary, and to effect a junction with the army under the command of his brother the archduke John.—The forenoon of the 5th was passed principally in manœuvring, the result of which was, that the archduke was compelled to give up his entrenchments, and the whole of the old field of battle from Enzersdorf to Aspern, and to abandon the country between Enzersdorf and Wagram. On the morning of July 6th the battle was renewed, each of the two armies acting upon their respective and opposite systems. Buonaparte had passed the night in accumulating his force towards the centre. The archduke on the contrary weakened his centre, in order to secure and augment the strength of his two extremities, where was planted a great proportion of his artillery. This disposition of the Austrian army appeared so strange, according to the French bulletin, to Buonaparte, that he suspected at first some stratagem: but he soon perceived that it was a blunder, and immediately took advantage of it. The battle had become general in every part of the line. In every attack, whether made by the French or the Austrians, with the arms or the bayonet, the latter had rather the advantage. But Buonaparte, concentrating almost the whole of his artillery, battered one single



single point of the Austrian line towards the centre, as if it had been a fortress. To this tremendous thunder there was nothing of the same kind to oppose. The Austrian artillery, as just observed, was placed at the two extremities of the line. The centre of the Austrians was driven back two or three miles out of the line; the right wing, alarmed at the danger in which it was now placed, gave way, but fought while it retreated. So also did the left, which was attacked in flank by marshal Davoust. The Austrians thus routed in all quarters retreated towards Moravia.

It was observed by military men that the archduke had committed an oversight in leaving his left flank quite unprotected and exposed to be attacked in flank, as in fact it was by the enemy. It was stated in the official accounts, published by the Austrian government, that this flank of the army was to have been covered by the army under the archduke John, but that he did not arrive from Hungary until several hours after the battle. It has been observed of the Germans, and especially in what concerns matters of war, of the Austrians, that they are very tenacious of old customs and averse to novelties. The progress of science of every kind is certainly more happily applied to the various purposes of war by the French. Had a communication by telegraphs, for which the plainness of the country afforded every facility, been established between the head-quarters of the two Austrian armies under the orders of the archdukes John and Charles, there is not a doubt but

the former might have come up in time for the battle of Wagram. The messenger who was dispatched to him on the evening of the 4th did not perform his journey in less than 24 hours. The establishment of a line of telegraphs was proposed by an officer to general Wimpfen, who appears to have been a favourite counsellor in military matters of the archduke; but the old general replied, "there is no necessity of having recourse to such fooleries." It was observed in the French bulletins,\* that in the decisive and ever-memorable battle of Wagram, from three to four hundred thousand men, with from 12 to 1500 pieces of cannon, contended for grand interests, on a field of battle chosen on the most mature deliberation, and fortified more and more by the Austrians for several months: in this battle the French took 10 pieces of cannon and 20,000 prisoners, among whom were nearly 400 officers. The field of battle was covered with dead bodies, innumerable. On the whole the official accounts of the French calculated that the battle of Wagram had reduced the Austrian army to 60,000 men.

After the battle of Wagram, though the Austrians still presented as good a front as possible, all serious thoughts of resistance to Buonaparte were given up. Proposals for an armistice were carried from the Emperor Francis to Buonaparte, by prince John of Lichtenstein, July 12th, which was agreed to and signed immediately. All the strong places and positions which might be advantageous to the French, in case of the war

\* Dated at Walkersdorf, July 8, 1809.



being renewed, were delivered up to them; and by one article it was expressly stipulated that the Austrians were not to afford any succour or assistance to the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg.

For three years, that is from the battle of Austerlitz and the consequent peace of Presburgh, the Tyrolese had groaned under the yoke of Bavaria, heavier indeed than that of Austria had ever been, but heavier still to the imagination, and more odious, in as much as it was Bavarian and not Austrian. The certain and immediate prospect of a war between France and Austria presented an opportunity of throwing off the detested chains, and of retrieving the fortune and establishing the authority of their ancient and beloved sovereign.\* It is very remarkable that it is in mountainous and poor countries, and among the poorer classes of inhabitants in richer countries, that the *amor patriæ* is usually most conspicuous, and shines forth with the greatest lustre. The great, though national independence and identity should be lost, and the dignity of their families obliterated by amalgamation with many millions of strangers, find consolation in being still, or becoming distinguished citizens of the great republic of luxury and corruption, spread over the face of the whole world.

The Tyrolese, on the rupture between France and Austria, started, as if animated by one soul, simultaneously into arms, advanced, met, and defeated their enemies, though 27,000 strong. A

still greater force was sent against them under marshal Le Febvre, consisting of French, Bavarian, and Saxon troops. As this corps was too powerful for them, they impeded the progress of the French, and destroyed great numbers of them as they passed, or rather attempted to pass, through the gorges, by occupying these or the tops of the mountains. Thousands of individuals, old and young, perched on the projections, or concealed in the cliffs of the rocks, took aim, and fired at individuals, chiefly officers, of the French. Others were employed in detaching and precipitating masses from impending rocks on the French columns as they advanced below. Tyrol became the asylum and resort of all the partizans of Austria. The Tyrolese pushed into Bavaria and Swabia; they threatened Munich, they took Kempten, and advanced beyond Ulm. In Italy they penetrated to Bassano, within a few miles of Verona. Carinthia and the duchy of Saltzburg were for a time subdued by their arms. It must have been the bitterest pill that the Austrian princes had to swallow in the armistice, to give up so brave, so attached, and so glorious a people.—With the simplicity and frankness of a people retaining all their primitive simplicity of manners, they sent deputies to the emperor Francis II. to complain of his desertion of them, after, through his general Jellacheik, he had encouraged them to resist the enemy. It was not I, replied the unhappy and confounded monarch, that concluded the ar-

\* The house of Austria was distinguished among the continental powers, and particularly those of Germany, for the moderation and clemency of its government.

mistice.



mistice ; I did not know any thing about it ; it was concluded by my brother Charles. And he solemnly promised never to separate his cause from theirs. Deputies were sent too from the Tyrolese to London, where they published a manifesto, 13th November, stating their conduct and their sufferings in both the former and the present struggle ; and declaring their resolution, whatever peace their beloved sovereign might be obliged to sign, never to come to any accommodation with Buonaparte or submit to the iron yoke of Bavaria. Such of the Tyrolese peasants—indeed they were all peasants, though among these were many ancient families—as fell into the hands of the enemy, particularly the Bavarians, were treated with great inhumanity, and for the most part put instantly to death. But that good people, the Tyrolese, treated their prisoners, whether French, Saxon, or Bavarians, with great care and tenderness. The wounded prisoners were attended and nursed by the women, as if they had belonged to their own families.

The armistice between Austria and France was followed by a definitive treaty of peace, but not till the space of three months thereafter. By this treaty, which was dated at Vienna, October 14th, 1809,\* Austria ceded all her sea coast to France, and the kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony were so much farther enlarged as to become efficient checks on the future growth of the power of Austria, and thereby to confine

her within the limits which Buonaparte had assigned her. Russia obtained so much of the territory of Galicia as should contain four hundred thousand souls.—The Emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain.

As the treaty was declared to be common to the king of Bavaria, among the rest of Buonaparte's dependant princes, it was not necessary that any thing should be stipulated respecting the Tyrol, understood to form part of the Bavarian kingdom : but Buonaparte very graciously engaged to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg, who had taken a part in the insurrection, so that they should not be prosecuted either in persons or property.

A proclamation was issued by Eugene Beauharnois, now styling himself Eugene Napoleon, viceroy and commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, to the people of the Tyrol,† in which he told them that he brought them peace since he brought them pardon ; but that pardon was granted them only on the condition of their returning to their obedience and duty, and voluntarily laying down their arms. Charged with the command of the armies that surrounded them, he came to receive their submission, or compel them to submit. But the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg continued firm and steadfast in the resolution of defending the passes in their country, and even to make excursions into

\* See the treaty, State Papers, p. 791.

† Dated head-quarters Villach, October 26th, 1809. See State Papers, p. 796.



Bavaria and Swabia. The great leader of the Tyrolese was Andrew Hoffer, an innkeeper at Sand, in the valley of Passeyr. He was not a man of ambition, nor yet of any extraordinary talents; but he possessed sound natural sense and other qualities which procured him the confidence, respect, and veneration of all his countrymen. He was about 45 years of age, of gigantic stature and strength, yet of a comely and pleasing countenance. His dress was that of a simple peasant; so also were his manners. The leading feature in his character, his predominant passion, was religious enthusiasm; he was endowed with cool and constant courage; in his temper he was mild and merciful; he treated his prisoners of war with all possible humanity; he never put any one to death even where it was deserved, and seemed to be demanded by the commission of enormous cruelties. Many villages he saved from flames. The influence of this man, a patriarch in character and appearance, on the minds and hearts of all ranks of his countrymen, even the highest not excepted, appeared to be the effect of magic. He did not assume authority or affect to command. The sentiments and the example alone of Hoffer were sufficient to invest him with the power of a dictator. Under the influence, rather than the authority or even direction of this man,\* the Tyrolese persevered in their resistance to France and Germany,

combined against them: and their resistance was most formidable. In vain did Buonaparte for a long time pour in fresh forces, block up the passes of the Tyrol, and obstruct as much as he could, all communication with the neighbouring countries. If for a short time the Tyrolese fled, it was only to attack their enemies when they were unprepared, or to draw them into situations where they might be attacked with greater advantage. They were frequently driven back even after they had penetrated to the very heart of the Tyrol.† At last this simple, virtuous, and brave people was overcome by a constant succession of fresh columns of the enemy, and the capture and death of the good and gallant Hoffer. He had retreated at the close of 1809 with his family to a poor cottage amidst the mountains, at that time covered with deep snow, waiting for the events of the spring season. His retreat was discovered. In the night of the 27th of January, 1810, a party of French grenadiers knocked at his door about four o'clock in the morning. Hoffer immediately opened the door and said, "I am Andrew Hoffer; I am at the mercy of the French; let me suffer death instantly; but for heaven's sake spare my wife and my children; they are innocent, and not answerable for my conduct." There was with Hoffer his secretary, a youth of 18 years of age, just come from college, the son of a physician

\* The warlike achievements of the Tyrolese and Voralbergers were performed by a number of different parties not unlike the Spanish *guerillas*.

† See many interesting circumstances respecting the war in the Tyrol in App. Chron. pp. 391 and 489.



in Gratz. Hoffer with his family was taken to Bolzen, where his son, a lad aged 14 years, was left in the hospital, on account of chilblains in his feet. His mother was sent back to the valley of Passeyr to take care of three other, and very young children. As Hoffer was led prisoner out of the territory of the Tyrol, multitudes every where ran to see him as he passed. Some raised their hands towards heaven and made the sign of the cross,

others fixed their eyes over-flowing with tears on Hoffer. At Mantua, after a mock trial before a military commission, he was condemned to death, and on the 20th of Feb. 1810, shot in the presence of a great number of spectators.—There are many striking points of resemblance between the person, conduct, and fate of Andrew Hoffer, and those of the renowned Scottish patriot and hero, William Wallace.



## CHAP. XIII.

*The conduct of the British Government in the present War characterized.—British Expeditions from Sicily against the South of Italy and the Kingdom of Naples.—And against the Strength of France, on the River Scheldt.—Reflections.*

**T**HE grand features of the military conduct of Buonaparte, as already observed, were celerity of movement and the direction of a mighty force against the main strength of his enemy, wherever that strength was to be found. The conduct of the British ministry was that of Buonaparte inverted; their movements were tardy, and they sent forth their force in separate divisions against the points where they conceived the enemy to be weakest. In the beginning of June, sir John Stewart, who commanded the British army in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 British troops for the south of Italy and the capture of the city of Naples, and he was soon afterwards joined by a body of Sicilian troops, under the command of one of the royal princes. A brigade was dispatched by the British general to reduce Lower Calabria, and afterwards to join him overland. This brigade took possession of the line of posts which the French had formed directly opposite Messina, and of which therefore it was of considerable importance to deprive them. But the first point to be attacked by the main army was the island of Ischia. The batteries, by which the shores of this island were fortified wherever accessible, were

turned by the British troops, and successively deserted by the enemy, who retired into the castle. On the 6th day after which, the French garrisons of both Ischia and Procida surrendered to the British. The reduction of Procida led to the destruction or capture of 40 heavy gun-boats in their attempt to pass in their voyage from Gaeta to Naples. By the capture of the two garrisons and part of the flotilla, 1500 regular troops were made prisoners, and one hundred pieces of ordnance were taken.

The Neapolitans were led, by the proclamations of gen. sir J. Stewart, to believe that the principal object of the expedition, was to re-establish Ferdinand IV. on the throne of Naples. But sir John in his official dispatches,\* discovers that his leading and paramount object was, a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies. This object was accomplished in some small degree, and for a short time. For on the first appearance of the English on the coast of Naples, a considerable body of men who had been sent to reinforce the army under the command of the viceroy in Upper Italy were recalled, as well as the whole of the troops, who, after the dethronement of the pope, had taken pos-

\* APPEND. CHRON. p. 515.



session of the papal territories. But it was soon found that the projected attempt on the territory and city of Naples must be abandoned; for king Joachim had formed and embodied a large corps of national guards, besides the great regular force which he had assembled for the protection of his dominions and capital. After a good deal of fighting for the possession of the castle of Scylla, which was taken and retaken several times, the British were forced to abandon the slight footing they had obtained on the continent, as well as the two islands.

Another expedition, and one of a more formidable nature, was prepared by the British government to invade the dominions of France, partly with a view to the attainment of British objects, but collaterally for the purpose of operating, as well as that from Sicily, as a diversion in favour of the Austrians. Preparations began to be made early in May. Towards the end of July, troops were collected to upwards of 40,000 men, supported by the powerful aid of 39 sail of the line, besides 36 frigates, and a great number of gun-boats, bombs, and small craft. The present age had not witnessed so numerous a body of British soldiers, marines, and sailors assembled for the purpose of invading the continent. The number of the whole amounted to about 100,000 men. The expectations of the nation were raised to the

highest pitch. The fleet while it lay, or was leaving the Downs, was a spectacle grateful to the pride, and flattering to the hopes of Britain. Dover, Deal, Ramsgate, and Margate were full of visitors, of persons of the most respectable classes of both sexes, come to see the sailing of this great armament. Among these was lord Castlereagh, accompanied by his lady and a number of his particular friends, contemplating with delight a work of his own creation, from which farther glory was anticipated, from its success confidently expected.\* For the object of the expedition, which was the occupation of Flushing and the destruction of the French ships of war, arsenals, and dock yards in the Scheldt, it was thought might be attained by so overwhelming a force, with so little difficulty, that the command of the army was entrusted to the earl of Chatham, a man reputed to possess an excellent understanding, but whose very name was almost proverbial for enervation and indolence. It was not understood that the earl in soliciting this command was roused from his habitual torpitude by a passion for glory, but that it might be attended or followed by results convenient for his narrow and somewhat embarrassed fortune. It was further said, that a hesitation and reluctance on the part of ministry to employ such a general was overcome by the influence of a lady of the court. The naval part of the expedition

\* Among the visitors of the fleet, was one who attracted much notice by the pomp of his appearance, or what may be called his equipage. This was sir William Curtis, who was wafted to the Downs in a yacht, either of his own, or hired for the purpose, or borrowed, beautifully painted, adorned with a streamer bearing devices prognosticating victory and glory, and carrying delicate refreshments of all kinds to the military and naval commanders, and the principal officers.



was placed under the orders of sir Richard Strachan.

Long before the expedition sailed, the point of attack was known, not only here, but even to our enemies. It was afterwards declared by the French government, that so early as the month of April the governor of Flushing had orders to put that garrison in such a state of defence as to resist the attack of the English forces.

On the 28th and 29th of July the armament sailed in two divisions. On the arrival of the army in the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland, it was found that the enemy was not disposed to make any resistance except in Flushing, which was invested on the first of August. On the 13th the batteries were completed; and the frigates and smaller vessels having taken their respective stations, the bombardment immediately commenced. The town suffered dreadfully, especially from Congreve's rockets. On the 14th of August the line of battle ships cannonaded the town for some hours. The enemy's fire ceased. On the 15th general Monnet, who commanded the garrison of Flushing, demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town. The garrison, amounting to about 6000 men, were made prisoners of war.\* Though the attack on Flushing was thus ultimately successful, it had been impeded in its progress by the want of skill and vigour on the part of those who conducted it. The batteries and trenches were constructed one after another without method or arrangement:

all was anarchy and confusion; neither officers nor soldiers in the engineer department knew their situations.

In consequence of this want of arrangement in the distribution of the working parties the works proceeded with extreme slowness. Our troops were posted within range of the enemy's guns before any of the stores necessary for the attack were even landed, and without the advantage of confining him to his fortifications. The soldiers at work on the trenches were generally without any sort of covering party in their front, while the enemy's advanced parties were frequently on their flank. The French piquets indeed were suffered to remain in many places within two musket shots of our men during the whole of our operations; so that a wooded and enclosed country, which is generally thought advantageous to the besiegers, proved a benefit to the French, and a loss to the British. The island of Cadsand, the only place from whence the enemy could receive supplies or reinforcements, was left unoccupied; and as the smaller armed vessels had not yet intercepted the communication, advantage was soon taken of the neglect, and on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of August three thousand men passed over from Cadsand to Flushing. The dykes had been cut, and the inundation had begun seriously to impede the operations in the low ground; but the attack was carried forward on to the flanks of Flushing along the dykes. In the mean time a very numerous French

\* APP. CHRON. pp. 559, 559.



army, composed of the national guards of the Belgic provinces and the nearest provinces of France, was assembled in the neighbourhood of Antwerp; the forts on the Scheldt were well manned, and every other preparation made for opposing the passage of both our army and navy. An immense quantity of naval stores deposited in the arsenal of Antwerp was either removed or made ready for speedy removal; and preparations were made for conveying the ships so high up the river as to be out of our power, either naval or military, in case of a successful attempt to force a passage.

All ideas of pushing up the Scheldt for the reduction of the fleet, and destroying the arsenal and dockyards of France at Antwerp and Terneuse, being necessarily abandoned, lord Chatham, with the greater number of the troops under his command returned on the 14th of September, to England. It was deemed necessary with the remainder to keep possession of the Isle of Walcheren, for the purpose of blockading the Scheldt, and enabling our merchants to introduce British manufactures and the produce of our colonies into Holland. But it appeared, that in this marsh British troops would have been exposed, not only to the fire and sword of the enemy (against which, in such an insular position, they might have been enabled to defend themselves) but to the rage of pestilence. Towards the middle of September, when the distemper was at its height, the average number of deaths in our army in Walcheren

was from two to three hundred a week. The opinion of the British government about the expediency of retaining or abandoning this dreadful island, was in a state of fluctuation. No serious exertions were made for renewing the defences or improving the fortifications of Flushing till the middle of September, when a requisition was made for 500 of the peasantry of the island to be employed in thickening the parapets, and otherwise strengthening the ramparts of Flushing. For the same end, and also the repair of the barracks, 100 artificers arrived from England with large supplies of brick and lime at the end of October. Towards the middle of November they began to demolish the works and naval bason of Flushing, as far as might be done without destroying the lives and property of the inhabitants. This was done. And on the 23d of December the island of Walcheren was completely evacuated by the British army, nearly one half of which, according to a return made to the House of Commons, was either lost or sick. This expedition cost twenty millions sterling, imposing a burthen of one million of annual taxes.

The failure of this expedition, in its main object, is beyond all doubt, to be attributed not in any degree to the army or navy, whose alacrity in the cause could not have been exceeded, but by the shameful ignorance and rashness of those who planned it. It was understood to have been digested and put in the head of lord Castlereagh by sir Home Popham, to whom the arrangements for the debarkation of the army were entrusted.



The French crowed over the expedition to the Scheldt, as well as that into the heart of Spain under lord Wellington, with the force of reason, the bitterness of sarcasm, and the playfulness of ridicule. The British government had supposed Antwerp to be precisely in the same situation that it was fourteen years ago. They observed, that half the force that was dispersed in Spain, Italy, and the marshes of Holland, brought to bear against one point judiciously chosen, might probably have been of greater avail to the common cause of Britain and her allies. The British nation acknowledged that the exultation and ridicule of the French was not for once misplaced; and lamented that the main strength of the British was not sent for co-operation with the Austrians to the gulph of Trieste, or for co-operation with the Spaniards to the gulph of Rosas. The British government seemed to entertain some vague idea that the common cause of the deliverance of Europe was to be served by Great Britain by a system of diversions; by hanging on the skirts of the enemy, and seizing some sequestered points and corners, instead of meeting the enemy face to face where he was

strongest. Their avowed object was to assist the nations on the continent in their endeavours to emancipate themselves by their own exertions; not considering that before the incumbent and overwhelming weight and oppression of the enemy should be removed, it was impossible for the unarmed and isolated inhabitants to unite and organize themselves into any system of defence or of aggression. The few with arms in their hands, and the authority of government in all countries, govern the many. In the war of the Spanish succession, lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, and the other ministers or counsellors of queen Anne, never dreamt of gaining their object, which was to break the neck of French usurpation, by splitting the force at their command into a variety of detachments; but sent their undivided strength to co-operate with the Austrians, in bearing with the whole power of the allies against the main strength of the enemy. In a word, the councils of Great Britain were under the influence and direction of men so weak and improvident, that their continuance in power at such a crisis was a matter of general astonishment.



## CHAP. XIV.

*British Affairs, Naval and Colonial.—Destruction of the French in the Roads of Aix by a Squadron commanded by Lord Cochrane, detached from the Fleet under Lord Collingwood.—Destruction of a French Squadron with Transports on their Way to relieve Barcelona.—The Government of the Seven Islands restored by a British Force, Naval and Military, in Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo.—Reduction of Martinico and the City of St. Domingo.—Affairs in India.*

THE operations of Great Britain were this year, as usual, more prosperous at sea and in islands than on the continent of Europe. A French fleet, consisting of nine or ten sail of the line and some frigates lay in the Roads of Aix under the protection of the forts of that island. In the evening of the 11th of April lord Cochrane, who was under the orders of admiral lord Gambier, proceeded to attack this fleet thus stationed, with a number of fire-ships, frigates, and other vessels, under a favourable strong wind from the northward, and the advantage of flood tide. On the approach of our squadron to the ships of the enemy, it was discovered that a boom was placed in front of their line for a defence. This, however, the weight of the Mediator fire-ship soon broke; and the usual intrepidity of British seamen, led by such a commander as lord Cochrane, advancing under the fire of both the forts and the ships, overcame all difficulties. The greater part of the French ships cut or slipt their cables, and the anchorage being confined, avoided explosion by running on shore. These, however, were afterwards either to-

tally destroyed or rendered altogether unfit for service, while four ships of the line were taken and blown up at their anchorage.\* At daylight the following day lord Cochrane communicated to admiral lord Gambier by telegraph, that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed. The admiral immediately made the signal for the fleet to unmoor and weigh, intending to proceed with it to effect their destruction. The wind, however, fresh from the northward, and the flood tide rendered it, in the judgment of the admiral, too hazardous to run into the shallow waters of Aix Roads: he therefore cast anchor again at the distance of about three miles from the forts of the island.

In the Mediterranean, towards the end of October, a French squadron, consisting of three sail of the line and four frigates, with twenty large transports, from Toulon for the relief of Barcelona, was destroyed by a division of the fleet under lord Collingwood. The transports separating from the ships of war, ran for shelter to the Bay of Rosas; where they, too, though under the protection of some armed ships and gun-

\* London Gazette Extraordinary. APPEN. CHRON. p. 492.



boats, were attacked and destroyed.\*

Nearly about the same time, a small squadron detached from lord Collingwood's fleet, with 1,600 troops sent from Sicily, under the command of brigadier-general Oswald, took the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo. The French garrisons in those islands surrendered to the British arms after a very faint resistance. The government of the Seven Islands was declared to be restored.† In the Indian ocean the Isle of Bourbon surrendered to a British force on the 21st of September.

In the West Indies, the island of Martinico and the city of St. Domingo were added to our numerous possessions in that part of the world.‡ The city of St. Domingo surrendered without resistance.§

In the North, or English America, the embargo act was repealed by one prohibiting all intercourse either with France or Great Britain. But in case either France or England should so revoke or modify her edicts, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, the trade suspended might be re-

newed with the nation so doing. A treaty for restoring amity and commerce between Great Britain and America, after a good deal of negociation, was signed by Mr. David Erskine, envoy and minister plenipotentiary from London; and American vessels in great numbers poured into the ports of England. But the proceedings of Mr. Erskine were disavowed, as altogether exceeding his powers, by the British government. No loss, however, was suffered to accrue to the American merchants or captains of ships who had proceeded to England under the idea that Mr. Erskine had clearly understood the object of his mission and the terms on which he was authorized to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce.||

This year disturbances broke out in India, which in their origin and progress threatened with immediate dissolution the authority of Great Britain; which, in that widely, extended, populous, and remote country, as was well observed by Mr. Hastings, hangs on "the slender thread of opinion." They were quelled, but how? By an appeal which betrayed the slenderness of that thread; an appeal to the native troops, the sepoys,

\* See APPEND. CHRON. p. 568. † Ib. p. 588. ‡ Ib. pp. 487, 519.

§ The dispatch from major general Carmichael to lord Castlereagh, announcing this conquest, is a striking, and, if we could suppose it to be intended, no unhappy burlesque on that intolerable minuteness which has long, and that religious cant, which has lately become fashionable in the dispatches of both our generals and admirals. "With humble submission to the Almighty Disposer of events, &c. &c. the general proceeded to make dispositions for the reduction of the city of St. Domingo. The zeal, abilities, courage, and indefatigable exertions of the officers under his command are extolled—yet there was no fighting. The enemy did not make any resistance. A continual fire of musketry from the walls was indeed heard for a short time, even when the white flag was up; and the general moved forward with a party of dragoons to demand the cause. The French general assured his aid-de-camp that the inhabitants were firing at immense numbers of wild pigeons that were flying over the walls, but that they should instantly be stopt!!

|| See Correspondence between Mr. Erskine and Mr. Smith. State Papers, p. 752. against



against their European officers! They originated in the measures taken by sir G. Barlow, governor of Madras, for enforcing a system of economy that had been devised by sir J. Craddock, which interfered with the emoluments to which the army had been accustomed. This system consisted in the abolition of the allowance for camp equipage, which, till July, 1808, when the measure was adopted by sir G. Barlow, had been supplied on contract by officers commanding native regiments. In the adoption of this measure the opinion of general Hay Macdowall, commander in chief of the army, was not consulted. This plan of economy was not only injurious to the interest of the officers, but calculated to hurt their feelings as men of honour. The statement of reasons, or the principle or spirit on which a new arrangement was founded, ran thus: "Six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the native army has afforded means of forming a judgment relative to its advantages and efficiency, which were not possessed by the persons who proposed its introduction, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period the following observations regarding it.—The granting the same allowance in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expences incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than in peace, places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one

another. It makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service; and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties."

The discontent and indignation of the European officers, commanding native corps, was raised into a flame. The civil and military government of Madras were in a state of opposition to each other. Lieut. col. Munro, quarter-master general, who had drawn up the offensive memoir, on the strength of which sir G. Barlow proceeded in his determination to abolish the tent contract by orders of the commander in chief, was put under arrest. Colonel Capper and major Boles, who had complied with the orders of the commander in chief in publishing a general order in the end of January, 1809, reflecting on the Madras government, were suspended by the government of Madras from the service of the company.\* From this strong and arbitrary step, and others of the same nature relating to many other individuals, the officers were led to the humiliating conclusion, that their commissions were held merely at the caprice of an individual. The alarm produced an unanimity of sentiment throughout the army, and a confederacy for the purpose of mutual preservation. A charge drawn up against colonel Munro was signed by thirty-two out of fifty-four officers, and the remainder would have signed the charge also if they had not been at too great a distance. The government of Madras, in opposition to the conciliating system recom-

\* The commander in chief after publishing this order took leave of the army, determined to come home. The governor removed him from his command after his embarkation.



mended by Mr. Petrie, late governor, and still a member of council, set itself to garble the army to its mind, and by a system of intrigue, particularly by presents and promises the Soubadhars to separate the inclinations of the native troops from the authority of their officers. The unprecedented and harsh measures pursued by government raised in the minds of all the military an universal hatred mingled with contempt, which rendered their mind indifferent as to consequences. A compliment paid by sir G. Barlow to the force stationed at Hyderabad, with a view of detaching them from other divisions of the army, was deemed a greater insult than any that had hitherto been shewn to the army. The officers of that subsidiary force, apprehensive that so unexpected a compliment might possibly have impressed their brother officers with an idea that they tacitly approved of the acts of government, addressed to the different divisions of the army a paper, declaring that they viewed with the most lively emotions of concern, the extreme acts of power by which so many respectable officers had

been displaced from their command, and suspended from the service and their resolution to contribute to their support. The discontents of the army, at first expressed in indignant declarations and memorials at Masulipatam, Hyderabad, and Seringapatam, burst into action. The officers of Hyderabad, on the 15th of June, forwarded an address to sir G. Barlow, recommending an abrogation of his orders, suspending a number of officers from the service; on the 8th of July they absolutely refused to permit a battalion to be moved from the subsidiary force, though directly ordered by the government; and on the 21st of the same month, they made a peremptory demand of indemnity to the officers of Masulipatam. In this situation of affairs, a test was framed by the government, requiring the officers to whom it was tendered to promise that they "would obey the orders and support the authority of the governor in council of Fort St. George.\* In many instances, when officers were sent for to head-quarters to subscribe the test, their return from thence was cut off by troops drawn up

\* Recourse had been had before to a test of another kind. Sir G. Barlow, although aware that no officer, excepting those who held situations at the will of the government, would voluntarily go where colonel Munro was frequently to be met, sent cards, inviting the officers of one regiment in Fort St. George to dinner on the 1st of March, and to those of another to dinner on the 4th of March. The greatest part of the officers of both regiments sent apologies. In order to prevail on the apologizing officers to consent to dine at the governor's, various threats and promises were conveyed to them through the medium of lieutenant-colonel Barclay. His efforts were altogether ineffectual. Colonel Barclay was directed by sir G. Barlow to apply for the assistance of major-general Goudie. The officers invited on the 1st of March were induced by a very natural apprehension of danger to their own interest, at last to accept of the invitation. The officers invited on the 4th did not go, but they were required to make an apology, which they did, by stating in writing, that "in declining to accept sir G. Barlow's invitation, they did not mean any disrespect towards the public character of the governor." These bickerings about invitations to dinner became the subject of ridicule, and other emotions throughout the whole presidency.



to intercept them. In others, the the head-quarters were surrounded by a military force.—In the mean time every act was used on both sides, to gain the sepoys, who were thus made sensible, that in their hands was the balance of power between the civil and military government. The government, assured by their agents or agitators, that it might depend on the sepoys, who did not seem inclined to run a great risk in what was only the cause of their officers, issued an order for removing more than three-fourths of the company's officers, on account of their refusal to subscribe the test, from their respective battalions. This order was carried into effect at Trichinopoly, Bangalore, Nundydroog, Travancore, and the whole centre division of the army. The places of the recusant were supplied by king's officers.

But at Seringapatam, an attempt being made to execute the order of the Madras government, the king's troops were dismissed from the garrison, and the place was promptly occupied and held by the insurgents. It was soon afterwards invested by the Mysorean and a detachment of the king's troops, and all communication cut off with the surrounding country. Two battalions of native troops from Chittledroog endeavoured to relieve it in the middle of August, but they were attacked and routed by the Mysorean and European cavalry. It may be doubted, whether even in these circumstances, submission would have been made to sir G. Barlow, between whom and the officers commanding native corps, the contest was embittered by a kind of personal animosity. But the officers entertained a profound

respect for lord Minto, governor-general of India, a person high in rank, and higher in character, whose arrival was daily expected at Madras, according to his lordship's proclamation, towards the end of July. The subsidiary force at Hyderabad and the garrison at Masulipatam, sent their submission to Madras, to be presented to lord Minto, on his arrival. This example was followed by the garrison at Seringapatam. The submission of all the officers was unconditional; but to the governor-general, not the governor of Madras. By lord Minto's generous, noble, and wise conduct, the authority of government was completely restored, and at the same time the wounds healed which had been unfortunately opened.

The Madras government in its tottering state, also received aid and support from that of Bombay. His majesty's 56th regiment of infantry was sent to Madras, which was a very seasonable aid indeed at that time, when besides the revolt of the native troops, it had on its hands hostilities in Travancore, provoked by the departure of the Madras government from an agreement to take contributions in pepper instead of money. These were soon terminated by a corps of native infantry under the command of colonel St. Leger.

The conduct of sir G. B. which no doubt displayed firmness, vigour, and much dexterity or cunning, was approved by the court of directors: though they blamed his suspension from the service of major Boles and colonel Capper. But why did they approve it? not, it may be presumed, for its wisdom, but because it was lucky. He boldly risked the Bri-



empire in this India on a throw of the die; double or quit, neck or nothing. Fortune favoured, and the directors approved her favourite. Thus, the reforms of sir John Craddock, (with whom as above observed, the plan of abolishing the tent contract originated) for a second time endangered the existence of the British power in India.

But if sir G. B. anxious to gratify the directors, by establishing a system of economy, chose to adopt the plan of sir J. Craddock, there was no necessity for adopting also the offensive preamble on which sir John's decree was founded. It might have been sufficient to state, without saying a word of experience, that according to the general principles of human nature, the tent contract placed the duty of officers in direct opposition to their interests. The truth, according to all accounts, is, that sir George was a man of harsh and repulsive manners, fond of exercising the rigour of power, and one who, *ceteris paribus*, would have preferred a system of coercion to one of conciliation. It is not an acquaintance with mercantile business alone, or with law and the forms of government, that can qualify a man for being the ruler of a distant colony or other dependency. *Plures sunt casus quam leges*. Laws themselves derive their efficacy from the moral nature of man. This, therefore is to be managed, otherwise than by law, in all those violent situations in which, for a time the usual course of human nature and motives of actions is suspended, by the force of circumstances and the power of passion. The current of this is not always to be stemmed

by force: it must sometimes be soothed and diverted; and extraordinary measures are demanded by extraordinary situations. The affairs of distant dominions, where the national legislature or metropolitan government cannot act as unforeseen emergency requires, are safer under the direction of minds humanized, elevated, informed and refined by a learned and liberal education, comprehensive in their views, and deriving a fertility of resource from the stores of history, and the light of science. How forcibly and gloriously is the truth of this remark illustrated by the conduct of lord Minto; who has cultivated with assiduity and success, a taste and genius for literature and science, that seems hereditary in his family! Nor does this truth derive less confirmation from the humane, prudent, enlightened, and disinterested maxims that have long regulated the conduct of the Bombay government; to which it is a relief to turn our attention. Whatever may be thought of the policy of annihilating the authority of the nabob of Surat (which some have questioned) the population of that immense city, changed their municipal superiors very much to their advantage, especially in matters of civil litigation and personal security: in both of which branches the tyranny of the nabob's arbitrary and vicious government frequently dictated decisions equally at variance with justice and humanity. The foundations of a throne, according to the profound observation of sacred scripture, are best secured by righteousness or justice: justice of which sympathy with our fellow men, or doing as we would be done by, is



not only a part, but the grand spring and principle. That authority is of the longest duration to which men submit from inclination and choice. It was in the spirit of equity, moderation, and beneficence, that Mr. Jonathan Duncan always conducted himself in the public service. "This," said sir J. Macpherson, on the occasion of introducing Mr. Duncan to Lord Cornwallis, is "the gentleman, who enabled me to carry on my administration to the satisfaction of the natives: free access to their petitions, and a reference of them to his investigation, they estimate from experience as justice."\*

In the Guzzarat possessions extorted from Scindia, and in the Paish, were districts annexed to Bombay by the treaty of Bassein, as well as those ceded by the Guicowar, the company's authority was fully established to the great benefit and contentment of the people. And while the people in all the districts ceded by the Guicowar, soon became sensible how much they had gained by the transfer; the inhabitants of his reserved dominions participated with their chief, in the advantages resulting from his alliance with the company. The Guicowar was extricated from circumstances of imminent danger. His authority was openly resisted by a rebellious member of his own family, countenanced by a seditious rabble of soldiery, ill paid and worse disciplined, and his finances were verging to irretrievable ruin.

The liberal and timely interposition of the Bombay government with money and troops, soon restored his independence; and the

reforms introduced in his exchequer by the recommendation of his ally, effectually relieved that department from every embarrassment. Instead of a revenue not exceeding 700,000*l.* to meet an expenditure very considerably above a million sterling, he now enjoyed a rental of above 800,000*l.* subject to disbursements not amounting to 630,000*l.* His army was entirely new modelled; their heavy arrears were paid up; and the most turbulent corps, consisting of Arab mercenaries, disbanded. Thus his military charges were reduced from upwards of 500,000*l.* lavished chiefly on a lawless and tumultuary gang of foreigners, to about 300,000*l.* expended in maintaining a useful and effective body of his own native subjects.

These improvements, and others still in a state of progression, in concert with the Bombay government, produced a general subordination to the Guicowar's authority throughout his territories. He resumed his importance as a member of the Mahratta confederacy; he was happy and safe from all enemies at home and abroad; with a near prospect of a clear surplus revenue of 250,000*l.* annually to meet contingences.

These were the fruits of the company's friendship administered by the Bombay government. The conduct of their ally also corresponded in all respects with their just expectations, and both parties appeared to proceed with a genuine regard to their mutual stipulations.

The system of retrenchment prescribed by the directors, and

\* See Vol. XXXIV. (1792) *HIST. EUR.* p. 225.



every description of economical arrangement made in the presidency of Bombay, was effected, though by silent strides. Not a murmur was heard from that quarter. The revenues in the mean time gradually improved, and the treasury at that presidency gained by the articles of exchange in its negotiations with Bengal. A large part of its debt bearing an interest of 10 and 9 per cent. was also liquidated, and converted at the option of the lenders, into securities subject to a reduced interest of only 8 per cent.

The success of these and other fiscal operations, showed a saving in the official year 1808-9, compared with 1806-7, of not less than 400,000*l.*; and the receipts for the same year, ending on the 30th of April, 1809, exhibited an excess of not less than 240,000*l.* more than the estimate. We do not find that any accounts for the year ending on the 30th of April, 1810, have yet been received; but the former advices justify an expectation that the scale of receipt and expenditure, in each succeeding year, would correspond with that of 1808-9.

A very considerable portion of these improvements in the finances of Bombay arose from actual retrenchments in the ordinary disbursements; and consequently affected directly or indirectly, the private interest, in their present situations or future views, of many individuals, civil and military: but we have in this instance a proof that mere privations, when the public good is the object, are endured by our fellow-subjects in India, when rudeness and insolence do not awaken passions of a livelier nature than the mere love of emolument.

While the temper and proceedings of the Bombay government operated especially in favour of all the concerns in that quarter, they were essentially conducive to the common prosperity. Perhaps sufficient importance has not been usually assigned to their influence; for although, since the transfer of the Malabar province to the presidency of Madras, the Bombay dominion has been considerably abridged, and its population and revenues comparatively diminished; yet in political, naval, and military affairs, it has a claim to high distinction, which has been well supported during the long administration of its present governor.

Since a power of general controul has been vested in the Bengal government, the administrations of the other presidencies have indeed been relieved from a large share of responsibility; but while supineness or incapacity have by that means become less injurious, and harmony in action more effectually ensured, the real merits of the respective trustees of the public interests at Madras and Bombay, have been occasionally, and in the case of the latter, sometimes disingenuously eclipsed.

The honest and liberal candidate for fame in charge of either of these presidencies, if his talents and genius are less conspicuous in measures originating else where, has still, in the detail of operations committed to his charge, abundant exercise for his zeal and patriotism, and opportunities of establishing powerful claims to public notice and approbation, from which the mere prominent pretensions of the supreme government ought not materially to detract.

Accordingly



Accordingly we have found, that on all occasions where the co-operation of the Bombay government with the views of Fort William has been required, its exertions have been fully proportioned to the exigencies of the service. Its troops assisted general Harris in the extinction of the Mahomedan power in Mysore under sir David Baird. They co-operated with lord Hutchinson in expelling the French from Egypt; they had an active share in general Wellesley's eventful struggle in the Deccan; they reduced several of Scindia's fortresses in the Guzzarat; and afterwards, led by general Jones, penetrated from thence to the seat of war in the north of Hindostan; whilst the wealth of the presidency of Bombay enriched its treasury, and enabled its government to contribute, in money as well as in men and every other species of supply, far exceeding its contingent.

The topographical advantages of Bombay cannot be easily over-rated, and under the present government have been conspicuously subservient to the interests of the company and the nation.\* The Bombay built shipping are indisputably the best in the world. Superior to all in durability, they are inferior to none in symmetry of architecture. They are of different dimensions; and while some

of them have furnished to the India company, the best ships of the largest size in their service, others, originally employed in commerce, have added to the numbers and strength of the royal navy.

Its capacious harbour affords safe anchorage to a forest of shipping; where they are also sheltered from an enemy by the guns of the castle and the town ramparts: most of which in that part are of the largest caliber. It is accessible at all seasons to his majesty's squadrons in those seas, and its arsenals supply every description of stores. Ships of all classes, up to and including third rates, had been for many years accommodated and repaired in its old docks; and two others of increased dimensions lately constructed, on a scale of magnificence not surpassed by any thing of the kind in the British dominions. Early in 1810, was launched at Bombay, a fine 74 gun ship, the *Minden*.

The dreadful ascendancy which France has acquired in Europe, will be imperfect and unsatisfactory to its ambitious and malignant chief while the power of Great Britain remains undiminished. Having exhausted all other means of assault, and relinquished all hopes of success by any other stratagem, Buonaparte is compelled to resume the consideration of a project of the old court of

\* It daily imports from different parts of its coast teak timber for ship building; and the culture of hemp in an island called Salcette, forming one of its dependencies, has lately been encouraged by the governor. It is yet in its infancy; but the quality proves to be the best produced in India. The adjoining Mahratta province of Concan furnishes Bombay with considerable quantities of hemp of the same quality. Near 1000 tons have been lately imported into this country; and the result of various scientific experiments has, we believe, not yet finally determined its inferiority to the Baltic product.



France, to invade our Indian possessions on the side of Persia. His difficulties, under the most favourable circumstances, will indeed be formidable, and he is not at present prepared to encounter them; but they are not insurmountable, nor are we invulnerable in that quarter. The attempt may be yet long suspended; but we may woefully rue our mistake if we consider it abandoned: and if he shall ever be in a condition to enter seriously on the execution of his threats then will the political importance of Bombay be specially felt and acknowledged by both friend and foe.

Notwithstanding all our treaties and alliances, there was a propensity in the native powers of India to combine the whole physical force of the peninsula against the English. Powers, decidedly hostile to each other coalesced for this purpose during Mr. Hasting's eventful administration. Their policy would have been the same in 1799, but incalculably more comprehensive; and had not the views of the original confederates been unexpectedly frustrated, all recollection of the deplorable disasters in the Carnatic would have been lost in the traces of more general and fatal calamities.

The peace with the Mahrattas, which was concluded in May 1782, chiefly by means of sir John Macpherson, at that time retrieved the British cause when nearly desperate. The dangers of 1799 were averted by Zemaun Shah's precipitate retreat, after surmounting the principal obstacles of a long, laborious, and difficult march; and arriving nearly in

contact with the force under sir James Craig, assembled on the frontier of Oude for the purpose of opposing him, as related in our historical sketch of that year.

For this memorable retreat, and all its consequences, so favourable to the ulterior extensive views of the supreme government, the British nation, and particularly the East India company, are indebted to Mirza Mehedy Aly Khan, who had the merit of first suggesting these measures, which afterwards produced, under his skilful management, a most unexpected reverse in the condition of all parties. The Mirza at that time filled the office of company's president at Bushire; having been appointed and deputed by the Bombay government to superintend their commercial and political concerns in the gulph of Persia.

He was a native of Persia, where his father had been head physician to Nadir Shah, and the son still maintained respectable connexions at the court of the reigning king Futteh Ali Khan. Mahmood and Feroze, two brothers of Zemaun Shah, after an unsuccessful domestic quarrel, had been driven into exile, and were brooding over their misfortunes at Terhan the present Persian capital. Mehedy rightly judged that the absence of Zemaun with the whole of his army, on a distant and foreign service, presented to them an opportunity equally favourable for vindicating their own rights and the cause of the company. He accordingly negotiated with his friends at the Persian court so successfully, that for an expence not exceeding



8500*l*. Mehmood and Feroze were equipped and detached with a force to attack the Shah's western border, at the time when he had actually reached Lahore in his route to the Oude and Bengal provinces. Mehedy's mission, including his travelling charges and other disbursements incident to negotiations at an eastern court, cost the company about 26,000*l*. In succeeding deputations to the court of Terhan, where no essential point was gained that Mirza had not at his command when he was recalled, there was expended a sum not less than half a million sterling.

Mirza Mehedy towards the close of that year proceeded, under the orders of the Bombay govern-

ment, to the presence of the Persian monarch, to return public thanks for his critical and efficient interposition. He was also secretly charged with the negotiation of a variety of delicate points. He arrived at Terhan on the 4th of Dec. 1799, and was received by his majesty and his ministers with great distinction, friendship, and hospitality.

In little more than a month he accomplished the objects of his mission, as far as they were attainable; and being early in 1800, superseded in his diplomatic character by an envoy direct from the supreme government, Mehedy resumed his functions at Bushire.



## CHAP. XV.

*Dissentions and Contests in the British Cabinet.—Duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh.—O. P. War, or Uproars in the Theatre of Covent Garden.—Internal Affairs of France.—New Government established in the Roman States annexed to the French Empire.—Revolution in Sweden.—State of Russia.*

**D**URING the last three months of 1809, the affairs of Europe were not regarded by the people of England with much interest or concern, at least not with any emotions that might render them objects of pleasing and voluntary attention. Austria was completely subdued. The British army had been in part withdrawn, or in part lay languishing in the pestilential marshes of Holland. Battles had been gained in Spain, but the objects of the campaign had been lost. The brave Tyroleans while they commanded our admiration, excited our pity. We admired their virtue but deplored their fate. In a word, the war on the continent had ceased either to feed our hopes, or amuse our leisure. In these circumstances the public langour was diverted by domestic dissentions and contests; not amounting to what is commonly termed war, but yet not altogether without bloodshed. There was a contest in the cabinet which led to action, and a contest between the audience and the managers of Covent Garden theatre, which also led to action: but both happily terminated without any convulsion in the state, and indeed without the smallest loss, but according to general opinion, in one of the cases very material advantage to the public.

When the new theatre was opened this season, towards the end of September, an increase of price was demanded for admission. This was resisted by the public as unnecessary and unreasonable, and as arising from an intention to take advantage of the town, which, Drury-lane being in ruins, had no other place of theatrical amusement. Another, and still more popular ground of resistance was, the erection of twenty-eight private boxes in the theatre, by which the audience at large was exceedingly cramped, and which were generally supposed to have been designed as resorts of impurity, and to furnish facilities, which in a British theatre ought not to be suspected. The performances of the actors were drowned and reduced to mere pantomime, by laughing, groaning, hissing, mew-ing in imitation of cats, barking like dogs, grunting like swine, growling like tygers—in short it seemed as if all the animal creation had been assembled in Covent Garden, as in a capacious lyceum, for the purpose of proclaiming their existence by their instinctive sounds. To all manner of natural sounds, emitted or excited by all manner of natural organs, was added the aid of instrumental noise; such as coachmen's horns and trumpets, dustmen's bells, and watchmen's rattles.



rattles. In the pit they presented their backs to the players, except when they thought proper to grin and make faces at them. Many came with the symbolical characters of O. P. in their hats, or upon their clothes, forming rings and making mock fights, or the whole joined in the notable O. P. dance, as it was called, which consisted in an alternate stamping of the feet, accompanied with the regular cry of O. P. in monotonous cadence. The managers, of whom some were also players, continued their pantomimical representations for week after week with wonderful patience. At last they lost their tempers. Bands of boxers, Jews, chairmen, and butchers, were introduced into the theatres, as well as multitudes of Bow-street runners and constables. Bruises were inflicted and received, and some blood flowed. At last after a campaign of three months, the servants of the public made overtures for peace, and they were accepted.\*

On the 22d of September the two secretaries of state, lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, met each other pistol in hand, to settle a dispute; for a full and particular account of which we must refer our readers to the Chronicle of Incidents.† Mr. Canning supposed himself, and was supposed by many others to possess greater talents than lord Castlereagh: lord C. again possessed very considerable influence by the number of votes he could command in the House of Commons, as well as great dexterity in managing members, and,

withall an extraordinary share of activity in whatever business was committed to his charge. Mr. Canning intrigued for the removal of lord C. on the ground of his incapacity, from office, while at the same time, his deportment towards his lordship, on all occasions, was such as if he had not harboured in the least any such lurking intention. This (though it does not seem to fall within the circle of points of honour) lord C. considered as a personal insult. On the second fire, Mr. Canning received his lordship's bullet in his left thigh, and the combat was terminated. They had both of them, previously to the duel, resigned their places. The duke of Portland died in a few days thereafter. The remaining ministers now offered a coalition with the lords Grey and Grenville, which was rejected. The marquis of Wellesley was then called from Spain, to fill the place of secretary for foreign affairs, that had been held by Mr. Canning.

In the midst of these transactions his majesty entered on the fiftieth year of his reign. A reign of fifty years had happened but twice before in this kingdom. It was therefore thought by many to be a proper time for paying a signal mark of respect for the king. The proposal for celebrating the day, was received with pleasure throughout the united kingdom, and every where the 25th of October was distinguished by a singular display of loyalty and affection towards the person of the sovereign ‡; nor was

\* For a particular account of the riots at Covent Garden theatre. See CHRONICLE, p. 404.

† APPEND. CHRON. p. 574.

‡ See CHRON. p. 395, and p. 703.



this display confined to the united kingdom. It was seen in the most distant parts of the empire. And it was in one of our foreign dependencies that the JUBILEE was celebrated with the greatest judgment, taste, splendour, and effect\*.

The legislative assembly of France convened on the 3d of December, when Buonaparte stated with his usual brevity, the conquests he had made since their last adjournment, and what had been done, and was further intended for the good of the empire. Among other particulars he observed, that three months had seen the origin and the result of this fourth punic war. That the genius of France had conducted the army of England, which had terminated its projects in the marshes of Walcheren.—The conquest of the Illyrian provinces had extended the limits of his great empire as far as the river Save by which means he was enabled to watch over his commercial interests in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant; and to protect or to punish the Ottoman Porte according to the relations it should maintain with England. But the most remarkable feature in this address, is the change of style in speaking of this annual account of the state of the nation. On former occasions this statement was term-

ed an exposé, a declaration or *exhibition*; which might seem to imply, that it was a *compte rendu*, that they before whom it was laid, might naturally conceive that it was submitted to them, as the king of Britain's statements are to the British parliament, and that they had a right to judge of it. In the speech containing a retrospect of the affairs of 1809, Buonaparte makes use not of the term exposé, but "*l'historique*, a narrative of the legislation and finances of the preceeding year." The heads into which this annual exposé was divided were public works; charitable establishments; public instruction, comprehending religion; agriculture; manufactures, and industry; mines; commerce; finances; administration of the interior; and of war; justice; and politics. Under the head of public works, we find canals, the junction of rivers, the draining of marshes, bridges, establishments for the poor, and a hall, or, as we would say, a dispensary for vaccination. On the subject of war, intimation was given of an intended change in Holland, by which it would become a part of the French empire, to which indeed it naturally belonged, as it was nothing else than an allusion of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt, the great arteries of the

\* At the fête here alluded to, a description of which will be found in Chronicle p. 703, several vakeels or ambassadors, as well as navigators from all parts of India, Persia and all the East, were present. These, and all the natives of the country, from the Indies to Cape Comorin, considered the long reign of the sovereign, whose beneficence had extended its influence even to them, as a peculiar mark of the favour of providence to the people of his empire, and of all its dependencies.—Here we shall take occasion to correct an error, not of the press, but that had slipped into the copy from which the celebration of the jubilee at Bombay was printed in the Chronicle.

APPEND. CHRON. p. 705. column 2d. l. 3.

For "*celebris in flammis*, *celebris Gibraltar in undis*,"  
Read "*victrix in flammis*, *victrix Gibraltar in undis*."



empire. The loss of Cayenne, (which had been taken by the Portuguese, assisted by the English, December, 1808) and Martinico was confessed. But their restoration, with great improvements, was prognosticated. A promise was made not to oppose the independence of the Spanish colonies, provided they did not form a connection with England.—But there was nothing that Buonaparte seemed to contemplate with so much satisfaction, or to consider as of so much importance to the stability of his empire as the fall of the papal power, both temporal and spiritual. The first and general decree for annexing the Roman, as well as other territories, mentioned in our last volume,\* was issued at Bayonne, May 1808, and a French army towards the end of that year entered Rome, drove away the cardinals, and secured the person of the pope. In the year 1809, Buonaparte proceeded to settle a new government in the ecclesiastical states, which by his decree, followed by an army, he had usurped in the preceding year. By bringing his holiness a prisoner to Avignon he cut him off from his council of cardinals, from the means of issuing his bulls, and from the power of convoking a constitutional council of the church, and stripped him of all that external pomp which contributed to give him dignity, respectability and authority in the sight of the Italian and other nations. Buonaparte still thought it necessary to pretend in his annual exposé that it was by no means his design, or wish to interfere with the spiritual mission that had been

given by Jesus Christ to the pastors of the church, and which Saint Peter and the most pious of his successors had fulfilled with so much purity and sanctity, and so much to the advantage of religion. It was a benefit, Buonaparte observed, conferred on religion to strip it of all that was foreign to its nature, and to re-establish it on the foundation of evangelical purity. The pope who was a servant of the servants of God, as well as others, ought to render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*. If the archbishops and bishops nominated by the emperor, were free from personal reproach, the pope was obliged according to the terms of the *condordat*, immediately to give them canonical institution.

In short Buonaparte had not only usurped the temporal dominion of the pope, but seemed determined now to assume to be himself the head of the church. He had on sundry occasions, especially when he had met with signal success in his career of ambition and conquest, given broad hints, or rather plainly signified, that he considered himself as having a divine mission: an idea that he probably borrowed from Mahommed, whom he appears to have had much in his thoughts. After the decisive battle of Wagram, he sent a circular letter to his bishops from Znaim, 13 July 1809, ordering prayers and thanks to God for the protection he had manifestly afforded to the French arms. "Our lord Jesus Christ;" said he, "though sprung from the royal blood of David, did not choose to take upon him the exercise of any temporal

\* HIST. of EUROPE, p. 239.



authority. On the contrary he recommended, in earthly matters, obedience to the government of Cæsar. He was wholly taken up with the great work of the redemption and the safety of souls. Heir of the power of Cæsar, we are resolved to maintain the independence of our throne and the integrity of all our rights. We are determined to persevere in our grand work of the re-establishment of religion. We will clothe her ministers with that consideration which we alone can give them. We will listen to them in all matters of a spiritual nature and of conscience.

It was observed in this exposition, that for the first time since the Romans, Italy was brought under the same system of government: to which grand result the re-union therewith of the state of Rome, which intersected the peninsula from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, was indispensibly necessary. It appeared from the history of Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Francis I. how much mischief might be done to France by an intermediate power between the kingdom of Naples and the north of Italy. But why go back for 300 years to history? Had not the pope received the English into his ports, from whence they distributed money and arms among the insurgent Calabrians? Had not the pope refused to join a league of offence and defence between him, the kingdom of Naples, and the kingdom of Italy? The hatred of the pope to France had been strikingly manifested ever since the peace of Presburg. The emperor had no alternative, but to separate himself wholly from

Rome, and create a patriarch, or to destroy that temporal power which was the only source of the hatred which the court of Rome bore to the French. To have chosen the first of these alternatives might have occasioned dangerous discussions, and alarmed some consciences. The emperor, therefore embraced what came within the bounds of his imperial prerogative, for the exercise of which, he was not accountable to any person.

We have already taken notice of the change of style in Buonaparte's addresses to the legislators, in one instance. It may be noticed in another still more striking. The Illyrian provinces, says he, extend to the frontier of my great empire. Thus France with other conquests was enveloped in the empire of Buonaparte! And thus evaporated all those brilliant illusions of the imagination, to which the volatile and sanguine nation of the French at first abandoned themselves, on seeing their armies led on from victory to victory, and conquest to conquest, by the first general of the age! Buonaparte prefaced this second or final decree for settling the affairs of Rome, by stating, that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French, his august predecessor, made a present of different territories, in the nature of fiefs, to the bishop of Rome, those territories and Rome itself, nevertheless continued still to be parts of the empire. From that time to this, the union of the temporal and spiritual powers had been a continual source of discord; the dignity, the integrity, the tranquility, and the security of the empire required



ed that they should be separated. Rome was declared to be an imperial and free city; the public debt of the Roman state was declared to be the debt of the empire; the monuments of the Roman grandeur were to be preserved and maintained at the expence of the imperial treasury; the revenue of the pope was to be carried to the full length of two millions of franks, free from duties. The pope was to have places in the parts of the empire, where he might choose to reside, particularly one at Paris, and another at Rome. The imperial prince [heir apparent to the empire] to bear the title and receive the honours of the king of Rome; and a prince of the blood, or a grand dignitary of the empire, to keep a court at Rome in the name of the emperor. Possession was to be taken in the name of the emperor of the ecclesiastical estates on the first of next June. The new constitutional government was to be in full activity and force by the 1st. of January 1810. This edict was dated the 17th of May. The court of inquisition was abolished. The temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, both secular and regular was abolished, with the benefit of clergy and every other privilege of appealing on the part of any particular class of citizens to particular and partial laws. The right of asylum was also abolished, so that no criminal or any accomplice in a crime, should be beyond the reach of the law. Civil justice was to be administered in the different departments of the Roman states, by judges or justices of the peace, and tribunals of commerce. A court for hearing appeals was established

at Rome. Administrators of the revenues belonging to communities of Romans, and for conducting their municipal police were to be chosen by the inhabitants. The city of Rome was declared the second in the empire, and to send seven deputies to the legislative body. Thrasymentum, the other department into which the kingdom of Rome was divided, to send four.

About the middle of November, a deputation consisting of a great number of Roman dukes and princes arrived in Paris from Rome, with an address to Buonaparte on the late happy revolution in that city. At the head of the deputation was the duke of Braschi, who in an elegant speech, neither too long, nor much too florid, all circumstances considered, said, among other compliments, "your imperial majesty's name resounds throughout the whole earth. The Po, the Nile, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Vistula, submissive to your laws, have more than once celebrated your astonishing victories, and will transmit to future ages the remembrance of your sublime virtues. The Tiber, that has witnessed so many renowned exploits, and so many generous actions, raises with gratitude his front in your presence who are his tutelary support. Proud of two great ages, so much celebrated in the history of the human mind, the Tiber, under your fortunate reign, not less enobled by the arts of peace, than by those of war, hopes to see rising on its banks, a third age equal, and even superior to those of Augustus and of Leo. To this harangue, his imperial and royal majesty made a gracious answer, somewhat longer than his usual replies to such addresses.



addresses. He told the deputies, among other kind expressions, that his mind was full of recollections relating to their ancestors. The first time he should cross the Alps, he said, he would come and reside for some time in their city. The French emperors, his predecessors, had detached a territory from the empire and bestowed it as a fief on their bishops. But the whole of France and of Italy, ought to be united under the same system. They had need of a strong hand, and he felt peculiar satisfaction in being their benefactor. "But," said he, "it is not my intention to introduce any change into the religion of our ancestors. The eldest son of the church, I have no mind to withdraw myself from her bosom. Jesus Christ did not think it necessary to set St. Peter upon a temporal throne. I render to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

After the deputies from Rome, those of Tuscany were introduced to pay their homage. To their address, his majesty briefly replied in these words, "gentlemen deputies of Tuscany, I am pleased with the sentiments you express. Your people are dear to me on several accounts. Henceforth, as forming a part of my great family, they shall find in me the love of a father."

Towards the close of 1809, a grand meeting of Buonaparte's brothers, and other relatives, princes and princesses, and vassal kings, began to discover a secret article in the treaty of Vienna. To this meeting Buonaparte represented the necessity of providing an heir to that

throne on which providence had placed him. For this purpose his present marriage must be dissolved; and that which had been for fifteen years a source of happiness to him, he must sacrifice to the welfare of France. Still his present consort should hold the rank of empress, and be treated by him as his best and dearest friend. Josephine returned her thanks to him for his generous goodness in exalting her to a throne, expressed her consent to a measure necessary for the country, and declared that she should always look to him as her great benefactor and best friend, and exult in the sacrifice thus made of their mutual affections. A note was taken of the whole transaction signed by Napoleon, Josephine and all the kings, queens, princes and princesses present, and on the 16th of December it was laid before the senate, which agreed that the marriage should be dissolved, the title of empress queen be retained, and an annual revenue of two millions of francs, (precisely the annual income bestowed, or left to the pope) accompanying it\*.

The loss of Pomerania and Finland, the severe distress in which the Swedish nation was involved by the war with the overwhelming power of Russia, aggravated by the ravages of a contagious distemper, and the knowledge of the army that it was the fixed purpose of the king notwithstanding the armistice of November 1808,† to renew a war, altogether hopeless and desperate with Russia, backed by France.—These circumstances naturally and almost necessarily led to the deposition of the King,

\* State Papers, p. 806.

† Vol. L. (1808) p. 237.



which took place on the 13th of March.\* This is one of the least, if not the very least, violent of political revolutions that we meet with in history. It was effected without the loss of a single life; and with the deprivation of liberty only to the king, and a few of his adherents. The Duke of Sudermania, the king's uncle, assumed the government under the title of regent, and was afterwards chosen by the states king, in the room of his nephew. A new constitution was formed, by which the encroachments of Gustavus III. were done away, and the ancient rights of the different states of the realm restored.

The new king declared his determination not to consent to any peace with Russia, that should be disgraceful to Sweden, or oblige her to take up arms against her faithful ally Great Britain. The war between Russia and Sweden was accordingly renewed. The courage and gallantry of the brave Swedes were opposed in vain to the courage and the numbers of the Russians. Peace between Sweden and Russia, purchased by great sacrifices of territory on the part of the former,† was concluded on the 17th of September. Peace was

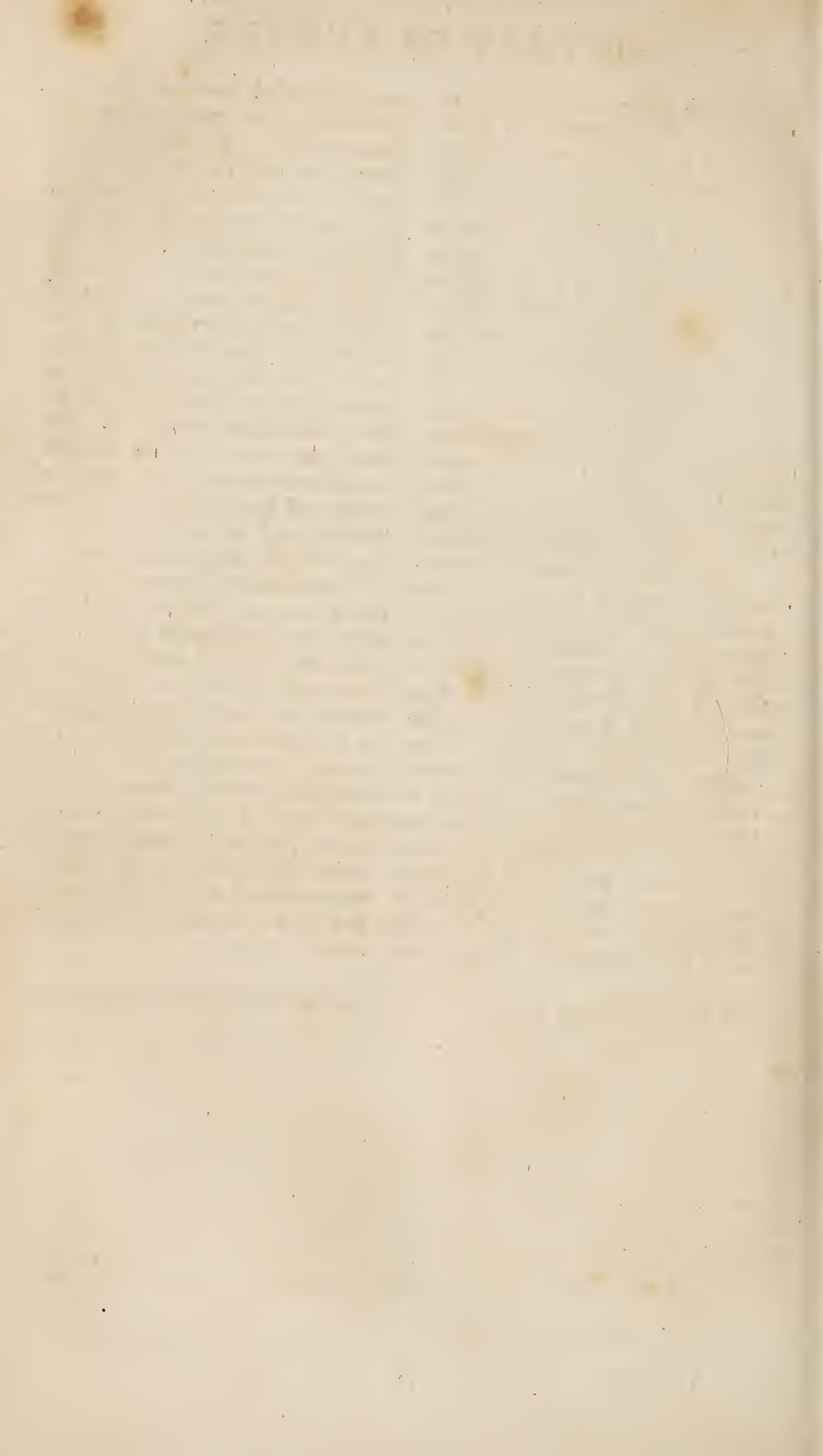
also concluded between Sweden and France, but not till the 6th January 1810. By this, Swedish Pomerania, with the principality of Rügen, and their dependencies, were restored to Sweden. The former commercial relations between the two countries were restored. France was to have the right of establishing an emporium at Gothenburg. The king of Sweden promised to adopt the continental system, and to exclude from his ports the English commerce. The treaty was declared to be common to their majesties, the kings of Spain and the Indies, of the two Sicilies, and of Holland, and to the Confederation of the Rhine.

It has already been seen that by the treaties of Vienna, and that with Sweden, Russia added, this year, to her vast empire Finland and a part of Gallicia. She maintained the ground she had gained in Moldavia and Wallachia. Her armies advancing in the course of conquest towards Constantinople, after much hard battling with the Turks, particularly a very desperate action near Silistria, in Bulgaria, were obliged to fall back, and retire to the north side of the Danube.

\* See State Papers, p. 743.

† See the Treaty, State Papers, p. 784.







# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **T**HE following extraordinary case of abstinence from food, is extracted from the Monthly Magazine for January of this year.

Ann Moor, aged 58, a poor woman of Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, has lived twenty months without food. However, not being (like many others) perfectly satisfied with the common report in the neighbourhood respecting her case, I took an opportunity of visiting her personally, in order to ascertain the exact particulars of her case; when I had, by her own statement, the following account of her miserable condition:—That in the year 1804 she was attacked with a very severe illness, which, I concluded (from her account), must have been an inflammation of some of the viscera of the abdomen. From this she gradually recovered (by the assistance of the surgeon in the place), after thirteen weeks confinement. After this she had (the same year,) at intervals (I believe regular), violent fits, accompanied with a spasmodic affection of the stomach. The succeeding year, 1805, she was again attacked with a second inflamma-

tion of some part of the abdominal viscera, which was not quite so violent as the former; which, after she was perfectly recovered from this inflammatory disease, being gradual, after eleven weeks confinement, she found it had materially mitigated the spasms and fits which she had been accustomed to support the preceding year. But what must have been a still greater affliction to her, was, that her appetite and digestive powers of the stomach were considerably impaired, particularly the latter, so that, from the irritability of that organ, every thing was rejected that she took, except that mild aliment, tea, milk, puddings, or vegetables; and of these she took such a small proportion, that it was believed, by all her attendants, she would soon fall a victim for the want of that nourishment which the system requires to supply the wastes of nature. In this state she continued until the spring of 1806, when she undertook to superintend the daily dressing of a fistula wound of a poor boy's back, from the offensive nature of which, (and the boy's inability to procure the attendance of a surgeon), every one declined lending their assistance, except this poor woman,



woman, who said it was a charity which the poor boy's case demanded: she now, with unremitting care and attention, applied herself to the daily dressing of the wounds, with those detergent applications which she alone had procured for the purpose. It was not until the warm months of August and September that this disagreeable engagement appeared to affect her, when she found it impossible to divest herself of the idea that the offensive matter which issued from the wounds was present to her organs of taste and smell; which, from the sympathy existing between the stomach and those parts, made her aversion to take food become still greater, and for several days she was observed to be incapable of supporting herself in the presence of any thing that was offered her in the form of food. In the month of October, the boy fell a sacrifice to his misfortunes; yet the poor woman still continued (though released from her unpleasant office) to exist until the 24th of February, 1807, only taking one penny-loaf, with tea, without either cream or sugar, which trifling allowance of bread generally served her fourteen days: she then (February 24th) declined taking any kind of solid food whatever, her only beverage becoming that of water and tea, which she generally took upon feeling any nausea at her stomach. After this time she had regular discharges, by vomit, every twenty days, of yellow water from the stomach, which appeared to consist of the common secretion (gastric juice) of the stomach, intermixed with a small proportion of bile. From the woman's testimony being always discredited,

she did not draw the attention of any of the faculty until she had lived fourteen months without food, when several surgeons wished to have her removed to a neighbour's house to be watched, which she without hesitation consented to, that they might be satisfied of her real case.

After this change, proper persons were appointed to watch her day and night; besides three surgeons regularly visited her two or three times a day, during which time she did not even drink the smallest quantity of water. Washing her mouth with water was, and is, the only thing she continues to do. She voids about four ounces of urine every six days, but has no other evacuation whatever, nor has she had any these six months, which leaves us no doubt to believe that she must live by absorption, as the greater part of all her muscles and soft parts are already removed by that process; though it is a known law of nature, that when one class of absorbent vessels (the lacteals) are deprived, by accident or disease, of their regular supplies of chyle, which is a milky production from the food, the other class (lymphatics), which are distributed all over the body, is called into action, to remove and convert (by means of their glands) such a quantity of the soft parts of the body as is required to supply and keep up the regular quantity of blood in the system. This theory is admitted to be established on such a scientific basis, by the late Mr. Hunter, that to deny its truth and validity, would betray a total ignorance of the structure and economy of the human frame. Then, according to  
this



this principle, why should not any other person live for the same length of time, upon being deprived of food, remains a question to be explained by the enlightened part of the profession.

Your's, &c.

WM. ROBINSON, V.S.

*Tamworth, Nov. 28, 1808.*

The following subjects are proposed at Oxford for the chancellor's prizes, for the year ensuing, viz.—For Latin verses—“*Corinthus.*”—For an English Essay—“*The love of our country.*”—The vice-chancellor has received a donation of 20l. which will be given to the author of the best composition in English verse, on the following subject—“*John the Baptist.*”—The first and last of the above subjects are intended for those gentlemen of the University who have not exceeded four years from the time of their matriculation; and the others for such as have exceeded four, but not completed seven years.

A person engaged in digging near the entrenchments which surround the castle at Bourn, lately discovered a small urn, containing upwards of sixty Roman coins. One of them is an *aureus* of Nero; the others are *denarii* and *sestertii* of Constantine, Augustus, and Maximilian.

Buonaparte, by a recent ordinance, has imposed a monthly tax on every woman of the town in Paris, rigidly enforcing the registry of their several directions with the Prefect of Police; and with a view to prevent evasion of this impost, he has appointed a penalty of 100 francs for any woman pursuing the vocation of the sisterhood without a licence. How depraved must be

the morals of a government, which seeks support from the vices of the people!

*New Theatre.*—The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the New Theatre in Covent-Garden, yesterday, attracted a prodigious number of spectators to the spot. No labour or expense had been spared to accommodate the Masonic Order, the subscribers, and the friends of the proprietors, performers, &c. The avenue for admission was at the Piazza door. Large bodies of civil and military officers were properly stationed, in order to prevent confusion and disorder. A brass box, as usual on similar occasions, filled with coins of the present reign, and a record of the event, were deposited in the stone. A silver trowel, of beautiful workmanship, was presented to the Prince of Wales.

At half past twelve the Duke of Bedford, Earl Moira, and other distinguished members of the Society of Free-Masons, proceeded in grand procession from the Free-Masons Tavern to the scite of the new Theatre.—They were here received by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as Grand Master, and some of his Royal brothers.—Every preparation, requisite both for grandeur and convenience, had been made. The area was surrounded with scaffolding, on which temporary seats had been raised for spectators.—The terrace upon which the Prince descended from his carriage was an erection of wood, matted and covered with green baize.—An awning was raised over his head; and his Royal Highness led the way at the head of the procession to the north-east corner



of the scite of the new building, where the stone was suspended by a strong cord;—it was in weight about half a ton.

The upper part of the stone being raised, the Prince deposited in it a brass box, containing two medals, one of bronze, on which was a portrait of his Royal Highness, and on the reverse, the following inscription :

‘Georgius  
Princeps • Walliarum  
Theatri  
Regiis • Instaurandi • Auspiciis  
In • Hortis • Benedictinis  
Londini  
Fundamenta  
Suâ • Manu • Locavit  
M.DCCC.VIII.’

The other medal was deeply engraved in copper : on one side is inscribed :

‘Under the Auspices of  
His most sacred Majesty George III,  
King of the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Ireland,  
The Foundation-stone of the  
Theatre, Covent-Garden,  
Was laid by his Royal Highness  
George Prince of Wales,  
MD.CCC.VIII.’

On the other side is engraved :

‘Robert Smirke, Architect.’

There were deposited also, gold, silver, and copper British coins of the latest coinage. The cement being then prepared, he adjusted the same with his trowel, and the stone was let down whilst a martial air was played.

The G. M. then tried the works by the plumb, the level, and the square, which were severally presented to him by the J. W. the S. W. and deputy G. M. and having found it correct, he laid the stone by giving three knocks with his mallet.

The corn, wine, and oil, were then presented to the G. M. he scattered and poured them on the stone, and immediately afterwards delivered to the architect the plan of the building, desiring him to complete the structure according to that plan ; wishing success and prosperity to the work and the general object of it.

A *feu de joie* was then fired, and his Royal Highness retired.

The brothers returned to the hall in procession, and the Grand Lodge was closed.

#### FAMILY OF BONAPARTE.

Napoleon .....	Emperor of France and king of Italy.
Joseph Bonaparte .....	King of Spain.
Louis Bonaparte .....	King of Holland.
Jerome Bonaparte .....	King of Westphalia.
Eugene Beauharnois, step-son to Napoleon .....	} Viceroy of Italy.
Infant daughter of ditto ..	
Joachim Murat, brother-in-law to Napoleon ..	} King of Naples.
Cardinal Fesch, uncle to Napoleon .....	
	} Archbp. of Lyons and primate of the confederation of the Rhine.

*Vassal*



*Vassal Kings of Bonaparte's Creation.*

King of Bavaria.  
King of Wurtemberg.  
King of Saxony

*Some of the French Nobility created by Bonaparte.*

C. M. Talleyrand . . . . .	{ Prince of Benevento, in the kingdom of Naples.
Marshal Bernadotte . . . . .	Prince of Ponte Corvo.
—— Berthier . . . . .	Prince of Neufchatel (Switzerland.)
—— Marmont . . . . .	Duke of Ragusa (Dalmatia.)
—— Junot . . . . .	Duke of Abrantes (Portugal.)
—— Savary . . . . .	Duke of Rovigo (Italy, near Venice.)
—— Davoust . . . . .	Duke of Auerstadt.
—— Augereau . . . . .	Duke of Castiglioni (in Italy, near Mantua.)
—— Bessieres . . . . .	Duke of Istria (East of the Venetian Gulf.)
—— Kellerman . . . . .	Duke of Valmy.
—— Arlichis . . . . .	Duke of Padua (near Venice.)
—— Caulincourt . . . . .	Duke of Vicenza (near Venice.)
—— Duroc . . . . .	Duke of Friouli (north of Venice.)
—— Victor . . . . .	Duke of Belluno (near Venice.)
—— Soult . . . . .	Duke of Dalmatia (Gulf of Venice.)
—— Lefebvre . . . . .	Duke of Dantzick.
—— Moncey . . . . .	Duke of Cornegliano (in Italy, near Parma.)
—— Mortier . . . . .	Duke of Treviso (near Venice.)
—— Massena . . . . .	Duke of Rivoli (near Turin.)
—— Ney . . . . .	{ Duke of Elchingen (Germany, circle of Swabia.)
—— Lasnes . . . . .	Duke of Montebello (Italy) killed.
Mons. Cambaceres . . . . .	Duke of Parma (Italy.)
—— Lebrun . . . . .	Duke of Placenza (Italy.)
—— Lacul . . . . .	Count Sessac.
—— Clark . . . . .	Count Huenberg.

SUPPLIES SENT TO SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Sent since the 1st of May, 1808.  
Pieces of cannon . . 98 and 31,600 rounds of ammunition.  
Howitzers . . . . 38, and 7,200 do.  
Carronades . . . . 90, and 4,000 do.  
Musquets . . . . . 200,177  
Rifles . . . . . 200  
Swords . . . . . 61,391

Pikes . . . . . 79,000  
Infantry accoutrement—sets 39,000  
Ball cartridges . . . . 23,477,955  
Lead balls . . . . . 6,060,000  
Whole barrels of powder . . 15,400  
Specie . . . . . £ 1,931,903  
Bills of exchange negotiated 200,484  
Camp equipage . . . . . 10,000  
Tents . . . . . 40,000  
Linen—yards . . . . . 118,000  
Cloth



Cloth—do.	125,000
Calico—do.	82,000
Serge—pieces	6,485
Cloth—do.	4,016
Great coats	50,000
Suits of clothing	92,000
Shirts	35,000
Shoes	96,000
Shoe soles	15,000
Calico—pieces	22,212
&c. &c. &c.	

Canteens	50,000
Haversacks	54,000
Hats and caps	16,000
Pouches and belts	240,000
Pieces sheeting	762

On their passage.

Cloth—Pieces	238
Shirts	4,100
Pouches	47,000
Shoes	78,000
Shoe soles	35,000
Boots	8,100

To be shipped as soon as received from contractors.

Boots	28,400
Shoes	233,400
Suits	100
Pouches	150,150
Cloth—yards	125,000

*Surat, June 30.*—Yesterday a Suttee, or ceremony of a Brahmin woman burning herself with the body of her deceased husband, took place at Phooltarah, a village about two miles from Surat, on the banks of the Taptie. I went there very early, and arrived at the spot long before any preparations were made for the approaching solemnity. At length twelve slight poles were fixed as uprights in the ground, round which a wall of Jewarrie stalks was placed, as was a roof also of the same stalk, forming a shed of six or seven feet square, and about six feet high, with a small door-way facing the river. A platform or

bed was then formed of billets of wood, six feet long, and between two and three feet wide, and two feet high. This was the funeral pile. In a short time after, the body of the deceased arrived, preceded by tomtome, and followed by the Suttee, surrounded by Brahmins, and attended by her son, a youth of about 18 years. The deceased was an old man with grey hairs; the woman appeared about forty, and was very stout. She sat down before the door of the pile, and after performing a few ceremonies, she attended the body of her husband to the river, where she performed various ablutions. The Brahmins all this time, as well as at her first arrival at the pile, prostrated themselves at her feet, as to a superior being. At her return from the river, she sat down near the opening of the pile, and the body of her husband was placed beside her. The body was then uncovered, on which she, with one of the most emphatic expressive smiles I ever saw, bowed her head towards his face, and said in a mild tone of voice, in the Moorish language, "Ah, my husband!" Her look to me indicated more; as though she would have said—Never mind, my husband, we shall not be long separated. The body of the deceased was then carried into the inclosure, and placed lengthways on the funeral pile. She then went through various mysteries and ceremonies too intricate for me to understand; but, among others, she poured ghee several times on the sacred fire which was placed before her, when her son took some of the ashes and put them in her mouth, which she swallowed. She then drank three separate times of conse-



consecrated water. On returning the loote to one of the officiating Brahmins, he found a little left, which he swallowed with great avidity; she then received a few rupees at two different times from her son, and presented them as offerings to the priests. Three female relations were then allowed to approach her; they threw themselves at her feet, and seemed imploring for something; she touched all their foreheads, and gave each some grass, rice, and flour, and they departed. I must not omit mentioning that blades of grass were invariably used even in the most trifling ceremonies.

She was then decorated with a necklace of camphire, and bracelets of the same—as also a wreath forming a turban, indicative of her throwing off the nature of womanhood, and assuming that of the man; all these mysteries being concluded, she arose and prepared to walk round the pile seven times. The first round two Brahmins laid hold of her to support her; she, in an audible voice, declined their assistance, and said she could walk alone; and indeed the oftener she went round, her step appeared the more firm and determined. This ceremony being completed, she entered the inclosure, and seated herself on the pile in an upright posture, and placed the head of her deceased husband in her lap. Ghee, in large quantities, had been previously poured on her head and garments; pieces of camphire, cow-dung, plaintain-grass, rice, flour, &c. were then strewed over the body of the dead man. Billets of wood were then placed by the officiating Brahmins in a pyramidical form around her, and a few bundles of very dry brush wood

were placed at the top near her head; the sacred fire was then given by one of the Brahmins to her son, who presented it to his mother. The head Brahmin remained in conversation with her for a quarter of an hour, during which period she held the light in her hand; a leaf of the shaster was also carried in, and as the Brahmin did not bring it out again, I suppose that this was also placed on the pile. The Brahmin then took leave of her, and when he came to the door (as if anxious that an European should be a witness of her setting fire to the pile with her own hands), he beckoned me to approach, when immediately I saw her bow her head on that of her husband, and on raising it, set fire to the brush wood above her. It did not burn as quick as was expected, during which time she sat as composed as if she had no interest in the affair. The Brahmins close to me seeing this, threw some fire on the pile, and in two seconds the whole was a complete conflagration. While the bodies were burning, the Brahmins kept dancing round the funeral pile with enthusiasm and apparent satisfaction.

The officiating Brahmins, so far from opposing my approach, appeared anxious that I should see the whole minutely, that I might relate that every thing had been conducted without deceit or persuasion. I accordingly took my station at the angle post at the door, where I remained the whole time; the Suttee at not more than three feet distance from me. She appeared so totally absorbed in her prayers, and performing the necessary ceremonies, and in conversation with her son, that she paid not



the smallest attention to any thing round her, excepting once, when she waved her hand to me not to advance nearer. During the whole ceremony, which lasted considerably more than an hour (for I was too much interested to look at my watch), she was as firm and collected, and perhaps more so, than most of the bye-standers. I never took my eyes off her the whole time, and dare assert that not the smallest degree of compulsion was used.

8. The grand bas-relief which adorns the pediments of the colonnade of the Louvre, at Paris, has been recently exposed to view. It is described as being the most magnificent piece of modern sculpture to be seen. It is 74 feet long by 14 broad, without including the cornices. It represents the Muses celebrating the glory of Napoleon, as protector of the arts, and to whom France is indebted for the finishing of the Louvre, so vainly wished for by the nation, and by ten sovereigns, for nearly three centuries.

A large picture of King Charles I. on horseback, which has for a long time hung disregarded in the Hall of the Middle Temple, having lately been cleaned, is declared by a connoisseur to be a very fine original by Vandyck; and it is conjectured, that as James II. was a member of the Middle Temple, he was the donor of this valuable painting to the Society.

12. *Cambridge*.—The subject of the Seatonian Prize Poem for the present year is, *The Conquest of Canaan*.—The Hulsean Prize is this year adjudged to Mr. J. C. Hobhouse, B. A. of Trinity College, for his essay, *on the Origin and Intention of Sacrifice*.

15. *Bank Forgery*.—On Friday John Nicholls was indicted for uttering a forged 5l. bank note, with intent to defraud the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. The detail of the necessary evidence occupied the Court the whole morning, but the facts of the case may be detailed in a short compass. On the 20th December last, Vincent Alessi, an Italian, offered a bank note in payment for two bottles of wine, to a person of the name of Taylor, resident in Holborn. The note, on inquiry, turned out a bad one, and Alessi was immediately taken into custody. He then disclosed, that he purchased the note in question from the prisoner Nicholls, who resided at Birmingham, to buy plated goods, to carry with him to Spain; the person with whom he dealt produced a 1l. note, and asked him if he would buy any of those articles, and said he would introduce him to the maker. Accordingly in the evening he was introduced to the prisoner Nicholls, and he bought some notes of him. It was then agreed, if he wanted any more, he was to write for them under the name of candlesticks. He added, that the prisoner had been in town, and sold him the note which he had tendered at his lodgings, at the Lemon Tree in the Haymarket.

In order to confirm the truth of the story, it was settled between the officers and him, that he was to write to the prisoner for a fresh supply, and to invite the prisoner to come to town with them, for which he offered him two guineas as the expence of his journey. He accordingly wrote for 20 candlesticks, No. 5, meaning 5l. notes, and two dozen ditto, No. 1, meaning



ing one pounds. To this letter he received an answer that the prisoner was to be in town on a certain day. It was then further concerted that the officers should be in an adjoining room in waiting, from which they could see through a hole in the partition, and as soon as Alessi had ascertained that the prisoner had got the notes about him he was to put on his hat, as a signal to the officers. The prisoner arrived at the Lemon Tree as appointed, and Alessi met him in the club room. Foy, the officer, and three of his comrades, were planted in the adjoining room. Alessi and the prisoner entered into conversation, and on the appointed signal the officers rushed into the room and seized the prisoner. They secured him, and found 20 five pound notes, 24 of one ditto, and 4 of two, all of which proved to be forged, and from the same plate. The whole of these facts were proved by Alessi, and confirmed by the officers and the other witnesses.

The jury found the prisoner *guilty*.

Alessi was himself indicted, but the Bank offered no evidence against him, for the purpose of making him a witness against the prisoner.

17. Pursuant to a vote of the House of Commons, passed in the last session, a *national vaccine establishment* is now formed, by direction of his Majesty, for the purpose of promoting vaccination throughout the United Kingdom; and is under the management of a board, consisting of the following members:—Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart. President of the Royal College of Physicians in London; Dr. Mayo, Dr. Heberden, Dr. Satterly, and Dr.

Bancroft, Censors of the College. George Chandler, Esq. Master, Robert Keate, Esq. and Sir Charles Blicke, Governors of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Director, Edward Jenner, M. D. F. R. S. Assistant Director, James Moore, Esq. Registrar, Dr. Hervey. Principal Vaccinator, J. C. Carpue, Esq. Vaccinators at the stations: Charles R. Aikin, Thomas Halls, Richard Lane, Edward Leese, S. Sawrey, and J. P. Vincent, Esqrs. Secretary, Charles Murray, Esq.

The house of the establishment is at No. 21, Leicester-square.

18. *Scotland.—Earthquake.*—On this day twelvemonth was felt, at Dunning, in Perthshire, about two o'clock A. M. a shock of an earthquake. Mr. Peter Martin, surgeon, in Dunning, gives the following account of it:—He was coming home at the time on horseback, when his attention was suddenly attracted by a seemingly subterraneous noise, and his horse immediately stopping, he perceived the sound to proceed from the north-west. After continuing for about the space of half a minute, it became louder and louder, and apparently nearer, when, all on a sudden, the earth gave a perpendicular heave, and, with a tremulous waving motion, seemed to roll or move in a south-east direction. The noise was greater during the shock than before it, and for some seconds after it was so loud, that it made the circumjacent mountains re-echo with the sound; after which, in the course of about half a minute, it gradually died away. At this time, the atmosphere was calm, dense, and cloudy, and for some hours before and after there was not the least motion in the air. Fahrenheit's



heit's thermometer, when examined, about half an hour after the shock, indicated a temperature of 15 degrees below the freezing point of water. The preceding day was calm and cloudy; thermometer, eight A. M. 14. eight P. M. 13. The morning of the 18th was calm and cloudy, but the day broke up to sun-shine; thermometer, eight A. M. 19. eight P. M. 16. This was a greater shock than that felt at the same place on the 9th of September, about six A. M. several years ago, and had it been succeeded by another equally violent, it must have damaged the houses, but fortunately we have heard of no harm being done.

22. *Fire at St. James's Palace.*---

About half after two this morning a fire broke out in the apartments of the Duke of Cambridge, at St. James's Palace, which raged with great fury for some time. The centinels immediately gave the alarm, and as soon as possible engines arrived from all quarters. At first there was a great difficulty in procuring water, but the pipes were extended to the canal in the Park, and it was then obtained in abundance. It was however impossible, for some time, to check the rage of the devouring element, and the whole interior of the south-east angle, fronting Marlborough-house, and extending to the first southern turret, including the turret, was entirely destroyed. The walls and chimnies are standing, and exhibit a mere shell. The Duke was in bed at the time when the alarm was given, but happily escaped from all danger. The property consumed belonged to the Duke, and consisted chiefly of curious armour, valuable cabinet pic-

tures, rarities, &c. of which hardly any thing has been saved. Considerable part of the furniture was speedily removed into the Palace Garden.

The flames were checked when they reached the southern turret.

Nothing of the fire can be seen from Pall-Mall, or St. James's-street.

Water was also sufficiently supplied from the plugs on the western side of the Palace, but the most convenient resource, on account of the direction which the fire took, was derived from the canal.

The Horse Guards paraded on both sides of the Palace, in order to keep off the crowd, which assembled in vast numbers, but no disturbance or confusion happened; and, much as we regret the event, it is a pleasure for us to say, that the consequences are much better than there was reason to apprehend from the place where the fire broke out, the time at which it happened, and the difficulty of procuring water.

Part of the royal armoury is destroyed; but the contents were in a great degree removed in due time.

It has been reported that one of the Maids of Honour fell a victim to suffocation, and that a female domestic was burnt to death; but we have reason to believe that this report was without foundation, as the alarm was given by the centinels the moment that the fire made its appearance, and though its progress was rapid before the engines arrived, yet there was full time for the inhabitants of the Palace to save themselves, though not to remove the property.

23. The reality of the existence of the Great Sea Snake, described,



described, above fifty years ago, by Pontoppidan, Bishop of Bergen, in his History of Norway, and hitherto deemed fabulous, is now fully established. It has been named *Halsydrus Pontoppidani*, or Sea-Snake of Pontoppidan. The head, a fin, the collar-bone, and five feet of the back-bone, are expected by the first ship from Orkney, these valuable remains having, with much propriety, been presented to the University Museum at Edinburgh, by Gilbert Meason, Esq. on whose property in Stronsa the animal was cast.

## FEBRUARY.

1. *Cambridge*.—The late Rev. John Hulse's premiums will this year be given for the best dissertation "On the Advantage of Difficulties in Religion; and an Attempt to shew the good Effects which result from the proofs of Revelation being of a probable, rather than of a demonstrative kind."

In excavating the reservoir for the Colchester water-works, some vestiges of Roman baths were lately found. Since that period, in proceeding with the works, the workmen fell in with a quantity of Roman pavement, and, what is extraordinary, beneath that some oak framing, almost perfectly sound, although it must have laid there above a thousand years. By inspection, it appears that it had been previously charred, as the crust was on it when first dug up. It is therefore evident, that charring of timber, to make it last underground, was known to the Romans. Amidst some fragments of porcelain found, was one vessel of most excellent

workmanship and classical taste, the outside of which was highly embossed with basso relievo, divided into different departments, in two of which were Diana and Faunus, on pedestals facing each other. Diana, in her left hand, holds a boy, and in the right the two forefeet of a leveret, standing in an upright posture against her. The attitude of Faunus is nearly that of the antique Antinous; a wreath of a mask and plumes of feathers hang between the two. In two other departments are the stags at bay with the dogs. Between this department, and the before-described, is a long upright one, with a tripod in the centre, and an eagle hovering over the flame, with a plume of feathers erect on its back. In two other departments are Cupid sacrificing, in the act of pouring something from a vessel on the altar; round the border of this department is studded with imitations of diadems; in two other departments are represented the great wild bear passant, capitally executed; towards the cornice, or towards the upper edge or opening of the vessel, is a rich canopy, ornamented all round; on the bottom and sides of the departments are plumes of feathers studded with ornaments like mace. It is nearly the colour of dark cornelian, has been hardened by fire, and is almost as dense as flint. Most of the coins dug up are of Clăudius, Căsar Augustus, and others of the Emperor Trajanus, Antoninus Pius, and Divus Antoninus, and many others hardly distinguishable from their state of corrosion; also silver gilt instruments used in the sacrifices.

23. *Court of King's Bench*.—The King v. Beaumont. — This was



was an information filed against the defendant by his Majesty's Attorney-General, for publishing, in a weekly newspaper, called the *British Guardian*, a gross and scandalous libel upon his Majesty's Government, tending to vilify the same, and to bring it into hatred and contempt. The libel was contained in a letter to the King, which inferred that his Majesty governed the country by unconstitutional means; that he had a private Cabinet, and that his Councils were directed by a secret junto, no way responsible for the advice they gave.

The publication being proved, and the libel read,

Mr. Clifford addressed the jury in behalf of the defendant, and contended, that the author of the letter in question had said nothing more than what the late Lord Chatham had done in the House of Lords, and what Mr. Burke had again and again repeated in his works, namely, that there was an unconstitutional influence behind the Throne, which swayed his Majesty's councils. It was never dreamt of, in their days, to say they were libellers; and he trusted the jury would not, by their verdict, extend the law of libels. Every individual had the right of fair political discussion, and the author had done no more. The Learned Counsel also cited the speech of Alderman Beckford to his Majesty, which breathed the same sentiments, he said, as those contained in the letter in question, and contended, that if the freedom of discussion was to be thus trammelled, the liberty of the press would soon become a non-entity.

Lord Ellenborough said, it was

nothing to the jury whether Lord Chatham, in his speech in the House of Lords, or Mr. Burke, in his writings, had advanced doctrines similar to those promulgated in the letter under discussion. The question was, whether the publication, looking to its entire contents, was, or was not, libellous, and written with an intention to vilify and degrade his Majesty's Government? His Lordship then commented upon the several passages deemed to be libellous, and left the jury to draw their own conclusion.

The jury immediately found the defendant *guilty*.

*The King v. Horseman*.—This was also an information for a libel, tending to degrade and vilify his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and to bring him into hatred and contempt; inferring that his Royal Highness had been guilty of a criminal offence, for which he was liable to be brought to public justice and punished. The libel was contained in the following hand-bill, stuck up in various parts of the town:

“His Royal Highness the Duke of  
Sussex!!

“Twenty Guineas Reward!!

“Whereas, in the night of the 23d inst. a hand-bill, signed “A Yorkshireman,” was stuck up in several places, without a printer's name affixed to it: Now, as I suspect the Duke of Sussex to be the author, or privy to it, whoever will give information, so that he may be acquitted of that suspicion, or the real offender brought to justice, shall receive from me the above reward, at No. 8, Hanway-street.

“THOMAS HAGUE.

“\* \* \* W. Horseman informs the public, that notwithstanding such hand-



hand-bill is meant to deter him from selling "An Englishman's Letter to his Majesty, and Traits of all the Royal Dukes," in which the morals of the Duke of Sussex are explained, yet new editions are now selling of that work. Also Mr. Hague's Letter to the Duke of York, upon the appointment of Sir Hew Dalrymple."

The above being read, and Mr. Horseman proved to be the publisher, residing at No. 8, Hanway-street,

Mr. Adolphus made an ingenious defence. He admitted Mr. Hague's insolence and impudence in the fullest latitude, in thus placarding his Royal Highness, but he insisted that it would not bear out the charge upon the record to the extent; that it inferred that his Royal Highness had been guilty of a criminal offence, for which he was liable to be brought to public justice, and punished. The offence imputed was, the publishing a hand-bill without the printer's name,—now the privity of his Royal Highness would not have subjected him to punishment.

Lord Ellenborough.—Admitting your argument, that the Duke could not be brought to justice, yet, under the copulative placed upon the record, surely the past, if necessary, may be dropt. Can you shew that the hand-bill was not calculated to defame and vilify his Royal Highness, and to bring him into hatred and contempt?

Mr. Adolphus said he certainly should bow to the authority of the Court, and then called the attention of the jury to the fact that Hague was the author of the bill, and that Horseman was the mere publisher; and concluded by press-

ing upon their consideration, that to discuss the morals of an individual, however elevated his condition, was not criminal, provided it was done with temperance and truth.

The Attorney-General replied, that it was impossible a jury could wink so hard, as not to see the libellous tendency of the hand-bill in question, and the injury it was calculated to do to his Royal Highness's character. He observed, that the gradation in society must be kept up, and that if one was attacked, the whole were disturbed, and the fabric endangered.

Lord Ellenborough told the jury to strike out the name of the Duke of Sussex from the hand-bill, and substitute their own, and then ask if they would not feel themselves libelled, to be advertised, with 20 guineas reward, in the same way as if they had been suspected of breaking open a house? His Lordship then commented on the expressions in the hand-bill, and called upon the jury to give the Duke the same measure of justice they would expect for themselves under similar circumstances.

The jury instantly found the defendant *guilty*.

24. *Drury-lane Theatre consumed by Fire*.—On Friday night this superb edifice was burnt to the ground. We learn that about five minutes past 11 o'clock at night, the flames burst out at the lobby windows of the front in Brydges street, while volumes of smoke were seen issuing from every part of the theatre. In less than a quarter of an hour it spread into one unbroken flame over the whole of the immense pile, extending from Brydges-street to Drury-lane; so that the pillar of fire



fire was not less than 450 feet in breadth. It is impossible for the mind to conceive any thing more magnificent than the spectacle, if the idea of the horror and ruin which it brought on the sufferers could have been separated from the sublimity of the object. In about thirty minutes after its commencement the Apollo on the top fell into the Pit, and soon after the whole of the roof fell.

The reservoir of water on the top, which our readers will recollect formed with the iron curtain the topic of reliance for security in the Prologue with which the new theatre was opened, was like a mere bucket-full to the volume of fire on which it fell, and had no visible effect in damping it. Any attempt to go near the flames was totally impracticable—and all that was saved from ruin was done by the presence of mind and activity of Mr. Kent, a literary Gentleman, who was the first to discover the flames. He hurried to the door and gave the alarm. Mr Powell, the Prompter, and Mr. Johnston, the Mechanist, with the two watchmen and Mr. Kent, were the only persons present, for being a Friday in Lent, there had been no play nor rehearsal. They ascertained that the fire broke out in the hall, under the lobby at the Brydges-street entry, which has been shut up this season, and where some plumbers had been at work.

It was, when Mr. Kent broke in, confined to that spot; and they made an effectual attempt to get out the theatre engine, and play on it from their reservoir; but in ten or twelve minutes it run up the front boxes and spread like kindled wax. This may be accounted for from the body of air which so large a hollow

afforded, and also to the circumstance of the whole being a wooden case. For our Readers will recollect that the immense pile was constructed of timber, and that the frame stood for many months, exhibiting a very fine carcase of carpenter's work before the ribs were filled in with bricks. Timber was then under 3l. per load, and the architect thought that this wooden frame would contribute to the propagation of sound. It did not, perhaps, perfectly succeed in this respect, but it certainly contributed to the conflagration. Finding it impossible to prevent the destruction of the building, the Gentleman saved the books from the room called the Treasury, and they were carried safely to Mr. Kent's house, in Tavistock-street. The only other article saved was a bureau, in Mrs. Jordan's room. Mr. Kent broke the pannels of the door, and brought out the bureau. All further endeavours were rendered impossible, by the excess of heat.

About a quarter before twelve, a body of horse-guards, and foot-guards, and volunteers came to the place, and engines reached the spot from every quarter—but they could do nothing. Part of the wall next to Vinegar-yard fell down, and the house of Mrs. Mac Beath, the fruiterer, caught fire.—The night was uncommonly fine, and the body of flame spread such a mass of light over the metropolis, that every surrounding object glittered with the brightness of gold. Mr. Sheridan was in the House of Commons assisting in the important discussion on Mr. Ponsonby's motion. The House was illuminated by the blaze of light. And the interest universally taken in the circumstance interrupted



terrputed the debate. A motion was made to adjourn, but Mr. Sheridan said, with great calmness, "that whatever might be the extent of the private "calamity, he hoped it would not interfere with the public business of the country:" he then left the house and the discussion proceeded. Many of his friends accompanied him to the scene, but it was too late for any effort to be made; and all that the engines could effect was to save the houses in Vinegar yard, and Russell-street, the roofs of which had caught fire, from being burnt down.

About half past twelve parts of the outward walls, both in Russel-street, and Vinegar-yard, fell down, and completely blocked up the passage, but fortunately no lives were lost.

All day yesterday great quantities of smoke were issuing from the ruins, here and there small quantities of fire were burning, and some of the engines were occasionally playing. The wall fronting Brydges-street is standing up in the centre as high as the top of the grand box lobby, and each end of that wall is standing still higher; but the walls on each side the theatre, namely, next Little Russel-street and Vinegar-yard, those beautiful stone walls, with the collonade, &c. are completely down. The houses in Little Russell-street, facing the theatre, are dreadfully scared and whitened; some of them had been on fire in the window frames, and all the windows are broken by the heat. In Vinegar yard two or three small houses close to the Box Door, are burnt, gutted with the fire, but the walls are not down.

Had not the wall in Little Russell-street fallen inwards on the

theatre, it must have crushed the opposite houses. That street is, notwithstanding, filled up across to the opposite pavement with the ruins, chiefly of the fragments of the broken colonnade, the stone pillars being broken into small pieces, and with the stone-works and half burnt beams of timber. The fire burnt fully up to Drury lane, to which a part of the building, made into a scene painting room we believe, had been lately carried. The walls in Drury-lane are standing, but in all quarters the wood work and inside of the theatre are completely down. The baker's shop closely adjoining the building of the theatre, in Drury-lane, does not appear to have been in the least damaged, not even disturbed! it is open and at business as if nothing had happened.

The theatre was insured, but not for a sum near its value, or with which it can be rebuilt. The insurance is in the Imperial, the British, the Globe, the Hope, and the Eagle. Since the destruction of Covent Garden, the insurance in the new offices has been increased. The loss to the performers is most serious. They have lost every thing—and, in one day, several hundred persons are thrown out of bread. There is no place in town to which they can have resort as a temporary theatre, unless they were to divide themselves into several parties, and act at the minor theatres, in the Lyceum, Catharine-street, the Royalty, &c.

27. The proprietors of Drury-lane Theatre held a meeting on Monday at the house of Mr. Graham, in order to hear the testimony of such persons as could give any information respecting the situation in which the fire broke out, and what was the probable cause of it.

Several



Several persons were examined; and from their depositions it was tolerably conclusive, that the flames originated in the coffee-room on the first tier, immediately over the grand coffee-room, and under the two shilling gallery. This is the belief of the proprietors. It also appeared that a person of the name of Phillips, who resides in Cross-court, Russel-court, gave the first alarm at the stage-door, and after that he left the Theatre to alarm his own family, and again returned, and in the intermediate time three other persons arrived. With respect to the cause of the fire, it is all yet surmise. The woman who has been spoken of as running about the stage in a frantic manner, turns out to be Mrs. Scott, the actress, who resides within a door or two of the Theatre, and whose distress of mind may be easily accounted for.

The catastrophe which has befallen this magnificent pile now begins to excite some emotions of a different nature from those of keen regret and strong surprise, which it at first created in every bosom. The public should be cautious in giving credence to some fables which are in circulation. We have now to call their attention to one or two facts, which are as certain as they are important. It has been reported, that an anonymous letter had been received by an illustrious Personage, immediately after the fire in St. James's Palace, intimating, "that his Royal Highness would shortly hear of the destruction of other public buildings in the same manner." Such a letter, we can now aver with confidence, was *actually* received by the High Personage to whom it was so

strangely addressed. It did not at first engage any particular attention; but, on learning the calamitous event of Friday night, his Royal Highness sent for Mr. Sheridan, and, after expressing the kindest sympathy in his great and unexpected loss, communicated to that gentleman the contents of this letter, which had been received some weeks before.

With respect to this mysterious letter, whether it was meant as an effusion of malice, gratified in some degree, but not yet satiated; or whether it was intended as a menace, calculated for the attainment of some object as yet unspecified, it must be fruitless at the present moment to enquire. We should not probably have laid so much stress on an *anonymous scroll*, if it were not coupled with another singular and authenticated occurrence, which our readers will peruse, as we heard it, with sensations of horror and indignation. It is positively stated that, about five weeks since, a train of gunpowder was discovered at the King's Theatre, disposed evidently for a mischievous purpose. This circumstance has been hitherto concealed through motives of prudence. We now give it publicity from motives equally justifiable. We think that men who have embarked a large property in such concerns, are certainly entitled to public protection. If such a plan of wide-spreading mischief be afloat, and there is certainly some evidence of that fact, the vigilance and caution of individuals are of no avail. A parliamentary reward should be offered, after due inquiry, for the detection of the offenders and their accomplices.



*General recapitulation of the losses sustained by the French armies since the time they entered Portugal and Spain. [The calculation rests on known public data; and whoever will take the trouble to examine them, will find that the number is rather lessened than exaggerated.]*

First Campaign.—Carried off by diseases in Madrid, Burgos, Biscay, Navarre, &c. 11,000. In Catalonia, 8,000. In Saragossa they lost in various actions, and during the first siege, 10,000. In Valencia and La Mancha, 8,000. Killed and taken prisoners in Andalusia, including the French squadron at Cadiz, 30,000. Hanged, deserted, and destroyed, by the fury of the people and private individuals, 11,000. Killed by the English in Portugal, and carried off by disease, 8,000. Killed in the different actions in Old Castile, 6,000.

Second Campaign.—Lost in several actions with the army of the centre, including that of Lerin, 3,000. On the 23d November, in Tudela, 6,000. During the long siege of Saragossa, and in various actions with the Arragonese, including deserters, 17,000. In the different actions in Catalonia, 10,000. Killed and wounded by Blake's army in Biscay, and in the mountains of St. Andero, 10,000. Killed and wounded in Burgos, by the army of Estremadura, 1,000. In Sepulveda, Somosierra, and Madrid, 7,000. In Estremadura, in the action of Velez, and in several engagements in La Mancha, 4,000. Lost on their march from Madrid to Corunna, including the actions with the English in Castile and Galicia, 10,000. Carried off by the disease and the dagger in

their different armies, 70,000.—Total, 163,000.—*Gent. Mag.*

## MARCH.

1. On excavating the earth to obtain a firm foundation for the new Court-houses for the county of Northumberland, where the half-moon battery in Newcastle formerly stood, a variety of curious discoveries have been made. After the excavation of about thirty feet of solid earth, the entrance to an ancient well has been found, which will probably, when dug, develop some remains of antiquity. Within a few yards of this well, two pair of horns, resembling those of a stag, but much larger, along with the jaw-bones of the animal, were dug out. In the opinion of an eminent natural historian, these bones and horns must have belonged to an animal similar in size and species to the American elk. In several other parts which have been dug, about forty-six feet from the top of the mount, a number of large beams of solid oak, perfectly sound, lying in a variety of directions, as if to support the superincumbent bank, have been also discovered, all of which afford sufficient grounds to believe, that the whole mount was a work of the Romans, for the purpose of forming a commanding station, when in this country.

A flight of sea eagles have lately visited the coast near Hastings. The very uncommon appearance of these birds on the southern coast has excited very great curiosity. Many of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood have endeavoured to shoot them, from an apprehension



sion of danger to their lambs in the spring, if they should remain there; but hitherto without success. They have already made destruction among the rabbits on the warren, near the signal station.

In digging for peat, near Newbury, great numbers of trees are frequently found at various depths. The nearer they lie to the surface, the less sound is the wood. These trees are generally oaks, alders, willows, and firs, besides some others not easily ascertained. No acorns are found in the peat, but many cones of the fir-tree and nutshells are dug out. A great number of horns, heads, and bones, of several kinds of deer, the horns of the antelope, the heads and the tusks of boars, the heads of beavers, and other animals, are also occasionally discovered. An urn of a light-brown colour, and large enough to contain above a gallon, was found at four feet from the surface. It was unfortunately injured by the spade, and was brought up in small pieces. No coins have been discovered. The ground in which the peat is found is meadow land, and consists chiefly of a whitish kind of earth. The top of the true peat is met with at various depths, from one foot to eight feet below the surfaces; and the depth of the peat also various, from one foot to eight or nine feet. The ground below it is very uneven, and generally gravel.

3. *Fire at Christ Church, Oxford.*—A fire was discovered, about a quarter before 12 this night, in the apartments of Mr. Brown (a student of Christ Church, son of Edward Brown, esq. of Stamford), supposed to have been occasioned by some sparks communicating to a beam which ran across the chimney.

The conflagration was most alarming; and the rapidity with which it spread may be easily conceived, when the amazing quantity of woodwork which this immense pile contains is remembered. Although the alarm was immediately given, the flames for a long-time resisted the united efforts of the engines of Christ Church, of the different colleges, and of the city; consuming the greater part of the southwest angle, and threatening with destruction that magnificent structure the Hall. Fortunately, however, the night was calm, and there was a plentiful supply of water, or this splendid room must inevitably have fallen. The apartments destroyed are those of Dr. White, regius professor of Hebrew, of Messrs. Brown, James, senior, Kiough, and Meyler. Those of Lord Apsley, Messrs. Cleaver, Smelt, James, junior, Glasse, Roe, Buxton, and Finch, are partially injured. The loss is estimated at 12,000*l*. The exertions of the gentlemen of the University, as well as the inhabitants, were very great; owing to which the fire was got under before seven o'clock in the morning. Only one accident occurred; which was to Mr. Smyth, of Oriel, who dislocated his knee in an attempt to force open a door, and whose activity and exertions, previous to this circumstance, were conspicuous in the highest degree. Part only of Dr. White's very valuable books and MSS. have been saved.

11. *Wonderful Production of Nature, now exhibiting at the house of Mr. Polley, No. 17, New Bond-street.*—Miss Bessie, a young lady who was born deficient of arms and legs—she is of a comely appearance, 24 years of age, and only



only 37 inches high; she displays a great genius, and is an admirer of the fine arts; and what renders her so worthy of the public notice is, the industrious and astonishing means she has invented and practised in obtaining the use of the needle, scissars, pen, pencil, &c. wherein she is extremely adroit; she can cut out and make any part of her own clothes, sews extremely neat, and in a most wonderful manner; writes well, draws landscapes, paints miniatures, and many wonderful things; all of which she performs principally with her mouth.

A singular instance of the instability of human grandeur, was stated in a speech by Mr. Whitbread. The identical service of plate which Mrs. Clarke purchased from Birkett, the pawn-broker, originally belonged to a prince of the unfortunate family of Bourbon. What a memento must it have been to the Duke of York, to trace the household plate, with the arms of the Royal Family of Bourbon, to the shop of a pawn-broker, and afterwards to Mrs. Clarke's! Trace the history of France (says Mr. Whitbread) from the luxurious days of the La Vallieres and Montespons, down to those of the Pompadours and De Barres, and you would see the destruction and overthrow of the monarchy, which drove the illustrious branches of the Bourbon family into foreign exile; originating in private vice, and finally completed by the deceitful and unbounded extravagance of those intrusted with public confidence and official situation. One cannot help thinking, said the Honourable Gentleman, that the circumstance of the Duke de Berri's plate having been disposed of this way, and then

coming into the possession of the Duke of York, must have occasioned some sensations in the bosom of his Royal Highness which could not fail to rouse his feelings for the fate of that unfortunate family, and which would cause him inwardly to ejaculate—"I thank God for the warning which this magnificent monument of the instability of greatness holds up to my view, and I will use it as a beacon to guard against the danger of those rocks on which others, once as great and powerful as I am now, have been so unexpectedly wrecked and ruined."

26. *Burlington-House*.—Yesterday the lease of this estate, granted upwards of a century since, by one of the ancestors of Mr. Pollen, to the Burlington family, expired. Part of the estate was formerly called the Ten Acres Field, and it included a field, the mansion, garden, and out-buildings, which were very extensive. In the year 1708, the estate was in the occupation of Richard, Earl of Burlington, and his assigns; and the Duke of Devonshire, as the heir of the Earl of Burlington, is the present receiver of the rents. By the expiration of the lease the Duke loses 14,000*l.* a year. We understand that the rents of the out-buildings will be raised, and the present mansion, built by the Earl of Burlington, will be pulled down. A crescent is to be built on the site, and it will be called Hartington-place, in honour of the Marquis of Hartington, who will have a house erected in the centre, fit for his reception.

28. Upon opening the body of a man who lately died in Guy's hospital, eighteen or nineteen large



clasp-knives, such as are used by sailors, were found in the stomach and intestines. The hafts of them were entirely decomposed, and the iron work partly so. The account given by himself was, that several years ago he had swallowed six of his messmates' knives, in a drunken frolic; and that feeling no immediate bad consequences, he had on two subsequent occasions, swallowed twelve or thirteen more. For these two years past he had applied, at frequent intervals, for admission into various hospitals, and he was uniformly dismissed as an impostor, upon telling his strange story. He was received into Guy's hospital only a few weeks ago, after having been stripped and minutely examined by Dr. Babington and Mr. Astley Cooper.

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#### APRIL.

2. *Bath Credulity.*—The following extract of a letter from Bath, dated April 2, describes some of the effects produced by the panic lately excited there:—“A report was circulated, that a certain infallible prophet, or prophetess, had predicted that an earthquake would be severely felt in Bath on Good Friday; and that Mount Beacon and Beechen Cliff, two immense hills, situated at the northern and southern extremities of the town, should meet, and of course destroy and swallow up houses, inhabitants, pigs, and poultry. Some affirmed that Joanna Southcott was the predictor; others that it was a prophet now living at Midford, near this city, who was with Noah in the ark, and has been travelling over various parts of the

world ever since; but the greater part affixed the name of a female fortune-teller residing at Bath. This conjurress, however, denied the charge in the Bath papers. Thus, though they could not positively fix on any specific prophet, yet all agreed there had been such a prediction, and thousands implicitly believed the event would take place. In consequence of this report, hundreds and thousands absolutely quitted Bath; old and young, rich and poor, high and low, soon found out excuses for leaving town so suddenly. Some were obliged to attend a sick relative at a short distance, others had an uncle or aunt dead, while many more were ordered off to Cheltenham or Clifton by their physician: and a few, who, by the bye, had previously ordered their salt fish for Good Friday's dinner in Bath, recollected that they always made it a rule to dine in the country on that day, as the rural scenes tranquillized the mind, and they could behave more devoutly in a calm retired place, than they possibly could in a noisy populous city. It is a truth, that the post-horses belonging to every inn in Bath are completely knocked up by this business. A variety of accounts concerning it have appeared in the Bath papers; but none of them have given the origin of the affair, which was as follows:—Two noted cock-feeders, who live near the before-mentioned famous hills, met by accident some time ago at a public-house, and after much boasting on both sides, a match was made to fight their favourite cocks on Good Friday; but fearing the magistrates might interfere, if it became public, they named their spirited animals after their respective walks,



walks, as they termed it, and in the agreement it was specified accordingly, that *Mount Beacon* should meet *Beechen Cliff*, precisely at twelve o'clock, on Good Friday. This was mentioned with cautions of secrecy to their sporting friends; and at last coming to the ears of some poor credulous beings, who were totally unacquainted with the intended match, they took it in its plain sense, and absolutely believed it to be a fact; and as stories seldom lose by being repeated, each one added what his fears or fancy framed, and swelled the marvellous tale at last into the before-stated prodigious prophecy.—So much for the credulity of the enlightened inhabitants of Bath in the year 1809.”

LANCASTER ASSIZES.

*The Lancashire riot.*—The King against Hanson.—This important trial came on before Sir S. Le Blanc and a special jury, on Wednesday se’nnight. The defendant, Joseph Hanson, Esq. was indicted for having unlawfully encouraged a number of persons to riot.

Serjeant Cockell addressed the jury on the part of the crown. It appeared that the weavers assembled in great numbers on the 24th of May, near Manchester; that the next morning they again assembled, much increased in numbers; that Mr. Starkie, the Boroughreeve, strove to persuade them to disperse, but in vain. In the afternoon they were increased to about 10,000; and the magistrates, preceded by a party of the 4th dragoons, came to the ground, and the riot act was read. About this time the defendant arrived on horseback, attended by his groom; he went up to Captain Trafford (who commanded the dragoons) and asked, might he

speak to the people? Captain T. said, not unless he could persuade them to depart peaceably; but he thought his (the defendant’s) presence would irritate them; and he told him that he would oblige him if he would leave the field. This he did not immediately; but as he rode along, the people huzza’d, and he pulled off his hat, and spoke to them.

The witnesses for the prosecution swore, that they heard him use expressions to the following effect:—“My lads, your cause is good—be firm, and you will succeed.”—“I will support you as far as three thousand pounds will go, and if that will not do, I will go further.” “Nadin and his faction shall not drive you from the field this day.” “I am sorry your bill is lost—My father was a weaver, I am a weaver, and have got my money by your industry, and I am the weaver’s friend.” He afterwards left the field, and rode towards his own house.

To prove this, a serjeant and two corporals of the 4th dragoons, and two constables, were called.

Mr. Raine made a most eloquent speech for the defendant; and said, he should call many respectable witnesses to prove that he, on that day, was constantly advising the people to be peaceable, and retire to their homes. The groom who attended the defendant the whole of the time, said he never heard his master make use of the expressions sworn to by the other witnesses; that when the dragoons drew their swords, his master’s horse becoming restive, he slipped off, walked a little way, and then mounted the groom’s horse, and rode off. Mr. Stennet, Mr. Norris, Mr. C. Satterthwaite,



terthwaite, Mr. Brierley, and a number of others, deposed to the defendant's exhorting the people to refrain from mischief. None of these witnesses had heard him make use of the other expressions ascribed to him.

Serjeant Cockell, in a warm and animated speech of an hour and ten minutes, observed upon the evidence for the defendant, and insisted, that with the exception of the groom's, it corroborated that given by the witnesses for the Crown; as they deposed as to the defendant's conduct and speeches, after he had been heard and seen by the witnesses for the prosecution. He said he had no doubt of what his intentions were. If they were peaceable as they had been represented, why did he not join and assist the magistrates? Instead of which, he addressed the people (although requested not by Captain Trafford), who became more unruly, huzzaing when he spoke, and he returning the compliment.

The jury, after a few minutes consideration, returned a verdict of—*Guilty*.

The defendant will receive his sentence in the Court of King's Bench next term.

3. Remarkable instance of divine reproof for cruelty to animals, which occurred lately at Tuppam.—A man, who had for many years been remarkable for inhumanity and gross cruelty to his horses, had been by frequent blows urging one of those useful animals to perform more than it was able, and almost sinking under his master's ill treatment, it was seized with a spasm on its jaw, and which those around termed a locked jaw, and when they entreated the wretch

to show compassion, he swore violently, and said "he would soon unlock his jaw," and, instead of being softened by the distress of his beast, he attempted to strike him with the heavy end of his whip, but by some accident, instead of the horse, he struck his own face, and was instantly seized with a spasm in his throat and jaws, and in this state he was taken to St. George's Hospital, where he continued in the same condition near a week, when he died. During the time he was in the hospital, he was unable to swallow, and his speech was very inarticulate; but he was frequently in an imperfect manner heard to swear horridly till within a few hours of his death, when, it is supposed, he felt his end approaching, and suddenly, as well as he could speak, said, "Pray! pray!" and made signs to those around him to kneel down; he seemed at that moment to supplicate the mercy, which we hope will be extended to him. Those who were present witnessed a scene which they never can forget.

4. A whale, 75 feet in length and nearly 25 in circumference, was mortally wounded, and driven on shore off the Bligh Sands, below Gravesend, by a pilot named Barnes. It was of the pike-headed species, and weighs upwards of 30 tons. The lord mayor ordered it to be brought in a barge above London-bridge, where it was exhibited at 1s. per head, until an officer from the admiralty claimed it as a droit, and forcibly took possession. The blabber is valued at 150*l*.

*Russia*.—The following affecting circumstance is stated in an article from Petersburg last month:—"Three persons, who had been banished



banished to Siberia—(a country the name alone of which inspires terror throughout all Russia)—were obliged to gain a subsistence by hunting. In this pursuit they were one day led so far as to be unable to regain their road, or to find any vestige of human habitation. Overcome by fatigue, and exhausted by hunger, they were at length reduced to the necessity of casting lots, in order that he upon whom it should fall, might serve to support the lives of the others. To aggravate their distress, these unfortunate persons were a father, his son, and his nephew. This last was the first victim; the father next immolated himself to prolong the life of his only son, who ultimately owed his preservation to a hunter whom chance conducted to the spot. On his return, he related the particulars of this melancholy affair; and the government of Siberia, not daring to punish what was produced by the most urgent necessity alone, has sent the criminal with a representation of the affair to St. Petersburg.”

10. A curious occurrence has taken place. The unfortunate General Dupont, who surrendered with his army to General Castanos, after the battle of Baylen, in Andalusia, has been sentenced by a court martial to be shot. The sentence was executed immediately after it was delivered, by torch light. This unhappy man has been sacrificed to the necessity of showing some respect to the official statements of the French government, concerning the state of Spain last summer. The surrender of Dupont gave the lie to the government assertions, respecting the pretended acquiescence of the Spanish people in the go-

vernment of Joseph. The loss of Dupont's army obliged the *soi-disant* king of Spain to abandon Madrid for nearly six months. These were offences which Bonaparte could not forgive. Policy, likewise, demanded the death of the vanquished general; we mean such policy as Machiavel affected to teach. While the military despot holds the sword of vengeance in one hand, he has sceptres, coronets, and stars in the other. The fate of Dupont may excite a transient sigh in the breast of some old companion in arms, but it will not weaken any arm in the field of battle. It adds only a new motive to the soldier to fight his master's battles to the last moment, whatever they may be.

17. *Ingenious Invention.*—On Tuesday, Lieutenant Brown, of the royal navy, crossed the Thames, and passed through one of the arches of Westminster bridge, in the presence of some thousand spectators, in a canvas batteau, invented by Colonel Brown, of St. Vincent's, for the use of the army, with 30 persons.

This military batteau is made of prepared canvas, so as to be impervious to water.

The batteau is 17 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 3 deep, and when loaded with 30 persons, only draws three inches water. It is capable of conveying 100 soldiers, with their arms, accoutrements, and baggage, across the widest river, provided they lay down, and 50 if sitting.

This batteau weighs only 60lbs. and can be fitted up and taken to pieces in three minutes, so that it forms an easy load for a man on a march.

Two lashed together are capable of



of conveying the heaviest piece of ordnance; and a number connected together form a bridge for the passage of cavalry.

This invention of Colonel Brown's has been highly approved of by the Duke of York, Lord Moira, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Chatham, and Sir A. Wellesley. The colonel, we understand, is fitting up one of his batteau with two 6-pounders, one in the head and the other in the stern.

*State of the Woollen Manufacture, from the 25th of March, 1808, to the 25th of March, 1809.*

NARROW CLOTHS.

Milled this year	144,524	making	5,309,007
Last year	161,816		5,961,253

Decreased	17,192	622,216
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BROAD CLOTHS.

Milled this year	279,859	9,050,970
Last year	262,024	8,422,143

Increase	17,835	628,827
.....		622,246

Total increase in yards 6,581

The increase of 628,827 yards in *broad* cloths, ought to be particularly remarked to those who are not acquainted with the minutiae of the manufacture, as being at least in a *double* proportion to the decrease in the *narrows*. And it thus appears, notwithstanding all the prohibitory decrees of the enemy from without, and the anxious efforts of the enemy at home, to represent us as a "*sinking country*," that our manufactures have, during the last year, *increased* in the aggregate 6,581 yards!!

But there is another consideration, worth the notice of our readers:—In March, 1808, the stock of cloth on hand was very great. The very reverse is now the case; and instead of lamentations we find

cause for exultation, that under the forced and untenable restrictions against our export trade, during the last twelve months, more woollens have been manufactured, and considerably more *sold* than in the last or the preceding year.

*Court of King's Bench.—Right of Gauging in the London Docks, —The City of London v. the London Dock Company.*

This day a trial at bar was had before Lord Ellenborough, Sir Nash Grose, Sir Simon Le Blanc, and Sir John Bailey, to ascertain the right of gauging wines, oils, and other gaugable matters in the London Docks. The city of London claim that right exclusively to themselves, by virtue of a charter granted to them in the 10th year of the reign of Edward IV. which charter the London dock company insist was confined to the city of London, and not co-extensive with the scite on which the London docks are built. The emoluments derived from the exercises of the right contended for now amount to 70,000*l.* annually. At the time of the grant they did not exceed 7000*l.*

The attorney general, who conducted the suit for the city of London (assisted by Mr. Garrow, the recorder, common serjeant, and Messrs. Dampier and Watson), addressed the jury at considerable length. He admitted the words of the charter were *infra civitatum*, and thereby granting the right of gauging all gaugeable matters *within the city*; but he would contend, that by those words the city and its liberties were comprehended, and that the right was not confined within the walls of the city. As a proof of that fact, the lord mayor, who was the city gauger, was obliged



liged to render an account upon oath into the exchequer of the moiety of all forfeitures accruing in the gauging of wine, oil, and all gaugable matters "within the city of London and the liberties thereof." The next question would be, whether the London docks were situated within the liberties of the city of London, and that they were, he said, he should prove by innumerable witnesses. Indeed, the conservency of the river Thames, the right of metage, and the boundaries of the port of London, were all liberties of the city, and extended over and much beyond the place in question. But he should also show that the right contended for had been uniformly exercised for upwards of 300 years on both sides the river, from Blackwall upwards, and that the law and the practice were in his favour.

The documentary evidence was then read, and a host of witnesses were called to prove that the city gauger had uniformly exercised his office on both sides the river Thames, as low as Blackwall, and near and about the spot in question, from time immemorial.

The defence was conducted by Mr. Serjeant Best, assisted by Messrs. Park, Holroyd, and Bosanquet. The learned serjeant, in his speech to the jury, said, the attorney-general had left him very little to contend against, as it was a mere question as to the construction of the charter. The words of that charter were to exercise the right of gauging all wine, oil, &c. *within the city*; now if that was considered, even as applying and extending to the *liberties* of the city, it must mean to those defined liberties without the bars, and not be

considered as wandering from one extremity of the river Thames to the other. The fact was, that that right was originally exercised only on the quays and wharfs within the city, but the trade and commerce of the country increasing, and the population growing more numerous, other quays and wharfs were erected, and for convenience sake the city gauger was employed by the merchant; and hence he wandered on both sides the river Thames in all directions; but he did not do that of his own right, or by virtue of the charter in question. The learned serjeant concluded by observing, that the London docks were not within the defined liberties of the city of London, and consequently the company had a right to employ their own gauger.

Lord Ellenborough agreed with the learned serjeant, that it was a question of construction as to the words in the charter, and he was of opinion they did not bear the meaning put upon them by the attorney-general, or that the right was co-extensive with the London docks.

The jury found a verdict for the defendant, and the city of London lose the right contended for.

26. *Court of King's Bench.*—*The king v. Alexander Davison, esq.*—The defendant was brought up, and received the sentence of the court.

Mr. Justice Grose, in passing it, read the particulars of the information, and commented upon the facts which were proved at the trial. He told the defendant, that he, being employed to check the persons who supplied stores for government, had secretly become himself one of those suppliers over whom he was to



to be a check. By this means he was paid for checking what it was his interest not to check. But he had secretly become this supplier; he had obtained the money he had gained by this abuse of his trust through the help of false vouchers; which, if they amounted not to a forgery, approached very near to the crime of obtaining money under false pretences. The defendant had, the learned judge remarked, paid into the exchequer the sum of 18,882*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* as the commission which he had thus obtained upon the goods he himself supplied; and this was some atonement for his crime: but it was not the only punishment with which the government and people, burthened as the latter were by the increase of taxes, could rest satisfied. The court therefore sentenced him to be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for 21 calendar months.

This term, added to the defendant's imprisonment since his trial, will make the whole two years.

## MAY.

1. *Longevity*.—In the retired parish of Llanbedr, in the Isle of Anglesea, there is now living a woman of the name of Winifred Rees, who has attained the patriarchal age of 119 years, and nearly seven months; she enjoys the undisturbed lease of a cottage, in which she has resided 105 years. She is blessed with the perfect use of all her mental faculties, her eyes being as good as they were when she was in her 50th year, and, strange as it may seem, has scarcely a grey hair on her head.—On the 27th of March last, she walked the distance of eight miles and back

again to a relation's cottage, bringing home with her a parcel weighing upwards of 22lbs.

An experiment exciting much interest was tried at Woolwich this day, the invention of Capt. Manby, barrack-master of Yarmouth, for the purpose of getting a communication with vessels stranded on a lee-shore, to save their crews in the darkest night. Three requisites were necessary to effect this important object, first, to discover precisely where the wrecked vessel was, if it was not in the power of the crew to point out her distressing situation by luminous signals; secondly, to lay the piece of artillery with accuracy for the object; thirdly, to make the flight of a rope perfectly discernable to those on shore, and to those for whose safety it was intended. A small mortar firing a paper ball high into the air, at a certain calculated distance it was exploded, disengaged a shower of large balls of fire that kept a luminous fall nearly to the horizon, where the vessel was supposed to be seen, and a stand, having two perpendiculars in it, was pointed to the object; the stand supposing to have ascertained the direct position of the wrecked vessel, the mortar was to be placed behind it directed to the line of the two perpendiculars, and the rope regularly laid on the ground in its front; the mortar being loaded with a shell, having three large fuses or rather rockets in it, which, when fired, carried the rope, surrounded by such an immense blaze of light that could scarcely be conceived. All before whom the experiment was made, congratulated the inventor, and expressed their conviction of its utility.

Our



Our readers will recollect the case of the Rev. Francis Stone, who, after many hearings in the consistory court, refusing to revoke his opinions, was deemed to have forfeited his living, and was adjudged to be deprived of it. Against this sentence he appealed to the court of arches; and the case having been argued before Sir John Nicholls, he this day took a review of the whole proceedings, and stated, that this appeal had been made by Mr. Stone, on the grounds, as stated by him in his defence, "that he was ignorant of the act of Queen Elizabeth, on which he had been convicted, and supposed he was at liberty to preach agreeably to the conviction of his own conscience; but that as the act above alluded to, and the consistorial court, adjudged to the contrary, he was ready and willing to declare that he would never offend in the same way."—"This," said Sir John Nicholls, "is no recantation of the doctrines preached, but merely an assertion that he will not offend again in the same way; by which he may mean that he will not preach at all, or that he will not preach another visitation sermon; so that he may retain the same errors with his living, if he be allowed to hold it." Sir John saw no grounds for reversing the former judgment: but declared it to be affirmed, reserving the decision as to the costs, as he understood a petition had been presented to remit them, and as the crown lawyers might not be disposed to urge them.

A subscription is opened with a view of purchasing an annuity for Mr. Stone, who, it is believed, is left almost destitute, and has a large family depending on him.

The daughter of the celebrated Addison, by Lady Warwick, who died a few years ago, left 500*l.* for the purpose of raising a monument to his memory. Lord Bradford, who is one of her executors, allotted the task to Mr. Westmacott, adding 500*l.* to the bequest. This ingenious artist has made a fine statue of Addison, which is placed in the Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, and which will be opened for public inspection.

The subjects for the members' prizes for this year are:—For the senior batchelors, "*Quænam præcipuè valeant ad Imperium stabilendum?*" For the middle batchelors, "*Anne historia vera (ex. gr. Sidnæ, a Zouch scripta atque nuper edita) plus valeat quam fabulosa (ex. gr. Grandisoni, a Richarsono conficta), ad hominum mores benè formandos?*"

The prizes proposed by the Norrisian professor for the best dissertation on "*The Christian Sabbath,*" is this year adjudged to William Bolland, M. A. of Trinity-college.

7. *Court of King's Bench.*—Saturday morning George Beaumont, Printer of the Sunday Newspaper, entitled the *British Guardian*, was sentenced by Mr. Justice Grose to two years imprisonment in Newgate, to pay a fine of 50*l.* and at the expiration of the term to give security to the amount of 500*l.* for his good behaviour. The prisoner was some time since convicted of a libel upon his majesty, in a letter inserted in the aforesaid paper, signed "*Tiberius Gracchus.*"

In this letter, after speaking of the battle of Vimeira, and praising the valour of the army and navy, the writer regretted that so much valour should be misapplied, and attributed



attributed the disasters of his majesty's long reign to a secret influence behind the throne. He insinuated also, that there might be a limit to the patience and submission of the people.

11. *Court of Exchequer—Game Laws.—The King v. Prosser.*—Mr. Baron Graham read the notes which he had taken of this case when it was tried before him, at the last Gloucester Assizes. The action had been brought at the instance of Sir——Wathan, a gentleman who it appeared was distinguished in his neighbourhood for a rigorous enforcement of the Game Laws.

A Mr. Hawkins, who was by law qualified, resolved to treat the people in that neighbourhood with a few hares. He collected all the dogs he could find in that quarter, and killed 19 hares in one day.—Among the dogs borrowed was that of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, which had been kept by the defendant Prosser, the tenant of Mr. Jackson.

Prosser at the request of Hawkins went out with the dog, and took an active part in the sport; in consequence of which a prosecution was commenced against him under the statute of Anne, for using a dog for the destruction of game without having been qualified by law. The Jury found for the Defendant.

Mr. Abbott moved in the Exchequer for a new trial, and mentioned a *nisi prius* case, tried at Stafford, before Mr. Justice Lawrence, in which that very learned and accurate judge laid it down, that whosoever accompanied a qualified man in the chace, and took a share in the sport, was liable to the penalty under the Act, unless himself qualified, excepting servants hired *pro hac vice*.

Mr. Serjeant Williams also supported this side of the question.

Mr. Dauncey, on the other hand, contended that such a doctrine would lead to the most monstrous consequences. A man going to the Opera might upon this principle be said to use a fiddlestick, because he partook of the amusement. Every one who applauded at Newmarket might be said to keep a race-horse, and the ladies of Portman-square, who waved their handkerchiefs in admiration of the Worthies of the Whip Club, might be considered as members of that sapient society.—Mr. D. also relied upon the case of the *King v. Newman*, where Lord Mansfield had disapproved of the conduct of a Magistrate who had convicted two men for having attended a qualified man at a hunt.

Mr. Abbot stated, that the case mentioned had been reported by Mr. Loft, who had since betaken himself to the writing of poetry, &c. It so happened that there was a great deal of poetry in his prose reports of law cases, and therefore the accuracy of his reports had seldom been much relied on.

The Lord Chief Baron observed, that before he affirmed or denied the doctrine laid down by Mr. Justice Lawrence, he should wish to have it very fully considered. In the present case there was no occasion for that: besides it came within the exceptions universally allowed. Prosser had gone out, not for his own pleasure, but as the servant, *pro hac vice*, of Mr. Hawkins. The verdict therefore was unquestionably right.

The other judges concurred in this opinion, and the rule which had been obtained on a former day by Mr. Abbot for a new trial, was accordingly discharged.



25. *Jones v. Jones*.—This was a case of considerable public interest, and established the fact, of landlords and innkeepers being answerable, for the property of their customers, while under their roof. It was an action tried at the last Hereford assizes, before Mr. baron Wood,—the facts of which were as follow:—The plaintiff had a rider in his employ, named Evan Jones, who left London in December last, and in five days after arrived at an inn at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, kept by the defendant. The inn being full, the rider was obliged to sleep in a three-bedded room, two of which were occupied by the defendant's own family. The rider swore at the trial, that on the morning of his arrival at Wrexham he had a pocket-book containing 400l. in bank notes; that meeting with several of his Welch friends, he drank freely, but was not intoxicated. On going to bed at night, he recollected placing his waistcoat in a chair by his bedside, and the pocket book was safe. When he awoke the next morning, his cloaths were there, but his pocket-book was gone; upon which he roused the whole family, declared his loss, and all joined in searching the bed-chamber; but the pocket-book could no where be found.—The defendant and his wife appeared extremely anxious that the pocket-book should be found, and actually sent for a constable to assist in the search. In answer to this, the defendant brought all his servants and children to prove, that they never saw the pocket-book; and the judge summed up in favour of the defendant, observing, that it was a very hard law against innkeepers, who were made liable for the security of the goods of their guests; and un-

less the jury were satisfied of the evidence of the rider, they would find for the defendant.—The jury, however, consulted together for some time, and found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 400l.

Mr. Jervis came to court this term, and obtained a rule to show cause why the verdict should not be set aside, and a new trial had; that verdict being against the directions of the judge. This day the case came to be fully argued; and since the court granted the conditional rule, the following extraordinary fact had come to light. The defendant had fallen into distress, his goods were seized in execution, and a public sale advertised on the 29th ult; on which day the auctioneer, in presence of the persons assembled, put up for sale a bed and mattresses, remarking, that it was the same in which the young man had slept who lost the 400l. The lot was purchased by a person, who joined in making an affidavit of the fact; and, to his astonishment and surprize, between the two old mattresses, which were under the feather-bed, the lost pocket-book was discovered, and the 400l. in notes within it.—Upon the knowledge of that fact, Mr. Jervis suggested if a new trial was not granted, that a *stet processus* should be awarded, and the defendant spared from payment of the costs. Mr. Jervis added, that the defendant was most interested for his character, which had suffered by the verdict; and he contended, that the rider, having gone to bed intoxicated, might, by the cunning some men possessed in their intoxication, have hid the book between the mattresses, and the next morning lost all recollection of the fact.

The chief baron admitted that it was



was a sort of action which required as much strictness in proof as a trial for felony; and that the imprudent conduct of the rider laid him open to a severe cross-examination; but the jury, believing his testimony, had come to a right conclusion.—The subsequent finding of the pocket-book was a decisive confirmation of his story; and though he did not mean to attach suspicion to the defendant or his wife, yet he might have dishonest people about him; and he could not believe the pocket-book was between the mattresses on the morning of the search. He rather believed, from the noise the circumstance had occasioned in the country, the party who took the pocket-book was apprehensive it could not be got rid of without detection, and had therefore placed it between the mattresses previous to the sale. Upon the whole, he saw no grounds for disturbing the verdict, or for granting a *set process*.

The other judges concurred in opinion, and the rule for a new trial was discharged.

12. *Sheriff's Court.—Crim Con.—Wellesley, Esq. v. Lord Paget.*—

In this case, the plaintiff having brought his action for damages against the noble lord, the defendant suffered judgement by default, thereby acknowledging the adulterous intercourse; and this day a jury was impanelled before Mr. Burchell, the sheriff, to assess the damages.

Mr. Garrow, with great eloquence and feeling, depicted the previous state of happiness enjoyed by the plaintiff and his wife, and recounted the numerous offspring, the fruit of their connubial intercourse. He then drew an afflicting

picture of the mental distress into which the incontinence of his lady had plunged him. Nor was he less eloquent in describing the misconduct of the defendant, who, he said, had courage enough to conquer every other enemy but his own passions. This speech was followed by evidence of the facts, and a speech in mitigation of damages, by Mr. Dallas, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff—*Damages, twenty thousand pounds!*

The elopement of Lady Charlotte Wellesley with Lord Paget, which gave occasion to the above action, took place in the afternoon of Monday, the 6th of March. Mr. Henry Wellesley, who is secretary of the treasury, had spoken, it seems, more pointedly than ever to Lady Charlotte, on the very marked and constant attentions of Lord Paget, which (though from the long and confidential friendship which had subsisted between the families, he did not apprehend to be dishonourable,) might affect her reputation in the world. Lady Charlotte was indignant at the idea of reproach, and hurried out with her servant to take the air in the Green Park. She desired him to remain at the gate, as she should walk for a short time; and it appears that her ladyship took a hackney coach, and sent a note to Lord P. at Uxbridge house. They met, and in this state of irritated feelings, and probably on the consciousness of guilt, they set off together.—As she did not return to dinner, inquiries were made. The servant had continued at the gate of the Green Park till a late hour; and on his return home, being questioned, he gave the above account. The melancholy truth was confirmed by a letter,



letter, which Lord P. wrote to his father, in which he acknowledged his trespass—and that he had in vain, in the heat of battle, sought a refuge from the agonies of a distracted mind. It is certain that on every occasion in Spain, he exposed himself in a way which got him the reputation of a rash and adventurous gallantry. As it could not be imagined that a nobleman apparently gifted with all the means and objects of happiness could be in reality so wretched. The two sisters, Lady Charlotte and Lady Emily Cadogan, married two brothers, Henry and William Wellesley. Lord Paget is married to one of the beautiful daughters of Lady Jersey, by whom he has a numerous family.

The first consequence of their elopement, was a *duel between Lord Paget and Captain Cadogan*. In order to prevent the appearance in the papers of any mis-statement respecting the duel which took place this morning between Lord Paget and Captain Cadogan, we, the respective friends of the parties, feel it incumbent on us to submit the following as the correct statement of the event as it occurred:—In consequence of a challenge having been received by Lord Paget from Captain Cadogan, and every attempt to prevent a meeting having failed, the parties, attended by their respective friends, Captain Cadogan by Captain M'Kenzie of the navy, Lord Paget by Lieut-Colonel Vivian of the 7th light dragoons, met as agreed, at seven o'clock, on Wimbledon common. The ground having been taken at twelve paces distance, they were directed to fire together. Captain Cadogan fired, Lord Paget's pistol flashed—this

having been decided to go for a fire, a question arose, whether Lord Paget had taken aim, as if intending to hit his antagonist. Both the seconds being clearly of opinion that such was not his intention (although the degree of obliquity he gave the direction of the pistol was such, as to have been discovered only by particular observation), Captain M'Kenzie stated to Captain Cadogan, that as it appeared to be Lord Paget's intention not to fire at him, he could not admit of the affair proceeding any further. Lieut.-Colonel Vivian then asked Captain Cadogan, whether he had not himself observed that Lord Paget had not aimed at him—to which he replied in the affirmative. Captain M'Kenzie then declared his determination not to remain any longer in the field, to witness any further act of hostility on the part of Captain Cadogan. Captain C. replied, of course his conduct must be decided by his second; declaring at the same time, that he had come prepared for the fall of one of the parties. On Captain M'Kenzie and Lieut.-Colonel Vivian making it known to Lord Paget, that as he evidently did not intend to fire at Captain Cadogan, the affair could go no further: Lord P. replied, "as such is your determination, I have now no hesitation in saying, that nothing could ever have induced me to add to the injuries I have already done the family, by firing at the brother of Lady Charlotte Wellesley." The parties then left the ground. (Signed)

R. H. VIVIAN.

GEO. CHAS. M'KENZIE.

May 30.

The following is a letter of Lady Charlotte Wellesley to Mr. Arburthnot,



not, which sufficiently betrays the anguished state of mind which followed the imprudent step she had taken.

“It would be the height of ingratitude were I not to try to convey my thanks to Henry Wellesley for his most kind and generous offer of taking home a wretch, who has so much injured him. I dare not write to him myself; but I implore it of you to say every thing which gratitude and feeling can suggest, to express my sense of the kindness of his conduct. His note was forwarded to me this morning; but, degraded and unprincipled as I must appear in the eyes of every body, believe me I am not lost to all sense of honour, which would forbid my returning to a husband I have quitted, to children I have abandoned. Indeed, indeed, my dear Mr. Arbuthnot, if you knew all, you would pity more than blame me. Could you tell all the resistance that has been made to this criminal, most atrocious attachment, could you know what are my sufferings at this moment, you would feel for me. Henry has not deserved this of me. We have had some differences, and he may, perhaps, sometimes have been a little too harsh to me; but I can with truth assert, and I wish you to publish it to the world, that in essential, and, indeed, in trifling subjects, he has ever been kind to me to the greatest degree; nor has the person who may be supposed to have attempted to lower him in my estimation, in order to gain my affections, ever spoken of him to me but in the highest terms of respect. About my dear, dear children, I must say one word. Do you think I dare hope, by any remote or indirect means to hear sometimes of

them; you know how much I love them! You are aware of their merits, and what I must feel at having quitted them; but I have the satisfaction, the inexpressible comfort of knowing they will be taken care of by their father, though their mother has abandoned them. My dear little Henry and Charles—Oh! God bless you!—I wrote every thing to my brother last night.”

“*Tuesday morning, 7 o'clock.*”

“Since writing the inclosed, I have come to town, and if it is not repugnant to your feelings, I think I should like to have one interview with you, but not if you object to it in any way. The bearer can bring you to me instantly, if you will see me; but if not, ask no questions.”

Henry Wellesley wrote to her in answer to this letter to Arbuthnot:—

“That for the sake of her welfare, and that of her children, he would consent to receive her again, provided she would return, and break off all correspondence or connection with the person she was then with; but that she must return instantly, for the next day would be too late.”

The result of this unfortunate affair has been, that Lord Paget returns to the bosom of his family. He is to live with Lady Paget, and has left town with her ladyship for Beaudesert, in Staffordshire. He has purchased a house for Lady Charlotte Wellesley, in which she now resides, and has made a settlement upon her—while Mr. Wellesley is eagerly proceeding to obtain a divorce.

*Rolls Court.*—*Lord Mahon v. Earl Stanhope.*—This cause, which we reported at length on its first hearing, was re-heard on Wednesday,



day, at the desire of the Noble Defendant.

Mr. O'Deady, jun. Council, opened the case of Earl Stanhope.

Mr. Richards, on behalf of Lord Mahon, expressed a wish that the Noble Defendant, who was in court, should not be permitted to speak for himself, as he had engaged the assistance of Counsel.

Earl Stanhope immediately addressed the Master of the Rolls. He said that old birds were not to be caught by chaff. He claimed it as an indisputable right to speak for himself, because he knew his own cause better than he could instruct any Counsel. His intention was to state his objections to the Decree which his Honour had made on the 9th of March, 1808; and before he should state them, he wished to acquit his Honour the Master of the Rolls of all bias or partiality, and he trusted that any thing he should say against his opponents should not be considered by the Learned Gentlemen (Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Richards,) who were Counsel for the Plaintiff, as a personal attack upon themselves. His Lordship said, that his son had originally filed a bill against him full of falsehood, and charging him with many atrocities, which he afterwards abandoned in his amended bill. He was charged in the amended bill with having exceeded the powers vested in him by his first marriage settlement, and his Honour referred it to Mr. Harvey, one of the Masters in Chancery, to inquire how far the allegations were true. To that part of the decree he felt himself bound to object, because it was not sought for in the prayer of the bill; and he contended that no decree of the Court of Chancery

could be made upon any other grounds than those which were stated in the bill, and the allegations of the bill must also be proved by the answer of the Defendant, or some other evidence. He objected partly to the decree, because it referred to what had taken place in his father's time, and for whose acts he could not be responsible. He had nothing to do with what estates his father had sold, nor the money he received for them, and he therefore thought that part of the decree which referred to that point ought to be expunged. In the whole bill there was no charge made against him respecting the estates which had been sold in his father's time, and if there had, it could not apply to him, but to his father's trustees, who were dead; and there was no person made party to the suit who could defend his father's character in his transactions. He could not consider the inquiry of the Master to be any thing else than a sham inquiry, because no opportunity was allowed of cross examining the witnesses, who might perhaps be perjured. He did not think that his Honour could act upon a report taken under such circumstances. His Lordship then quoted a number of Law Authorities, tending to shew, that no decree could be made by any Court of Justice beyond that which the Plaintiff prayed for. The doctrine was established in the case of Mr. Hastings, where the House of Lords, at the request of Mr. Law, now Lord Ellenborough, refused to hear any evidence which did not respect any of the charges alledged against the Defendant.—His Lordship, therefore, objected to the Decree, because it was not founded



upon what was charged against him, but upon that which he admitted in his answer.

Mr. Scott was not heard, on the ground that it would be irregular for Counsel to speak after their Client.—Mr. Richards made a short reply; and his Honour, after a few words, affirmed the decree.

Lord Stanhope, we understand, means to appeal to the House of Lords.

26. *Court of King's Bench.—The King v. Valentine Jones.*—The attorney-general stated, that this was an indictment against the defendant, charging him with a breach of duty, in his character as commissary-general in the West-Indies, and superintendant and director of army provisions, appointed by his majesty in 1795. The indictment stated that the defendant, having the several allowances of 2*l.* and 3*l.* per day, and it being his duty to provide stores for his majesty, and not to receive any part of the emoluments or gains arising from the provision of such stores, entered into a corrupt agreement with one Matthew Higgins, in pursuance of which, he received to his own use a moiety of the profits arising from such provision.

The right hon. George Rose proved the appointment of the defendant, and that he had admonished him as to the duties of his situation; telling him that he was expected to derive no advantage from the situation, but his pay and certain allowances for provisions. The pay and half-pay had lately been increased, to insure the strictest fidelity.

A letter from the defendant, to Mr. Michael Sutton, dated 1796, acknowledging his consciousness of

the terms of this agreement with Mr. Rose, was then proved, put in, and read.

Mr. Matthew Higgins said, he was a merchant in the West-Indies in the year 1796, and had a contract with brigadier-general Knox, when he had the command there, for supplying government vessels. Mr. Hugh Rose acted as deputy-paymaster there. He first heard that the defendant was coming out as commissary in 1796, while his contract with brigadier-general Knox subsisted. Upon the defendant's arrival, the witness supposed his contract at an end: in consequence of this apprehension, he applied to Mr. Hugh Rose, as he was on terms of intimacy with the defendant, to ask him to speak to the defendant not to take the contract from the witness. The witness at length saw the defendant, and repeated to him the conversation between Mr. Hugh Rose and himself. After this, Mr. Hugh Rose told the witness he had arranged the business with the defendant, and that the witness was to have the contract; adding, that he was obliged to make terms with the defendant, who insisted upon having half of the emoluments arising from that contract, and that the other moiety should be divided between Hugh Rose and the witness. The witness at first said he would have nothing to do with this arrangement; but Mr. Rose told him he was very wrong, and that there were many ready and willing to take the contract upon those terms. Mr. Hugh Rose told him, the loss the witness would sustain, in giving up so much of his contract, would be made up to him in supplies; for that whatever supplies were wanted for



for government, he should furnish them, the profits of them being applied in the same manner as those of the vessel contract. This conversation took place on board of ship: and, when it was finished, Mr. Hugh Rose said the defendant was in the cabin, and desired the witness to go down to him; which he did, for the purpose of mentioning his acquiescence in the terms of the agreement. The defendant assented by inclination of the head, rather than by any expression. The witness, for nine or ten months after this, went on with the vessel contract, and supply of stores, to a very great extent. The witness saw an account-book, which he was now shewn, in the West Indies, in March or April 1797; he settled accounts with the defendant on the footing of that book, on the 31st of March. He stated to the defendant the account of profit and loss as upon that book. When the defendant and the witness settled, the defendant paid him 153,273*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* short.

Upon examination by lord Ellenborough, the witness said, that he had no doubt of the agreement being understood by the defendant, and that the accounts were settled by it.

Mr. Nathaniel Winter was in the house of T. Higgins and Co. merchants in the West Indies, at the time of these transactions. By the desire of Mr. Matthew Higgins, he informed himself, from the books, what Mr. Higgins's profits were; and Mr. Higgins told him, if the defendant should call, to show him the statement of the profits on the books; the defendant did call, and the witness gave him an account on paper, which he looked at, but the

witness could not exactly recollect whether he took it away: if he were called on for a decided answer one way, he should say he did.

Upon cross-examination, he said, the witness's house, that of T. Higgins and Co., purchased goods for Mr. M. Higgins at a commission. There were accounts rendered to the defendant from Mr. M. Higgins with false names. The witness had applied to persons, to put false names to such accounts.

A letter which had been before proved to be in the hand-writing of the defendant, was then put in and read. It was addressed to the acting commissary-general of Barbadoes, and was written shortly after the West India inquiries had been instituted. It told the acting commissary, that, if he were asked any thing about the defendant, he had time to make out any thing that was necessary; and desired him to be circumspect, not to give answers on the defendant's general business, or to make a hasty or incautious statement of facts. It went on—“For Heaven's sake, do not be unmodelling my accounts again, as they cost me more trouble than I ever had with any thing; and they desire no better than to perplex me. If you can better them, do so.”

Mr. Dallas, in a long speech, insisted, that the jury could not find the defendant guilty merely from Mr. Higgins's evidence, whom he conceived an accomplice.

The attorney-general, in reply, stated, that Mr. Higgins was not an accomplice, inasmuch as he was not a public officer. He said, the money which had passed through the defendant's hands, in this nefarious agreement, amounted to nearly a million sterling; the pro-



fits on this sum were 300,000*l.*; so that a profit of 30*l.* per cent. had been tacked on to the 5*l.* per cent. which the house of T. Higgins and Co. made on the purchases, and which, if the defendant had possessed common honesty, he might have rendered to government at that 5*l.* per cent. Government had thus been defrauded of 30*l.* per cent. upon an expenditure of nearly a million, and this in consequence of the corrupt agreement between the defendant and the contractor, which had been so abundantly proved.

After a charge from Lord Ellenborough, the jury found the defendant *Guilty*. The trial lasted from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon.

## JUNE.

1. *Cambridge*.—The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, has presented the university of Cambridge, with about eighty volumes of valuable Oriental Manuscripts, which have been placed in the Public Library.

The Rev. Herbert Marsh, D.D. and Lady Margaret's Professor, on Saturday, April 29th, commenced a Course of Lectures in Divinity, in Great St. Mary's church Cambridge. The lecture will be continued every Saturday during term. This lectureship has been enjoyed as a sinecure for many years, on account of its being formerly delivered in Latin, and few or no auditors attending. The revival of it in English by so able a theologian must be highly useful in this university; admittance *gratis*, as well to the members of the university as the inhabitants of the town.

The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Windsor Forest, have made three reports upon the subject, which have been laid before the House of Commons and printed. The following extracts from them shew its present state:—

“ This forest was formerly of much greater extent than at the present time. According to an inquisition in the time of Charles the first, and the perambulation made under the authority of the 46th of the King, it extends into the five hundreds of Ripplesmere, Cookham, Charlton, Wargave, and Soninge, and comprehends the whole of some of them, and part only of others. The entire parishes within the forest are twelve in number, and it extends into parts of five other parishes. It contains fifteen principal or chief manors, having within them several subordinate or mesne manors. Of the principal or chief manors, some are co-extensive with the parishes in which they lie, others are not so, and some of them extend over more parishes than one.

The whole quantity of land in the forest, according to the survey and map, taken in the years 1789, and the three following, amounts to .....	Acres R. P. 59,600 0 0
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Of which the inclosed property of the crown amounts to .....	5,454 2 6
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The private inclosed property of individuals ....	29,025 2 36
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Total inclosed land	34,480 1 12
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Open wood lands on the wastes of different manors ....	2,230 0 28
Open heath	

and



and commons, the wastes of different manors ..	22,233 0 39	
Land covered with water ..	165 1 9	
Total open forest land	24,628 2 36	24,628 2 36
Encroachments inclosed by individuals, from different wastes, but claimed by the crown.....	491 0 2	59,600 0 0

“ The number of deer have of late years been much diminished. And it appears by the returns made in November, 1731, that there were at that time more than 1,300 deer in the forest; and by a return in November, 1806, that there were then only 318 deer in the whole forest. It would be supposed that these having a range over 24,600 acres of land, would find sufficient food, with proper assistance, in winter; the contrary, however, is the case; and the deer in almost every walk of the forest, except one, are all nearly starved; many actually die of hunger, and the surviving does, have not strength to rear their fawns. This principally arises from the unlimited manner in which animals of all descriptions are turned out in the forest, by persons who have no right or pretence whatever to do so, and by the surcharge of the common by those who have a right to a certain extent. The assistance that ought to be given to the deer in severe weather is not attended to. The provision made for that purpose is, in every walk in the forest, inadequate; and in one instance, that came acciden-

tally to the knowledge of the commissioners, perverted to private advantage.

The ruinous effects of the system which has hitherto prevailed in Windsor Forest, cannot be better illustrated than by stating, that the timber now growing in the forest is valued, upon a loose estimate, to be worth nearly 200,000*l.* of which (from the want of care) only a small portion will be applicable to naval purposes. The greater proportion of the timber is now going rapidly to decay, and ought to be cut as soon as possible. There are now in the forest of Windsor about 2,230 acres of land, on which trees are standing; but throughout the whole of that district there is not a single sapling, or growing young tree, to succeed those which decay, or are cut down. There are also in the forest about 22,233 acres of heath and open land, on which there are no trees of any age or kind, excepting a few oak and beech pollards of inconsiderable value.

The lodges in the forest (except those occupied by the under keepers, which are mere cottages) are Cranbourn Lodge, New Lodge, Swinley Lodge, and Bigshot Lodge; and it appears, by the return of Lord Cranelly, in the explanation of his office of Out Ranger, that there is a lodge annexed to his office, called Trys Lodge, near Chertsey (which is out of the forest), now in the occupation of Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Baronet.

Cranbourn Lodge was occupied by his late Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, when Lord Warden of the forest; it has, since his death, been completely repaired and fitted up, and is now in the occupation of the Honourable George Villiers, by permission.



permission of his Majesty, but who does not hold any office within the forest.

New Lodge was granted by his Majesty, with the office of Ranger of New Lodge Walk, for life, to her Highness Princess Sophia of Gloucester, by letters patent, in the year 1798. This Lodge, as her Highness states, in her explanation of her office, is in such a dilapidated state, that it is scarce habitable by the servants who are put into it to take care of it. There are about twenty acres of grass land attached to this lodge.

Swinley Lodge, with its inclosures, containing about one hundred and ninety acres, is always occupied by the master or keeper of his Majesty's stag-hounds, who is at the same time ranger and keeper of Swinley Walk, and circuitor bailiff and chief forester of Battel Bailwick.

The state of Bigshot Lodge is much more ruinous than that of New Lodge, and is in no degree whatever habitable; there is a large quantity of building belonging to it, and was for many years inhabited by the late Major-General Cox and his family, but has been long deserted.

2. *Pedigree of Madame Buonaparte.—Martinique.*—In the year 1620 a ship arrived at this island, with a cargo of Ebo-negro slaves from Africa. Mons. Fontange, a planter, became a purchaser, and bought a girl named Quasheba, who being a likely hussey, the driver of the estate, named Quamino, took her to wife. By Quasheba he had a large family, and a daughter, a comely jade, called Cunba, whom the under driver, called Quaco, took for a wife. Quaco

had five children by her; one of the daughters, called Cumba, was taken into keeping by the white carpenter of the estate, who had three children by her, one a daughter called Adelaide, was taken as a mistress by the overseer, who became so fond of her, that he purchased her freedom: by Adelaide he had five children, one a daughter, who was kept by a Captain Delamar, of the marine, by whom she had a daughter, to whom the captain, on his decease, left his whole fortune. This daughter, called Odun, or Nocoden, was married to a planter of the name of Nonie. This Nonie had a large family, whom he sent to France for their education; one of his daughters married a French merchant of the name of Lochmere, established in eminence at Guadeloupe; and the other, a planter of the name of Francis, at Martinique; by this marriage was a girl (Bonaparte's wife's mother) who married a Monsieur La Pagerie.

Monsieur La Pagerie had a daughter, the present wife of Buonaparte, who was a wanton almost from her birth, for at the age of thirteen she was debauched by her mother's two servants, a black and a mulatto, by whom she proved pregnant. The poor mother applied to a doctor, who furnished her with a potion for a certain purpose, which was effected, and the negro and mulatto shipped off to the Spanish main. A count Beauharnois becoming enamoured with Mademoiselle La Pagerie, married her. Whilst Beauharnois was in America, his wife was brought to bed at Martinique of a mulatto boy, which was reported by the family to be dead, but kept upon the



the estate as the child of one of the white mechanics, and when six years old was sent to France, where it is said he is now living, and must be one year older than his brother Prince Eugene. Madame La Pagerie died about two years ago at Martinique, leaving a very good character behind her. She was strongly solicited to go to Paris, but her daughter having mentioned, in one of her letters, that Buonaparte was determined to compel the Pope to marry his mother, and that he had it also in contemplation to marry her to Cardinal Fesch, the old lady was determined never to quit the island.

19. The wife of a tailor at York last week took up a large toad in her hand, through curiosity, and held it for some minutes: soon after she felt a slight pain, accompanied with swelling, which increased, and she has since been obliged to have her thumb and two fingers amputated.

*Longevity in Lincolnshire.*—When the famous Turketul, who had been Chancellor of England, and one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his time, retired from the world and became abbot of Croyland, he found five very aged monks in a monastery; to whom he paid particular attention. Father Clarenbald, the oldest of these monks, died A.D. 973, after he had completed the 168th year of his age. The second, who was named Swarling, died the same year, at the age of 142. The third, who was called Father Turgar, died the year after, in the 115th year of his age. The two other monks, Brune and Ajo, died about the same time, whose ages are not exactly known, though they must have been very

old, as they both remembered the old abbey of Croyland, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the year 870. These facts are related with much confidence by Ingulphus, who was abbot of Croyland, and wrote from the historical register of that abbey. When we recollect also the very recent instance of longevity in Elizabeth Shaw's case, who died at Keal Cotes, aged 117, we think the Lincolnshire fens are not so unhealthy as generally reputed.

The hill called Standedge, on the line of the Huddersfield Canal, is now perforated, forming a tunnel of nearly three miles in length, through a rocky mountain. It is worthy of remark, that the Yorkshire hills, which were with difficulty passed a century ago, on horseback, are now crossed by three navigable canals, on which not less than a million of money hath been expended.

22. *Court of Common Pleas.*—*Collins v. Sir Rickard Phillips, Knt. and Christopher Smith, Esq. late Sheriffs.*—This was an action of trespass brought by the plaintiff, a glass-manufacturer in the Strand, against the defendants, as sheriffs of Middlesex, for the seizure of a number of articles in cut-glass, the property of the plaintiff, and in his house, under an allegation that they were the property of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. The point to be decided then was, whether or not the glass in question belonged to his Royal Highness.

To ascertain the fact, the Royal Duke was sworn and examined; and his Royal Highness stated, that as he had not at that time (nor we believe ever since) an establishment of his own, he had ordered, upon



a particular occasion, a service of glass, in the month of January, 1807, to be sent by the plaintiff to his apartments in Kensington palace, which he considered and intended to have been sent upon hire. He had also ordered from the plaintiff a service of cut glass on purchase, but never had seen any part of it. Whether any of the glass sent on hire was intended to complete the order for purchase, he could not tell; but he certainly conceived the glass sent to him on the 21st January, 1807, as on hire. His Royal Highness was then shown a bill of parcels; but, on interrogation, he could not state that it specified any of the articles sent to the palace.

Two servants of Mr. Collins proved that they had been sent down to the palace to take care of the glass while there; that it was never out of their sight, save during dinner; and after the entertainment it was given back to their care, and conveyed to Mr. Collins's house; and they considered it as only hired to the Duke. They could not speak positively as to the value. They, however, proved that one of the vases in the service was valued at five hundred guineas.

The defence alleged was, that, a delivery of the glass at the Duke's residence having been proved, it constituted a property, in his Royal Highness, and its return to the plaintiff, merely for the purpose of completing his Royal Highness's order.

Sir James Mansfield summed up the evidence for the jury, who directly found a verdict for the plaintiff, subject, however, to an award.

25: *Finance*.—The total amount

of the public expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the charge of loans raised for the service of Ireland, for ten years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, comprising the whole period of the war terminated by the peace of Amiens, is about 503,378,540*l.* whereof 178,520,454*l.* arose from the charge of the public funded and unfunded debt, and 324,858,086*l.* from all other services; and about 241,909,953*l.* was raised by the ordinary revenue and incidental payments of different kinds; about 32,679,000*l.* by extraordinary war taxes, 220,095,607*l.* by additions to the public funded debt, 3,000,000*l.* by an advance from the Bank without interest, in consideration of the renewal of the charter, and an advance of three millions from the Bank in 1798, of which 1,500,000*l.* was paid in 1803.

The total amount of the public expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the charge of loans raised for the service of Ireland, for six years, ending the 5th of January, 1809, being the six first years of the present war, is about 395,915,599*l.*; whereof 166,445,052*l.* arose from the charge of public funded and unfunded debt, and 229,701,647*l.* from all other services; and that about 224,403,222*l.* has been raised by the ordinary revenue and incidental payments of various kinds; 92,240,000*l.* by extraordinary war taxes; 81,168,412*l.* by additions to the public funded debt; and 3,500,000*l.* by an advance without interest from the Bank.

*Small Livings*.—According to the official returns laid before the House of Commons, it appears that the number of livings under the value of 150*l.* per annum, in England and Wales, is 3291; out of these



these are 7 not exceeding 10*l.* per annum; 58 from 20*l.* to 30*l.*; 151 from 30*l.* to 40*l.*; 187 from 40*l.* to 50*l.*; 355 from 50*l.* to 60*l.*; 327 from 60*l.* to 70*l.*; 261 from 70*l.* to 80*l.*; 261 from 80*l.* to 90*l.*; 271 from 90*l.* to 100*l.*; 237 from 100*l.* to 110*l.*; 258 from 110*l.* to 120*l.*; 212 from 120*l.* to 130*l.*; 167 from 130*l.* to 140*l.*; and 132 from 140*l.* to 150*l.* per annum. From the above, St. David's, Ely, Norwich, and Rochester, are excepted, as certificates have not yet been received from these dioceses.

Lord Mansfield has, with a view to the future supply of timber for the British navy, very patriotically raised, since 1803, at Senne, near Perth, 96,000 oaks, part of them from Acorns in his Lordship's nursery, and part from young plants.—The Society of Arts has, in consequence, awarded his Lordship the gold medal.

26. *Middlesex Sessions.*—*Hicks's Hall.*—The Sessions commenced on Monday, before Mr. Mainwaring and the Bench of Justices.

*Charles Chisholm*, Esq. a Bond-street loungee of universal notoriety, stood indicted for assaulting a Mr. Blacklin, on Sunday evening, the 7th of May last, at the prosecutor's house, in Blenheim-street, Oxford street. It happened from the evidence, that the prosecutor lived with his sisters, who are reputable milliners, in Blenheim-street, and the Defendant a young man of seeming fashion, lodged at the Blenheim hotel, immediately opposite. The defendant was observed to have acted at various times, with the most reprehensible impropriety and indecency, both in his room, which looked towards the Prosecutor's house, and in the street, opposite

the house; more particularly on the evening of the day stated in the indictment, when he was observed by the Prosecutor to walk backwards and forwards several times in front of the house, casting his eyes towards the drawing room, where the Miss Blacklins then were, with some of their female acquaintance. The Prosecutor observing this conduct, called out, and desired him to go about his business, or get home to his garret; upon which the defendant crossed the way, and desired to know if Mr. Blacklin had addressed himself to him. Mr. Blacklin answered in the affirmative. Upon which the Defendant vaulted over the railings, got partly in at the parlour window, struck the Prosecutor repeatedly, and called him *coward*, *rascal*, *pettifogger*, and *liar*. He was at length forced back from the window; but continued by his clamour to raise a mob round the door, and threatening all manner of vengeance against the Prosecutor, if he dared to come out.

A Gentleman named White, who had dined with the Prosecutor, his sister, and Miss White, sustained the former evidence, and stated, that the conduct of the Defendant was at all times extremely indelicate and insolent.

No evidence was offered on the part of the Defendant, and the Jury instantly found him *Guilty*; and he was sentenced to *two months imprisonment in the House of Correction*.

The Defendant, a smart young man about 25, fashionably attired, went through his ordeal with an easy confidence, until the passing of his sentence, which seemed a good deal to affect him.

28. Mr. D. Lambert, so celebrated for his corpulence, died without any



any previous illness, on Wednesday morning last, at Stamford, whither he had gone with an intent to exhibit himself during the races. He was in his 40th year, and upon being placed in the famous Caledonian balance within a few days of his death, was found to weigh 52 stone 11lbs. (14lbs. to the stone), which is 10 stone 11lbs. more than the famous Mr. Bright, of Essex, ever weighed. His coffin is 6 feet 4 inches long, 4 feet 4 inches wide, and 2 feet 4 inches deep, consists of 112 superficial feet of elm, is built upon two axletrees and four clog wheels, and upon these the remains of the poor man will be rolled into the grave, at St. Martin's. A regular descent will be made, by cutting away the earth slopingly for some distance. The window and wall of the room in which he lies must be taken down, to allow the removal of his corpse.

29. *The following is an excellent illustration of a well known fact, that the general tendency of currents in the ocean is from the East towards the West.*

(COPY).

“*Neptune, St. John's Roads, Antigua, June 29, 1809.*

“Sir,—As the inclosed letters picked up in a bottle, on the windward part of the island of Martinique, on the 18th of April last, tend to elucidate the state of the current in the Atlantic Ocean, I enclose them to you, with a request that you will be pleased to make the circumstance known to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

“The bottle appears to have been thrown overboard by the Princess Elizabeth Packet, going to the Brazils, on the 6th of September, 1808;

in lat. 14. 45, and long. 25, and it must have been carried about 2020 miles in 224 days, which gives 9 miles per day on a West course.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. COCHRANE.

29. The dangerous consequences likely to result from sleeping in an outhouse, during a state of intoxication, were singularly exemplified on Thursday last.—A labourer, in the employ of Mr. Laybourn, of Whitney, near Oxford, having retired greatly inebriated, to recover from a debauch, was attacked by some rats. The liquor and sleep had so overpowered the unfortunate man, that he was incapable either of repelling them, or calling for assistance. He continued in an agonized state for two hours, when his groans attracted the notice of a person passing the door, and who, on entering, found a number of rats of a large species, assembled round the feet of the sufferer, seven of whose toes had been entirely devoured by them.

29. *Court of Common Pleas.—Sittings before Sir James Mansfield.—The Earl of Leicester v. the Proprietors, &c. of the Morning Herald.*—This was an action for a libel against the printer, publisher, and proprietors of the Morning Herald. The damages were laid at 20,000l.

Mr. Serjeant Best stated the case on the part of the plaintiff. It was an action against the publishers of a newspaper, for a libel of such a nature and such malignity, as perhaps was never before complained of in a court of justice. When he stated that the damages were laid at 20,000l. he would add, that he did not think justice would be done to his client, if any thing less than that



that sum was awarded. The libel in the Morning Herald was a paragraph on the 3d of December, 1808, to the following effect:—"Articles have been exhibited against a noble lord by his lady, similar to the articles which were exhibited by Lady Audley against her lord, upon which he was convicted and deservedly executed; but in the present instance, there were circumstances of far greater atrocity." Now, as to the libel, he should first ask, is it true or false? It was unquestionably false; for if such articles had been exhibited, the defendants could have proved them from the office at Doctors' Commons, where such articles must have been filed. This charge then, as false as it was wicked, the defendants must have known to be false, or they could have easily ascertained that it was false, by taking the pains to inquire at Doctors' Commons before they inserted it. On the 5th of December, the following paragraph was inserted:—"The wretched son of an English Marquis has absconded, on charges which Lady C. (Chartley being his title when the old Marquis of Townsend was alive) has exhibited against him. A special warrant has been issued for apprehending this lord, whose infamies have long rendered him a disgrace to human nature." This special warrant for apprehending the plaintiff, was a pure invention of the writer of the paragraph. As a proof of the malicious motive in which these publications originated, he should state, that, in the month of April preceding, a paragraph had been put in the Morning Herald, announcing the separation of Lord Chartley and his Lady, at a time when they were living affectionately together. In

considering the malignity of this libel, and the injury it was likely to do, it must be recollected what a horror the British nation entertained against the vice so imputed. He trusted therefore that the jury would consider both the rank of the person injured, and the greatness of the injury which had been inflicted, and relied upon their finding a proper verdict.

The first evidence was the register of pamphlets or papers at the Stamp Office. He proved the defendants to have sworn themselves proprietors, printer, and publisher of the Morning Herald.

The papers were then produced, and the libellous paragraphs read.

The next witness was Mr. Barlow, who produced from the records of the Court of King's Bench the inquisition upon Lord Audley, his indictment and conviction.

Mr. Mills, solicitor to the plaintiff, said, that he believed the paragraphs which had been read to apply to the plaintiff. He had no doubt at all of it.

This witness was cross-examined by Serjeant Cockle.

The case of the plaintiff was then closed.

Mr. Serjeant Cockle then rose on the part of the defendants. He said he rose with considerable concern upon a subject, odious in its own nature, and which must give pain and disgust to every man. His Learned Friend would have wished them to believe, that the aspersions against the character of Lord Leicester originated in the newspaper which was conducted by the defendants. The fact, however, was, that they did not; but as the plaintiff's own attorney had admitted, there had been *flying rumours* against the character of that noble lord



lord, before such paragraphs ever found their way into the newspaper. The paragraphs had found their way into the public papers in the usual manner, and the proprietors had offered to take their oaths that they were not the authors, and did not know who were. Certainly he was not an advocate for slander or licentiousness in the press; but it was evident that public papers could not be printed, if the conductors were put to a strict justification of the truth of every paragraph contained in them. If they maliciously invented falsehoods, or lent themselves wilfully to be the instruments of malice in others, they should be responsible as authors of those calumnies; but if, without any malice, these paragraphs found their way into their papers in the regular course of their trade, they certainly were still responsible, but not in the same degree; nor would a jury visit them with so serious damages. It was allowed, that notwithstanding all the evils which proceeded from the licentiousness of the press, the publication of daily newspapers, and the letting the public know what was going on, was of infinite advantage to the liberties and happiness of the country. His learned friend had spoken of the Earl of Leicester and his wife having lived happily together. How did he attempt to prove it? did he call a single relation, servant, or friend? No; all the evidence on this point was, that his attorney had seen Lady Leicester at her lord's table near a year after the marriage. The fact was, that so far from having lived happily together, there was nothing, perhaps, in the whole history of married life more wretched. Three sleepless

nights were all they passed together, and after that time they were never in bed, or seldom at board together. The lady, in the agony of an almost broken heart, and in spite of female delicacy, was obliged to reveal the wrongs she had suffered. She had been obliged to sit down at the table of her lord with wretches that are a disgrace to human nature, and who ought not to be permitted to live. There was Neri, the Italian secretary; Hayling, Playfair, and other wretches of that description. She was soon banished from his house by such conduct. When he was at Gloucester-place, she used to be at Paddington, and when he was at Paddington, she came to Gloucester-place. The noble lord had brought forward but one witness, who knew nothing of the matter. How came it that he brought forward no relative, no friend of rank and fashion equal to his own, none of his juvenile friends, none of the elders of the college in which he was educated, to support his character? On this subject there was a gaping chasm, and it was thought proper to preserve a profound silence. He, like other gentlemen of fortune, travelled in his youth, but was accompanied by this Italian, Neri, who had been called his secretary. This man he had kept in a most expensive manner. When Neri married, although he had not a shilling of his own, and did not get a shilling with his wife, yet they took a house at a rent of 150*l.* per annum, and Neri lived more with his lordship than under his own roof.

Mr. Best appealed to his Lordship whether this line of defence was to be endured. If it was, it would be in the power of any Defendant



fendant to destroy the character of any Plaintiff, by a story that he could not be prepared to answer.

Sir James Mansfield thought the learned Serjeant should be permitted to proceed in his statement.

Mr. Serjeant Cockle said, it was absolutely necessary for him to make this statement, to prove that what had been stated by his Learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Best) as an aggravation of the malice, was not true. It was also his duty to prove that those *flying rumours* against the character of Lord Leicester were so generally heard of, that his Lordship's character had not suffered by the paragraphs to the extent that had been stated, as he might perhaps shew that his Lordship's character was previously as bad in this respect as any man's could be, who was not actually convicted of the crime. If this was the case, it must most materially alter the damages. As to the observation which had been made of the difficulty of restoring a man to society who had been charged with such an offence, he believed that his Lordship might, whatever were the damages, continue to mix, with the same respect, in that sort of company with which he had long associated; and that whatever the damages might be, that they would not restore him to any sort of society which his birth and rank in life appeared to entitle him to. He felt no manner of doubt but that in the consideration of damages, the Jury would pay considerable attention to those circumstances which it was his duty to prove.

Mrs. ——— was the first witness called. An objection was made to her examination, on the ground that it did not go totally to establish

the fact; this was over-ruled, as it went to a mitigation of damages. The witness admitted, that she lived with Lord and Lady Leicester at their marriage; that they slept together only three or four nights immediately after it; that they sometimes lived in the same house, but that generally his Lordship resided in Westbourn place, Paddington, and Lady Leicester in Gloucester-place. She had seen Hayling, Neri, and Playfair, at his Lordship's; they all dined there; Hayling sometimes slept there.— Her master and mistress went to the country in August; his Lordship returned from it in a day or two; her Ladyship remained till November. She had seen the Lady Townshends at Lord Leicester's, but never saw any Nobleman there; except at meals his Lordship generally spent his time with Hayling.

Mr. Harraden and George Smith were the next witnesses, but their evidence was not material.

Wm. Newton was master of the Cocoa-nut Coffee-house in 1790. Neri was a waiter of his in 1792 or 1798. He knew no harm of Neri.

Mr. Ridgway deposed, that Neri lodged with him eighteen months, about the year 1801. Lord Leicester visited him there once a week.—Neri paid a guinea a week for his lodging.

Mr. Derew was an auctioneer; he sold the furniture of the houses in Gloucester-place and in Westbourne green, by Neri's direction; he also sold the furniture of Neri's house in Baker-street, but that was a separate concern.

John Newby was chapel clerk of Trinity College, Cambridge. He knew



knew Lord Leicester and Neri there. Neri acted more as a companion than a servant there. Neri slept in his Lordship's chambers, but it was customary for servants to sleep on the same floor with their masters.—Lord Leicester was considered an eccentric character in college. He used to shut himself up in his room for a week together, and saw no one; instead of a purple gown, which Noblemen generally wore, he wore a *pink* one; he dressed his hair effeminately, and was called Miss Leicester, Lady Chartley, &c. in derision. Many Gentlemen in the College, however, were *like ladies*.—He admitted that notorious reports, accusing Lord Leicester of infamous and unnatural crimes, were prevalent in College: he did not believe them. He had heard reports of others also. Lord Leicester gave some concerts, at which most of the Nobility, and many of the seniors of the College attended. Neri was a musical character; his Lordship and he often played duetts together. Neri played on the guitar.

Hannah Rusignal knew a person of the name of Murray; he lodged with her one year. Lord Leicester often visited him, and at one time when he was sick expressed his regret at it, and advised him to get good advice. Murray was not musical.

Rev. H. Boulter was Lord Leicester's tutor at College: the cause assigned for his Lordship's leaving College was, that he was going abroad.

Col. Rainsford, 1st Guards, deposed, that there was a man of the name of Frith, a private in his regiment: that after a short absence from the regiment, he found many

men with gold watches, and Frith among the rest; when in plain dress also, they wore as good cloaths as he did. Lord Leicester gave Frith the watch. He heard that his Lordship used to walk arm in arm with the privates of his regiment in May and June 1806. He had heard vile reports of Lord Leicester for the last three years.

Lord John Townshend said, he was uncle to Lord Leicester. He was not on terms with him; their quarrel was not personal; he disliked his Lordship's conduct to his father; he did not know him after his marriage, but lady John sometimes visited at his house.

The evidence was here closed; and Serjeant Best, at some length, eloquently addressed the Jury in favour of the Plaintiff.

Sir James Mansfield commented at some length upon the evidence. He went into an history of the press in this country, from the time of its first establishment to the abolition of the office of licenses. The liberty of the press was a term *blindly* used by many modern writers and speakers; it did not mean the liberty of speaking political treason or private slander, but it merely meant the liberty of speaking what it chose, liable to the correction of the laws of the land.—Undoubtedly in the present case a verdict must be found for the Plaintiff, but at the same time the damages were liable to mitigation, from the circumstances of the evidence, according to the judgment of the Jury.—*Verdict for the Plaintiff, 1000*l.*—Costs, 40*s.**

*Court of Exchequer.—Seduction.—Strange v. Gore.*—This was an action brought by the plaintiff, who is a watch-maker at Kingston-upon-Thames,



Thames, against the defendant, a captain of dragoons, stationed at Hampton-court, for the purpose of recovering compensation for the seduction of his daughter—a beautiful girl from 14 to 15 years of age. It will probably be recollected, that this transaction was mentioned in the public papers, and made some noise at the time it took place, which was in January last.

Mr. Dauncey stated the case on the part of the plaintiff, detailing the particulars, which afterwards were produced in evidence, and then read some very ardent love letters written to the girl after the seduction. He took it for granted, that no witnesses would be called on the part of the defendant. They would only have an able speech from his learned friend (Serjeant Best). But they would recollect that words were not facts. The father, they would recollect, was bound by law to support his daughter, while he was now deprived of the hope of procuring her an honourable establishment by marriage, owing to the gross misconduct of the defendant, who, they would also remember, was nearly allied to some noble families, and able to afford a liberal compensation. Under all the circumstances, they would either give the whole of the damages, which were laid at 5000*l.* or at least a very considerable portion of that sum.

Miss Lydia Strange was then called, who deposed, that on the 1st of January last she went to Hampton-Court, on a visit to the house of a Mr. Bear, or Vear, who had some charge of the palace. While walking in the cloisters of the palace with Jane Hicks, the maid servant, she met Captain

Gore, whom she had seen at Kingston before, but had never spoke to—Captain Gore passed on without speaking to her at that time, but he spoke to Jane Hicks. She then stated, that when she went out to walk in a day or two after, Jane Hicks proposed, by way of joke, that they should go and throw some gravel at the window of Captain Gore. She assented, and the servant went and threw the gravel, upon which they both ran away—but Captain Gore followed them, and having come up took her by the hand. They were not together more than five minutes at that time, as Jane Hicks came up, and told her, that Mrs. Bear, or Vear, was waiting for her. Another time she happened to go into the Chapel, the door being open, and Captain Gore having observed her, followed her into the Chapel. He took off his hat and kissed her, but observing some men at work about the windows of the Chapel, he went out and left her there. Some time after he returned, and bolted the door. Jane Hicks was there at that time. Captain Gore entreated that he might see her in the evening, which she refused—and then Captain Gore begged of Jane Hicks to persuade her to meet him. Captain Gore gave her some grapes, and to Jane Hicks he gave a one pound note. He asked her when she was to return to Kingston, and she told him that she was to return the next day. She next stated, that she had gone home to Kingston—but for some reason, not material to the cause, she had gone to Hampton-Court almost immediately after. As she was out walking with Miss Bear, or Vear, a child of about 10 years of age, she saw  
Captain



Captain Gore coming from the opposite direction in a curricule, along with a Lieutenant Lister, or Leicester. They passed on without any think having been said. But Captain Gore came to them soon after, and persuaded them to go to his lodgings. They went and continued there till it was pretty late. He gave them three kinds of wine—Claret, Madeira, and Hock. She drank of them all. In answer to a question from the lord chief baron, she said, that she had sometimes before drank wine. They then proposed to return home, and Captain Gore said he would walk home with them. They however went to walk by the wall of Bushy Park. Soon after she heard a noise, as of one walking behind. Captain Gore whistled, and called out Henry, and then Mr. Lister, or Leicester, came up. The latter took the arm of Miss Bear, or Vear, and walked on with her before—leaving the witness and Captain Gore behind. She soon after saw somebody with a lantern coming up, upon which Captain Gore proposed to her to cross the road, that they might not be observed. From the voice of him who passed, who pronounced the name of “Strange,” she knew it was Mr. Vear. She then said to Captain Gore, that she was afraid to return home after being out so late—upon which he proposed that she should go with him, and he would take her to a young lady who would take care of her. She refused at first, but he afterwards persuaded her. They then walked on for some time—when she asked whether the residence of the young lady was far off. He said not very far off. They got a post-chaise, at a place which she afterwards under-

stood to be Hounslow. This chaise broke down, but they got another, and proceeded straight to London. They were set down at a place which she afterwards understood to be Leicester-square. From this they walked to a house in Chandos-street, where they had refreshments and wine. She went to bed, and soon after Captain Gore came to the bed-room undressed. She asked him if he intended to sleep there? He answered “yes,” upon which she said, he should not sleep there—but he said he would, and in fact did sleep with her. Next morning they went to a house in South-street, Soho-square, where she saw a Miss Dunn, and there they continued for that night. Mr. Lister, or Leicester, called next morning, and they went to the house of a Mr. Dessin, or Vessey, an attorney, where they staid half an hour, and then drove to an hotel in a hackney coach, where they dined. Lodgings were then taken for her in Thanet-place, Temple Bar, where she and Captain Gore lived under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Graham, till they were discovered by the Bow-street officers, and she was carried to her father’s.—The whole of this took place between the first and 12th of January.

*Cross examined by Mr. Serjeant Best.*

She admitted that she had nodded to Captain Gore from a window in Kingston, before he had ever spoken to her. She often talked of Captain Gore among her acquaintances, and was sometimes by them called in jest “Mrs. Gore.” Her mother had been dead eight years—her father had two years after taken into the house a woman of



of the name of Sarah Wood, who had been bar maid of the Castle Inn, Kingston, but she always understood that they were married, although stories were going about that they were not married. Her brother, she admitted, had threatened to leave the house if that woman was allowed to continue in it.

Miss Budd, who keeps a boarding school at Richmond, said, that the girl had been latterly at her school, and was well-behaved. Her father visited her regularly, and appeared very attentive to her in every respect.

Mary Brooks proved that lodgings had been taken for Captain Gore and Miss Strange, under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Graham, on a Sunday, at her house in Thanet-place. She was struck with the youth of the lady, and had a conversation with Captain Gore on Monday morning, in the course of which she remarked that the young lady appeared to be scarcely sixteen. Captain Gore replied, that she was nineteen years of age—that they had been married fourteen months, and he had known her eighteen.

Anthony, the officer, was called to prove that he had received the reward promised by her father for the discovery.

Mr. Webster proved the handwriting of Captain Gore, but the letters were not read by the clerk, it being thought immaterial.

Mr. Serjeant Best made an able speech in defence, or rather in mitigation of damages. The two points upon which he chiefly insisted were, first—That the father himself had set an example of vice to his daughter, in living with a wo-

man in a state of fornication; and, 2dly, That the daughter herself had exhibited a levity of conduct in making a signal to Captain Gore, who had never spoke to her before, which deprived the plaintiff of all pretence for large damages. They ought to consider that not a farthing of what they gave might ever find its way into the pockets of the girl. He also stated, that though Captain Gore was allied to some distinguished families, he was in very narrow circumstances, and large damages would ruin him.

The Lord Chief Baron summed up the evidence, and observed, that an improper levity in the girl would, no doubt, extremely diminish the claim of the father to damages. But they would consider whether the youth of the young woman was not to be taken into account in adverting to the instance of levity stated by the counsel. In a woman of eighteen, who must have been aware of the construction which might have been put on such behaviour, it would be unpardonable. But with respect to a young girl, who was only from 14 to 15 years of age, the case was different. With regard to the conduct of the father, the learned judge remarked, that whether he was married or not to the woman mentioned, his daughter had been very little in her society, as it appeared that she had been kept at school for the greater part of the time that Mrs. Strange, or Sarah Wood, which ever she was, lived in her father's house. In the course of the charge, the learned judge adverted to the conduct of Jane Hicks, and Lieutenant Lister, or Leicester, in terms of the severest censure, and said, that there was evidence of a conspiracy between them and the defendant to



ruin this ignorant young woman. Upon the whole, he thought they must find for the plaintiff, and that they must give damages. The quantum was for their consideration.

The jury retired for a few minutes, and then found their verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, *Fifteen hundred pounds*.

## JULY.

1. The chancellor's prizes are this year adjudged to the following gentlemen:—

The English Essay "On the love of our Country," to Mr. C. P. Burney, B. A. of Merton College.

The Latin verses "Corinthus," to Mr. Peter Meyer Latham, of Brasenose College.

The donation for English verse, "John the Baptist," to Mr. Charles Henry Johnson, of Brasenose College.

*Court of King's Bench.—Colonel Wardle's Case.—Wright v. Wardle, Esq.*

3. The attorney general opened the case on the part of the plaintiff, Mr. Francis Wright, an upholsterer, who brought his action to recover 1914*l.* for the amount of sundry articles of furniture for fitting up the house of Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, in Westbourne place, Chelsea. He stated the circumstances of the case at full length, which were afterwards detailed in evidence. The defendant became liable to pay this debt in consequence of his personal promise. Mrs. Clarke was already indebted to the plaintiff about 500*l.* or 600*l.* and applied to him to furnish her house, which he refused to do without being paid. She then sold him in the end of last autumn,

that she had a friend in view who would furnish the house for her. She afterwards brought Colonel Wardle to the plaintiff's house, who ordered the house to be furnished, and the goods were sent in. Mrs. C. being distressed for furniture, had previously obtained of the plaintiff a few necessary articles to the value of 200*l.* upon hire. Mrs. Clarke, he said, would be called as a witness, and also the brother of the plaintiff, who could both of them prove the plaintiff's case. Besides these witnesses, there was Major Dodd, who had been present at one of the conversations, and if he was called, he would prove the plaintiff's case. If the defendant did not call him, his absence would equally prove the case. But would Mr. Wardle deny the credibility of Mrs. Clarke? would he say that she was not a witness to be believed upon her oath? In this case he would say, that though she could not get credit of her upholsterer, yet as her evidence would be confirmed by the brother of the plaintiff, and she was upon her oath, she was deserving of credit before a jury. The attorney-general then stated, that Mr. Wright being desirous to have part of his money, Colonel Wardle called and offered a bill for 500*l.* at 3 months, which was received in payment by the plaintiff; but as the investigation of the charges against the Duke of York was then to be proceeded in, Mr. W. would not give his own bill, but got a Mr. Illingworth, a wine-merchant of Pall-Mall, to give a bill for that sum, which was afterwards paid. The attorney-general made some very severe and sarcastic observations upon the frailty of human memory, which might



might account perhaps for Mr. Wardle's defending this cause, for it was by no means to be wondered at, he said, that a gentleman should now forget a promise of this kind made six months ago, when some persons could not even remember upon a great public occasion, where they had been the very day before.

Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke was called. She appeared with her usual gaiety. She was rather elegantly dressed in white muslin, with a white silk hat, white ribbons, and a veil. A spotted muslin cloak lined with pink silk, a white handkerchief tied loosely round her neck, and primrose or brimstone coloured French habit-gloves. She was examined by Mr. Garrow. Her evidence was to the following effect:—

(Mr. Serjeant Best, for the defendant, objected to her being examined without being previously released by the plaintiff; but Lord Ellenborough thought that as she did not come to charge herself, and the plaintiff by the statement of his counsel, and by calling her as a witness, discharged her, it was not necessary.

She stated that she first became acquainted with Colonel Wardle in consequence of a letter from the Exchequer Coffee-house. I took my house in Westbourne-place, from September, *but I did not enter till the 9th of November.* I communicated to Mr. Wardle that I had taken it, and had several conversations about furnishing it before I applied to Wright. I was indebted to Mr. Wright 500*l.* or 600*l.* I did not propose to him to furnish my house on credit, because I knew it would be in vain. I told him I had a friend in view, who I believed would furnish it. I did not men-

tion his name. Mr. Wardle was that friend in view, in consequence of some promises that he was holding out to me. I was to give him every information in my power, and to assist him in the *Investigation.* In return for which he was to furnish the house. This was a part of the requital to me for giving that assistance. I informed Colonel Wardle of Wright's requiring some other person's credit. He asked some one as a friend first for his advice, and then he told me he approved of it. I had no other means then of paying. I was very much distressed at that time. He knew that, and knew of Wright's debt, because he advised Mr. Wright to bring an action against the person whom he thought ought to pay. He promised to Mr. Wright, if he would bring such an action, that he would pay all the costs. He afterwards accompanied me to Mr. Wright's, and I took him there to say that he was the person who was to be responsible. Daniel Wright attended us that day in the shop. I introduced Colonel Wardle—I do not know I did that by name. What I said was, this is the gentleman who is to furnish my house. He went for that purpose. He was silent. We walked in the ware-room, Colonel Wardle remaining with the things. Colonel W. knew the state of my house, and had seen the things previously sent in on hire by Mr. Wright. I had gone up stairs to Mr. Wright, who was ill a bed. When I came, he said he thought the sideboard in the ware-rooms a very handsome one, and he ordered it instead of the one at my house. He said nothing more—there was, indeed, very little more for him to say—and I gave orders for the things.



things. He had gone to Wright's afterwards a great many times in a hackney-coach. He went another time, and the object of his going was to look out other things. I had chosen a pattern of a carpet in Westbourne-place, and a piece of carpeting was sent in. Mr. Wardle preferred one at Mr. Wright's. Major Dodd was with him. Major Dodd had not been there before with me, but I believe he called once before with Colonel W. They wished to have a *scarlet* and *bronze* pattern. I objected to it, and thought it only fit for parlours. It was an expensive pattern. Major Dodd said it was very *Turkish*; he thought it would suit me. For that very thing (being *Turkish*) I objected to it; but I said, as it was a good carpet, I did not care much about it; and as *they* were going to pay for it (I mean Colonel Wardle), I would not object. Neither of them then expressed any astonishment. Several things were ordered that morning, in the presence of Major Dodd. They were ordered by him and Mr. Wardle.

Mr. Garrow.—I take it for granted you did not very frequently object to his increasing the order?

Mrs. Clarke.—Not in the least. The things were sent in in January. In November, December, and January, as they could get the things finished. The things were sent in on Mr. Wardle's account. He was continually in every room in the house, without being asked into it, looking at the furniture from the kitchen to the garret. The maid-servants complained that they had not looking-glasses in their bed chambers. Sometimes he has sent back expensive furniture that Wright has sent in, when he thought there

was no occasion for it. I recollect a very large mirror coming in. He flew in a passion, and the man that brought it almost dropped the mirror. They talked apart about it, and then Colonel Wardle ordered it back. I thought myself it was too much, as there was a large chandelier in the middle of the room. Mr. Wright called, and it being wet, begged I would give it house room for that day, and perhaps he would think better of it. It was returned. Wright sent once a writing-desk which was very expensive. Colonel Wardle said there were writing desks enough in the house, and it was not wanted. I told the man to put it down to me.

Mr. Garrow.—Did he afterwards change his mind?

Mrs. Clarke.—Oh yes; he was ashamed of himself.

Mr. Garrow.—After this business going on for some time, did Mr. Wright express a wish for more money?

Mrs. Clarke.—Yes; he communicated it to me, and I communicated his wish to Colonel Wardle. I had not a guinea on earth to pay it with. I told Colonel Wardle money was wanted, 500*l.* or 600*l.* was mentioned. He said he had not the money immediately, he would consult a friend, and would let me know immediately. The application for money was made to me.

Lord Ellenborough here thought that Mrs. Clarke should have a release, which was accordingly executed and explained to her, and then she was asked if she wished to qualify any thing she had said, but she did not think that necessary.

Mr. Park said, the release should be to her husband, she being a married



ried woman, and a second release was agreed to be made.

The attorney-general said, however, it could not be necessary, because the husband could hardly be liable for these things.

Mr. Park, you'll say she is not liable because she is an adulteress (*at this Mrs. Clarke smiled*), but that you cannot inquire into now.

The release was assented to.

Mrs. Clarke in continuation.—Colonel Wardle said, it would be some time before he would be prepared, and then not with money, but by a bill. He said that he sent a friend there about it. He told me he sent a Mr. Glenny—he called him Colonel Glenny. The bill was given. He told me that he would speak to a friend, a Mr. Illingworth, a wine-merchant in Pall-mall, as at that time it would be improper for his, Colonel Wardle's, name to appear.

Mr. Garrow. Did he express in terms, or leave you to conjecture from your knowledge of business, the reason of that?

Mrs. C.—In consequence of the *Investigation* that was going on, or about to be commenced, he thought it not right that his name should appear to any bill, or in any transaction of mine. I believe it was the 2d of January, and I do not recollect the date of the motion in the House of Commons against the Duke of York. That was about three weeks or a fortnight after. He said he would send Illingworth to me. He was to talk over the date of the bill. I was to make my communication with Wright to know what was the longest time to be allowed. This was for Colonel W. not to interfere. I never knew Illingworth before. Illingworth waited on him. My name

might have been introduced before to Illingworth, however, though I did not know him, because my attorney had paid him 12 or 14*l.* for wine sent in by him. I communicated to Colonel Wardle, that Wright wanted the bill for two months; but he said it must be for three months. He said he had seen Wright since I had seen him. I was informed by Colonel Wardle, that this bill was drawn on a friend, to prevent any suspicion, or any thing getting round to the public. Illingworth was to take a bill on me for the like amount, which he told me was not worth any thing.

Mr. Garrow.—That was no new information to you?

Mrs. Clarke.—No. It was done, he said, lest Wright might be tempted to make more charges than he should like to pay, and then he would be able to keep the transaction with me secret.

I was acquainted with Colonel Wardle before I knew Major Dodd. I saw Colonel Wardle about the end of August. I had a letter from the Exchequer Coffee-house without a signature. In consequence of that letter I saw Colonel Wardle. The note was written by Mr. M'Callum. Colonel Wardle came to my mother's in Bedford-place, about one o'clock, and staid till dinner about six o'clock, when he told me that Major Dodd had been waiting for him all that time. I was rather fearful of doing what he wanted me with him alone, because he was not much known in Parliament. Major Dodd was introduced as a gentleman, a friend of his. I had heard of Major Dodd before. His person was unknown to me. About the end of November we went a tour for three days, to view the



Martello Towers. Mr. Wardle, Mr. Glenny, the engineer, and Major Dodd. They would not let me off the journey; I was in very distressed circumstances; I never went out of town but with Mr. Wardle.

Lord Ellenborough thought it unnecessary to pursue this course of examination further.

Mrs. Clarke.—I first heard of an objection to pay from Mr. Wright, about a fortnight or three weeks since, about the time Parliament was prorogued. Mr. Wright trusted entirely to Colonel Wardle. Before I could go out of town I was obliged to have fifty pounds of Colonel Wardle, to pay the butcher, and the fishmonger, and other things. He always told me that he would lend me 50*l.* at a time. His expression was—lend, but I did not understand that I was to repay it. The reason of my going out of town was, because I had many friends about me, and it was feared they would persuade me not to accept of Colonel W.'s proposals. There were no goods sent in till after the 23d of November.

*Cross examined by Mr. Serjeant Best.*

The house was first taken in November.

Mr. Serjeant Best.—It was in consequence of a correspondence with M<sup>c</sup>Callum that you became acquainted with Colonel Wardle?

Mrs. Clarke.—Yes. If you call one letter a correspondence.

Mr. Serjeant Best having put several questions as to the time when she first became acquainted with Colonel Wardle, and she saying it was in the end of Autumn, she said it was quite ridiculous to examine her as to that. She did not recol-

lect exactly when the first order was given, but she believed it was after Major Dodd's letter on the 21st of November. It might be the 23d; it was a few days before she went to the Martello Towers. Being asked whether Colonel Wardle had ordered coals, she said he gave a general order to Mr. Wright to let me be indulged in any thing. He would have let me had money through Wright. He said one day when I wanted money, cannot you borrow money of Mr. Wright. He often complained that he had no money, but still he found me some whenever I wanted it. Being asked whether she had not sent him a threatening letter, saying, that if he did not let her have 1000*l.* she would do for him; and whether she had quarrelled with him? she said, she had not quarrelled; but she had sent a letter, written by her, but dictated by a Dr. Metcalf, which she was sorry she had sent. She had not seen him for two months. As to receiving money of him, she said, that he was averse to letting her have any thing after their negotiation was settled. She once went to his house. He asked her in with a friend who was there. She sent for him into the carriage, and told him she wanted some money, and did not care how small a sum. He said it would be asked of her if she was giving her information with a view to any future advantage, but if every thing was previously settled, that might be fairly answered to the contrary. He afterwards sent her a draft on Marsh, Sibbold, and Co. for 20*l.* signed by Scott, an army taylor, who assisted in the *Investigation*. She then begged leave to say something to correct her evidence as to quarrelling



telling with Colonel Wardle. She then stated, that Corfield, his attorney, had called on her with a subpoena last Saturday, and said he wished to show her every respect. He wished therefore to serve it himself, but in a common case he should have sent a clerk. That he desired very much that the case should go to arbitration to keep it from being public. That if it came before the court, Mr. Serjeant Best would cut her up by a severe cross examination, and Mr. Wardle would give it out to the public, that she was bribed by ministers.

Mr. Garrow.—Are you in fact bribed by any one?

Mrs. Clarke.—Certainly not.

Mr. Daniel Wright (the Plaintiff's brother), confirmed Mrs. Clarke in every particular as to the credit given to Colonel Wardle; and said that he called in a gig, when he was told that Wright wanted money, and asked whether a bill would not do as well. Being told he wanted 500*l.* or 600*l.* he said he would attend to it immediately. He also stated that the defendant looked out the sideboard, and that Dodd and he chose the carpet; and Mrs. Clarke yielded, because she said they were to pay for it. The amount of the bill was originally 1914*l.* and 500*l.* being paid off, there were 1414*l.* left due. No goods were sent in on credit till after Colonel Wardle had called. His name was not mentioned, but he knew him by sight. The goods sent in to fit up the house at first to the amount of 200*l.* were afterwards charged to Colonel Wardle. They began furnishing about the last day of November, or the 1st of December. Mrs. Clarke was

not in the house till after the furniture was in.

On his cross examination by Mr. Parke, he said the bill contained a charge of 26*l.* for carpenter's work done, which was not ordered by Colonel Wardle; this carpenter had done repairs to the kitchen. There was a charge also for 9*l.* 15*s.* for coals; plasterer's work, 24*l.*; painter's work, 18*l.* One item was a tasteful figure of Mirth and Wine for a pier, that is, a lamp supported by a figure, 14*l.*; a Grecian sofa, 50*l.*; another Grecian sofa, 43*l.*; chimney glasses, 200 guineas; French window curtains, two sets for the front drawing room (here was a third set enumerated in this charge), 93*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* these were without the cornices; and a charge also of 5*l.* 14*s.* for insurance from fire.

Mr. Serjeant Best, for the defendant, denied that he was liable to pay. He said that Mrs. Clarke and Mr. D. Wright contradicted each other materially as to the 200*l.* worth of furniture on hire, and also as to the time when the furniture was sent in on sale. Mrs. Clarke at first wished to make it believed that the transaction took place at the end of autumn, in order to include many things which Colonel Wardle could not possibly be required to pay. They differed as to the 200*l.* worth of furniture on hire. One said that it was taken back, the other said it was passed to the defendant's credit. This was clearly within the statute of frauds, and the promise should have been in writing. With these contradictions he called upon the jury to reject all the testimony of Mrs. Clarke, and of Wright also. There



was good reason why the plaintiff should trust Mrs. Clarke, because she was 600*l.* in his debt, and he knew her intriguing spirit, and thought it better to trust her with goods to enable her to keep up appearances, than to let her sink into insignificance, by which means he would lose his money. The insurance of the goods shewed that he looked to Mrs. Clarke as his security. As to Mrs. Clarke, she was a woman whom nobody ought to believe—She was the most artful inventor of a fictitious tale that ever appeared. As to Major Dodd, he could not call him, because he did not believe he was present.—(One of the jury asked her, why the bill was given for 500*l.* and in whose name?—To this the learned serjeant answered, that it was all a fabrication.)—In this case Colonel Wardle's honour was at stake; for Mrs. C. wished it to be understood, that all this furniture was given as a bribe for her to appear in the House of Commons. The Jury would surely not invade both his property and his honour, upon the testimony of a woman who could not be believed in any court of justice. If he could judge of Colonel Wardle by his own feelings, he said he was sure after the exhibition she had made to-day, it was impossible that had that happened before the motion against the Duke of York, he could have attached any credit to her testimony.

There were no dates to any particular items throughout the whole bill.

Lord Ellenborough summed up the case, and complained both of the plaintiff and the defendant. The one he said had introduced charges

which were evidently unfair in his bill, such as the insurance, the plasterer's bill, &c. (These were given up by the attorney general.) There was also a charge for kitchen furniture, but that was sometimes supplied by persons who furnished the house, and the jury would inquire whether that was within the scope of the defendant's order. On the other hand, the defendant had denied the circumstance of the bill, but he would do that at his peril. For if he denied it, then the charge would be so much increased. His lordship likewise thought that if credit was ever given to Mrs. Clarke for the 200*l.* worth of furniture, that should have been provided for by a promise in writing. His lordship then detailed the evidence, because there was some mistakes, or some inconsistencies in the dates, some of which were hastily applied to things which were not accurately settled. There was some little confusion in this respect, which could only be cleared up by reading the whole evidence.

The jury retired, and about nine o'clock brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, deducting the 200*l.* the 500*l.* paid, and also all the items for plastering, painting, insurance, &c. which are to be taken out of the bill by the officer of the court.

#### COLONEL WARDLE'S LETTER.

4. Honoured as my parliamentary conduct has been by the approbation of so many of my countrymen, I feel myself called upon, in consequence of an event that yesterday took place, immediately to address you, and that in vindication of my character, rendered open to attack from the verdict of the jury upon the evidence of Mrs. Clarke and



and Mr. Wright, the brother of her Upholsterer, in a cause in which I was Defendant, in the Court of King's Bench. The detail of the evidence the public prints will afford. It is with me to state, that my Counsel, satisfied in their minds that the jury would not, upon such testimony as had been given by the Plaintiff's brother and Mrs. Clarke alone, find a verdict against me, did not comply with my earnest entreaty (repeated to them in writing during the trial in the strongest terms) that Major Dodd, Mr. Glenie, and other respectable witnesses subpoenaed by the plaintiff and myself, might be examined, as I knew their testimony would be founded in truth, and be in direct contradiction to what had been sworn against me. Under such circumstances the verdict was obtained. There only remains for me now, before my God and my country, to declare, that it was obtained by *Perjury alone*; and I do pledge myself to prove that fact the earliest moment the forms of the law will allow me to do so. Anxiously, therefore, do I look forward to that period; and I trust that *till then* the public will *suspend their judgment* upon the case.

With sentiments of the deepest gratitude and respect, I remain your ever faithfully devoted servant,

G. L. WARDLE.

James-street, July 4, 1809.

4. *Impressment and false imprisonment.*—James Sabine v. Sir Christ. Baynes, James Godfrey De Burgh, and W. Perry, Esq.—Mr. Park stated, this was an action to recover damages for an assault and false imprisonment, under very aggravated circumstances; so

much so, that for the thirty years he had been at the bar, he had never witnessed one so dangerous, or marked with such tyranny. Expressions like these were often made use of by counsel, and juries gave them only that credit which they deserve; but he pledged himself, that both his lordship and the jury would think with him before the cause was over. The plaintiff was a young man, not more than 22 years of age; his father was a farmer, and dealer in horses, at Hounslow; the defendants were magistrates of the county of Middlesex, gentlemen of fortune, respectable characters for aught he knew; he did not know anything of them; he did not mean to say anything of them out of this cause; but the conduct which produced it was so glaringly bad, that it did not require him to burnish it, to make it shine with its full lustre. On the 15th of October, 1808, the plaintiff was left at home by his father, in care of 30 horses, he being obliged to go from home to attend some horse-market; in the evening of that day, the plaintiff found it necessary to take one of his father's horses and cart to some place in the neighbourhood of Hounslow; he did certainly what was wrong and unlawful,—he was sitting in the cart, driving the horse, without any reins from his head, by which means the horse got on the wrong side of the road; he was met by Mr. De Burgh, one of the defendants, who said he would fine him: on the following day, the plaintiff received a summons to appear at Uxbridge on the 17th, a distance of ten miles from Hounslow: his father had not returned home; but he went, and took two friends with him: when he



he arrived there, the three defendants were sitting as magistrates; they ordered him to be confined in the cage, a kind of prison; he was there about one hour and a half, when two constables came and handcuffed him, and told him they were ordered by the defendants to put him on board the tender: he told them he had never been at sea, and remonstrated with them, but in vain. He begged of them not to handcuff him, as he would go quietly with them. They told him they must, as they were ordered by the magistrates; but they would take them off when they got to a distance, so as the defendants would not know that they had dared to show so much humanity. They put him into a postchaise, and drove to Oxford-street, where they got a hackney-coach, and brought him to the Tower, and put him on board the Enterprize tender for the receiving of impressed men, where he was kept for seven days, without a bed to lie on: it was not until the 20th that he could procure pen, ink, and paper, to write to his friends the situation he was placed in: on the 22d he was sent to the Nore, on board the admiral's ship. The plaintiff's two friends, who had accompanied him to Uxbridge, went before his lordship on the 22d of October, and made oath of these facts, and his lordship granted a habeas corpus to the admiralty, which was not answered immediately, but the plaintiff was put on shore at the Nore on the 12th of November, and had to find his way back to Hounslow the best way he could. He, Mr. Park, would admit every thing that the defendant's counsel could wish: his client might have been insolent,

might have treated the magistrates (the defendants) with disrespect; but nothing could justify their conduct, to take away the liberty of a subject, perhaps for ever, to satisfy their own choler and spleen; the plaintiff was an hour and a half in the cage, they had time to reflect; his friends offered to pay any fine; they offered to give security in 500*l.* for his appearance when or where they wished, but to no purpose. He had certainly committed an unlawful act, by sitting on his cart, but the penalty was only 10*s.* and in case of inability of paying it, ten days confinement in the house of correction. It could not be supposed that the defendants were ignorant that they were doing an unlawful act; but, even if they were, it was no answer to this action, they were not ignorant that they were doing a cruel and tyrannical act: men whose duty it was to protect every species of his majesty's subjects, the poor as well as the rich; men who were chosen to administer justice, and support the laws of their country, to become traitors, and trample both law and justice under their feet! he would not mention humanity, afraid the defendants might start at the sound, as they never could have known what is was before. There were no damages too great for them to pay. What might have been the consequences? A young man tenderly reared, put on board a prison-ship, kept there several nights and days, without a bed to lie on, in the cold month of November, might not his death have been the result, and would it be doubted that the defendants would have been obliged to answer for such an event? The only question for the jury to consider



der was, what would be the quantum of damages. He only asked them for such as they would conscientiously think they ought to be entitled to, if they had been treated as the plaintiff was. This statement was fully supported by the evidence.

Mr. Garrow, counsel for the defendants, stated they were respectable persons; they bore no malice towards the plaintiff. They were extremely sorry for what they had done. It had been done through error; the law would have justified them in sending the plaintiff to the house of correction for three months, and they thought they were empowered to send him on board any of his majesty's ships. He, Mr. Garrow, did not attempt to defend their conduct; he knew the verdict must be against them; but there was nothing in the case that called for heavy damages. The defendants were not answerable for the delay that took place between the 22d of October, when the habeas corpus was issued out, and the 12th of November, when the plaintiff was discharged.

Lord Ellenborough—"This is a case that calls for ample justice. A young man, in driving his cart, commits an offence, for which he is fineable; instead of which he is imprisoned, without any authority of law, and afterwards put on board of a ship: there is nothing a magistrate ought to guard so much against as the playing with the liberty of the subject; there can be no excuse for the conduct of the defendants. The plaintiff is entitled to ample justice from a jury of his country: you will, therefore, gentlemen, take the case into consideration, and give him those da-

mages that you think will make him ample compensation for the injuries he has sustained."

The jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff: Damages 500*l*.

4. In the court of chancery, sir Samuel Romily moved for an injunction to restrain sir Richard Phillips, knight and bookseller, from printing and selling a certain book upon the subject of chemistry.—He made the application on behalf of a Mr. Parkes, who had written a work, entitled "The Chemical Catechism," which he sold at twelve shillings each copy. It had met with very extraordinary success, which sir Richard Phillips no sooner discovered, than he set about publishing a spurious edition of it, as the work of a Mr. Blair, which he sold at 3*s*. At the end of Mr. Parkes's work there was a chemical vocabulary—at the end of sir Rich. Phillips's book there was a chemical dictionary, so exactly like the former that even the errors of the press were copied. He had also an affidavit, that there was no such person in existence as the alleged author, Mr. Blair. The lord chancellor ordered the injunction to issue.

6. About 6 o'clock in the evening, the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Cirencester were alarmed by the approach of a tornado, or whirlwind. It was first observed about three miles to the southward of the town, when it assumed the appearance of a large conical hay-rick, encompassed with smoke. It moved very slowly at first, in a direction towards Cirencester, forcing up by the roots many trees in the parish of Siddington: indeed, so tardy was its progress, that some persons had time to get upon



upon the tower of Preston church, in order to observe its course.—When it approached nearer to Cirencester, it moved on with a velocity almost incredible; and making towards the basin of the canal, where it did considerable damage, skirted the town, and entered Lord Bathurst's park from the Tetbury road, just above his Lordship's mansion. Here its fury seemed to be at its height; for timber trees (some measuring from six to ten feet in girth) were torn up by the roots, whilst others were stript of their branches, or literally cut asunder—forming a scene of devastation very rarely witnessed in this climate.—After crossing the park, it entered an orchard of Barton Farm, where it threw down several trees, &c. and seemed to disperse, as it could no longer be traced by the naked eye. Its course might easily be traced, from the fallen trees, &c. which lined each side, completely in a withered and burnt state. Large branches of trees were carried to a very considerable distance; and hay-fields, where the grass had been cut down, were nearly stripped of their crops.

On Saturday night, a dreadful fire broke out in the house of Miss Slarke, milliner and dress maker, No. 62, Conduit-street, Bond-street. The whole family had retired to rest; but before Miss Slarke fell asleep, she smelt fire, and instantly rose to ascertain the fact, when, to her astonishment, she discovered that the flames had reached the staircase. She had presence of mind instantly to fly to the top of the house, where the young people her apprentices slept, and happily succeeded in getting them all down stairs and out of the house, where

Miss Slarke and they remained a considerable time, during a heavy rain, without any other cloaths on than their night dresses. The fire by this time had got to such a height that the whole house was in flames. Had the discovery been ten minutes later, every soul in it must have perished. It next communicated to the house of the Hon. Mr. North, who has lately sailed for Malta, the whole of which is entirely consumed. Great part of Mr. North's library, which was one of the best in London, and had been very lately removed to Conduit-street, we are sorry to add, has been either burnt or damaged. The fire on the other side of Miss Slarke's house, communicated to the house and shop of Mr. Hurley a grocer, which, with the contents, were consumed. We are sorry to state, that two men of the Imperial Fire Office, (one of the name of King) in endeavouring to save the library of Mr. North, nearly fell a prey to the flames.—The ceiling of the room unexpectedly fell in upon them, and they were for a considerable time buried in the burning ruins.—King is so much burnt in the legs, that it is found amputation of one or both of them will be the consequence. The other is also much burnt, and otherwise hurt by a beam falling across his body. They are both in the Middlesex Hospital.—Miss Slarke has lost every particle of her furniture and stock. She was just on the point of setting out for Brighton for the summer, with suitable articles, all of which were in the house.

This fire is memorable as having been the remote cause of the death of the celebrated Mr. Windham. With all the zeal of the friend and the scholar, Mr. Windham exerted

his



his utmost to save the valuable library and manuscripts of his absent friend Mr. North: in the course of his exertions, he received a blow upon his thigh, for which an operation was subsequently deemed necessary, and which was soon followed by his death.

*France.*—Bonaparte has issued orders to the French bishops to offer up thanksgivings for the victories of Enzerdorf and Wagram. In these orders he makes use of the following extraordinary language:—“ Though our Lord Jesus Christ sprang from the blood of David, he sought no worldly empire, on the contrary, he required that in concerns of this life men should obey Cæsar. His great object was the deliverance and salvation of souls. We, the inheritors of Cæsar’s power, are firmly resolved to maintain the independence of our throne, and the inviolability of our rights.—We shall persevere in the great work of the restoration of the worship of God; we shall communicate to its ministers that respectability which we alone can give them; we shall listen to their voice in all that concerns spiritual matters and affairs of conscience. We shall not be drawn aside from the great end which we strive to attain, and in which we have hitherto succeeded in part—the restoration of the altars of our divine worship; nor suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that these principles (as Greeks, English, Protestants, and Calvinists affirm) are inconsistent with the independence of thrones and nations. God has enlightened us enough to remove such errors far from us. Our subjects entertain no such fear.”

10. *Italy.*—*Rome.*—The journal of the capital contains a variety of decrees of the new government.

One of these abolishes the tribunal of the inquisition, and all the establishments attached to it. The archives and papers belonging to these several jurisdictions are put under seal, and consigned to the depôt of the archives; an inventory of them being made.—By another decree, a great number of especial tribunals are also abolished, as well as every temporal jurisdiction hitherto possessed by the clergy, secular or regular. All clerical privileges are annulled.—The right of asylum remains no longer; in consequence, the authors or accomplices of crimes will no longer be sheltered from the vengeance of the law.—A new establishment is made of justices of the peace, &c. all of whom are nominated by the emperor.—By a third decree, a committee is appointed for the preservation of all the ancient and modern monuments of Rome, and the Roman states. This committee is in particular charged to take precautions for preserving the cupola of St. Peter from lightning; and the paintings of Raphael, which are on the loggi of the Vatican, from injuries arising from the air. This committee consists of Martorelli, director of the imperial archives: Marini, director of the library of the Vatican: Caneva and Camuccini.

13. *Captain Barclay.*—This gentleman on Wednesday completed his arduous pedestrian undertaking, to walk a thousand miles in a thousand successive hours, at the rate of a mile in each and every hour. He had until four o’clock, *p. m.* to finish his task, but he performed his last mile in the quarter of an hour after three, with perfect ease and great spirit, amidst an immense concourse of spectators. For the last



last two days he appeared in higher spirits and performed his mile with apparently more ease, and in shorter time than he had done for some days past. With the change of the weather he had thrown off his loose great coat, which he wore during the rainy period, and on Wednesday performed in a flannel jacket. He also put on shoes remarkably thicker than any which he had used in any previous part of his performance. When asked how he meant to act, after he had finished his feat, he said he should that night take a good sound sleep, but that he must have himself awaked twice or thrice in the night, to avoid the danger of a too sudden transition from almost constant exertion, to a state of long repose.

One hundred to one, and indeed any odds whatever were offered on Wednesday morning; but so strong was the confidence in his success, that no bets could be obtained. The multitude of people who resorted to the scene of action, in the course of the concluding days, was unprecedented. Not a bed could be procured on Tuesday night at Newmarket, Cambridge, or any of the towns and villages in the vicinity, and every horse and every species of vehicle was engaged.—Among the nobility and gentry who witnessed on Wednesday the conclusion of this extraordinary feat, were:—

The Dukes of Argyle and St. Alban's; Earls Grosvenor, Besborough, and Jersey; Lords Foley and Somerville; Sir John Lade, Sir F. Standish, &c. &c.

Captain Barclay had 16,000*l.* depending upon his undertaking. The aggregate of the bets is supposed to amount to 100,000*l.*

*Court of King's Bench, Guildhall.*  
—*Sale of Public Offices.*—*The King v. Pohlman, Keylock, Sarah Hardy, and John Watson.*

14. This was an indictment, charging the several defendants with conspiring together to sell a certain office or place of trust in his Majesty's Customs, namely, that of Coast Waiter, for the sum of 2000*l.* with intent to defraud his Majesty, and with intent of defrauding Le Grue Hesse, Esq. to which indictment they severally pleaded not guilty. This prosecution emanated from the late Inquiry before a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate public abuses, and made so prominent a figure in that Inquiry, as to lay the foundation for the act which now exists for preventing the sale of places of trust under the crown.—Our readers will recollect, that in the course of the foregoing Inquiry, it came out that an office was opened in the city where places under the government were publicly advertised to be bought and sold. It was therefore found expedient to discover and punish the parties. The principal witnesses to prove this fraudulent conspiracy were a Mr. Hesse and a Mr. Harvey, the former a gentleman who had been a barrister, the latter a clerk in the office of the solicitor to the treasury.

Mr. Hesse proved, that in pursuance of an advertisement in a morning paper, he went to an office in Threadneedle-street, where he became acquainted with Pohlman and Keylock; that they undertook to procure him, through the medium of Sarah Hardy, the place of Coast Waiter in the Customs, for which he was to pay the sum of 2000*l.* which



which he was previously to deposit in the banking house of the other defendant Watson, and it was proved that Sarah Hardy joined in the undertaking, and received 10*l.* on account from Mr. Hesse.

Mr. Harvey confirmed Mr. Hesse's testimony in all the principal points, but nothing appeared that could implicate Mr. Watson in this foul conspiracy, and under his lordship's directions he was acquitted, and the other three defendants were found guilty.

*Caution against Premature Interment.*—A woman of the name of Prosser, residing at Hay, Breconshire, who had been for some time in a very ill state of health, was lately supposed by the persons in attendance to have died, and the necessary preparations for the funeral had commenced; the body was laid out by a female usually employed on such occasions, who, on returning to the house in about six hours afterwards, and observing the hands had been removed from the situation they had been placed in, concluded some persons had been in the room; but on going to close the mouth, was greatly alarmed by the supposed corpse exclaiming, "Do not close my mouth, for I am not quite dead," which threw her into fits. The sick person has since so far recovered as to be able to sit up in her room, although in a very languid state, and she declares that she heard all the conversation which passed relative to her funeral, but from extreme weakness had not the power of speech or motion.

YORKSHIRE ASSIZES.

15. The assizes for this county were opened at the castle, before the Hon. Sir Allan Chambre, Knt.

and the Hon. Sir George Wood, Knt.

*David Parilon*, jun. of Beverley, butcher, was charged with the wilful murder of Robert Gardner, of the same place, on the 10th of April last, by stabbing him in the side with a knife.

This was a trial which excited much interest; the prisoner was much respected, and the particular circumstances under which the deceased came to his death, powerfully interested the feelings of the court in the prisoner's favour. The deceased was suspected by the prisoner, and as appeared from the evidence not without sufficient reason, of a criminal intercourse with his wife. A few minutes before this unfortunate event took place, he found his wife at a very unseasonable hour in company with the deceased in the street, which so irritated him, that he declared he would stab him, if ever he came into his house or premises. The deceased unfortunately persisted in accompanying the woman into the house; and the prisoner immediately said to the deceased, "D—n you, Gardner, I will stab you; you have huddled my wife in the street," and immediately made a thrust at him with a knife he had snatched from the table, and wounded him mortally. The unfortunate man languished until the 16th of April, and then expired. Previous to his death, he admitted that the suspicions of the prisoner were well founded; and which was indeed sufficiently apparent from circumstances laid before the court.

The judge in explaining the law to the jury, said, that if a man should kill another in the act of criminal



criminal intercourse with his wife, it would not be murder, but manslaughter; but if a person who had received such injury should deliberately contrive the death of the person who had so injured him, it would doubtless be murder; his lordship, however, thought that any circumstance which fell short of the actual crime, and yet should clearly indicate such an intention, might come within the meaning of the law.

The jury, without a moment's deliberation, acquitted the prisoner of murder, and found him guilty of *manslaughter* only, to the satisfaction of a very crowded court.

*Meeting of the Creditors of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.*

17. We have been favoured by a creditor with the following account of what passed at a meeting of the creditors of the Princess of Wales, held on Friday last, at the York Hotel, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, in consequence of a letter circulated by Messrs. Blagrove and Walter, their solicitors, intimating that Mr. Adam, the prince's chancellor, and Mr. Gray, his royal highness's deputy treasurer, would attend, when the plan which the prince had adopted to pay their debts, and secure them in future, would be laid before them.—Mr. Adam stated to the creditors, that the prince had taken their case into his most serious and gracious consideration in every point of view. That his royal highness's object was not merely to pay the debt in the manner already settled and accepted, but to secure them in future as far as the law would enable him; that the affairs of his royal highness were all administer-

ed under an act of the 35th of the king, which rendered it illegal for the prince to grant any bond or obligation, and protected him against personal action; but rendered his revenue liable, if the creditors followed out the provisions of the act, by delivering in their bills signed within ten days after the quarter, and provided they sued on them within three months from that delivery. Mr. Adam then stated, that the prince's treasurer had uniformly and regularly every quarter paid the allowance of 12,000*l.* a year to the officer of her royal highness; that this had never been in arrear one instant from 1802 to the present time; that Mr. Gray (who was present) was the person who paid it; that the prince had always paid this sum to the princess without deducting the income tax, although there was 12,000*l.* per annum deducted from him at the exchequer on that account. That his royal highness had now increased the princess's income to 17,000*l.* a year, to be paid quarterly without deducting the income tax. That the princess was paid for personal expences at the exchequer, 5,000*l.* a year, making in all an income of 22,000*l.* Mr. Adam then stated, that it was upon this increased income of 17,000*l.* a year nett, that the prince had devised the security for the creditors in future, having made it a condition, that the princess should appoint an officer to receive that income, who was enjoined in the settling the accounts, to follow the course prescribed by the act of parliament for regulating the expenditure of the prince. Mr. Adam said, that a paper to this effect had been accordingly signed by the princess, so that the creditors



creditors had now only to observe the forms of the act of parliament to ensure their payment; but the prince did not stop here, but in providing for his own future indemnity, the particulars of which Mr. Adam said he did not enter into as not belonging to that place or meeting, the prince had taken care that if this voluntary regulation did not effectuate the object, the legislature was to be applied to. Mr. Adam then said that the prince had by economical regulations appropriated as large a sum as his circumstances would admit, to discharge this debt, greater in proportion than he had been able to apply to his own, which he was sure his own creditors would justify, as from the moment he undertook the payment of the debts of the princess, they were to be considered as debts of honour. Mr. Adam then said that the regularity of the payments might be depended upon. There was an event, however, of which some of the creditors had expressed a dread, the calamity of being deprived of the prince. Mr. Adam assured them that that event had been unthought of by his royal highness. The prince could not by law bind himself by deed or note, but he had property and rights which might be rendered available in case of the event alluded to, and these would be so regulated that his royal highness had the heartfelt satisfaction to think, that no person would suffer ultimately any loss by him.—Mr. Adam said, this nearly comprised the whole matter which he had to lay before them, which would be most satisfactory, he had no doubt, to them, and would convince them that every thing that could be done for their benefit within the prince's

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power was done, and that without his royal highness's intervention they could never have received any thing. That their petition, without the consent of his majesty, signified by the chancellor of the exchequer, would never have been received in the house of commons; and Mr. Adam said that he knew that such consent would have been refused. So that unless the prince had spontaneously undertaken for the arrangement of their debts, the creditors would have had no redress. In doing this the prince stipulated, that he should be fully indemnified against future demands, a claim which his royal highness was held to be justified in making, because, to the 41,000*l.*, there was to be added the sum of 34,000*l.*, which the princess had received from his majesty's droits of admiralty, making together 75,000*l.* of debt contracted by her royal highness; which, divided on the number of years, exceeded by many thousand pounds a year the greatest income ever proposed for her royal highness; that after the payment of 41,000*l.* had been undertaken by the prince, and guarantee against future demands arranged to his satisfaction, Mr. Adam said, that towards the conclusion of the business, it was stated to him by the chancellor of the exchequer, to be by him (Mr. Adam) laid before the prince, that the debt was 8,000*l.* more than the 41,000*l.* This his royal highness took also into his most gracious consideration, and gave his commands to Mr. Adam to represent to those of the king's confidential servants, who were engaged in the transaction;—"That the main and principal object which had uniformly directed his royal highness's

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highness's determination, and which he had never for a moment lost sight of in any one part of this transaction, had been to prevent (in these times of great and necessary expenditure) any debt of his own or any other for which he might be considered liable, becoming either directly or circuitously a burden upon the country. That he had been likewise greatly influenced by the desire of seeing justice done to the creditors of the princess, although under no legal obligation whatever to pay those debts.—On these grounds the prince of Wales gave it to be understood to those of his majesty's ministers concerned in the transaction, that his royal highness would spontaneously take upon himself the payment of the sum of 8,000*l.*, in addition to the sum of 41,000*l.*, formerly undertaken to be liquidated by his royal highness upon the indemnity being given to him; and by so doing his royal highness had the satisfaction of preserving the public from any burden, directly or indirectly, and of seeing justice done to the creditors of the princess, who had no other means whatever of being relieved, but through the voluntary interposition of his royal highness."—Mr. Adam then observed, that the whole debt of 49,000*l.* being thus assumed by his royal highness, the prince gave directions to Mr. Gray and himself (Mr. Adam,) to make the instalments as liberal as possible. In consequence of which 10,000*l.* has now been paid, and the second instalment would be paid in the first week of January.

24. *Hertford Assizes*.—George Earl of Essex v. the Hon. and Reverend William Capel. Before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury.

—*Fox hunting*.—This was a cause which excited a considerable degree of interest, and there was scarcely a gentleman of rank for many miles round, who did not attend for the purpose of hearing it.

Mr. Serjeant Shepherd addressed the jury on the part of the plaintiff in a most able and eloquent speech. He lamented that the jury should be called upon to decide a question of this nature, between two persons who stood in so near a degree of relationship to each other; but inasmuch as the Earl of Essex was under the necessity of bringing this action, for the purpose of protecting himself in the enjoyment of his property, and as Mr. Capel had stood forward as the manager and principal person of the Berkeley hunt, he had rendered it absolutely necessary, that he should be the first person attacked by the Earl of Essex. The complaint was, that the defendant had committed a trespass in breaking and entering his grounds, called Cashiobury Park, and with horses and hounds destroying the grass and herbage, and breaking down his fences. The defendant justified himself this way—he said, that he had started a fox on other ground, which was not the property of the Earl of Essex, and that the fox being a noxious animal, and liable to do mischief, he for the purpose of killing and destroying him, and as the most effectual means of doing so, broke and entered the park with hounds and horses, and hunted the fox. The answer of the Earl of Essex to this was, that the defendant's object was not to destroy the fox, and that if it was so, hunting was not the most effectual means of killing the animal; but that on the contrary, his motive was the



the amusement and diversion afforded by the chase. The learned serjeant observed, that the object professed by the defendant in his plea was perfectly ridiculous and absurd; he would have it supposed, that himself and the gentlemen composing the Berkeley hunt, had associated themselves, not for their amusement or diversion, but for the pure patriotic desire of destroying these noxious animals; the defendant would have the jury believe, that Clergymen were descending from their pulpits, bankers neglecting their counting-houses, brewers running away from breweries, and all flocking from London, for no other purpose than to confer the obligation on the people of Herts of freeing the country from noxious vermin. So far from it being their object to destroy foxes, he rather thought if they were to start a fox, and some man happening to have a gun in his hand was to fall in with their patriotic motive, and was to shoot the fox, he would meet with but *lenten* entertainment. In fact, every one knew that their object was the diversion of the chase, and that they did not care three farthings whether the fox was killed or not, except for the triumph of his brush. The object of rooting them out of the country was absurd, for every one knew they wished to increase them, in order to have the pleasure of running them to death; but to put it beyond all doubt in this case, he should prove that Lord Essex, as one of the proprietors of land, had employed a man to take the most effectual mode of killing foxes, which was by catching them in a trap, or shooting them with a gun; these two modes Mr. Capel did not like, and he spoke to the man upon

the subject, but the man was steady, and he went on shooting wherever his bullets would reach, and catching wherever his traps would take. Mr. Capel then said, "I do not ask you not to destroy the foxes, but I will tell you what, I will send you a barrel of ale to drink success to the Berkeley hunt." Now, when a man said to another, "I do not ask you to do a particular thing," it was generally the most expressive way of indicating a wish to have it done. It put him in mind of a story of a quaker, who being on board of a ship—a merchant ship; the master observed to him, that there was a French row-boat coming towards them, no doubt with a design to board them; but, added the master, with an appropriate oath or two, "I'll run the fellows down"—the quaker said, "Oh! surely, you won't do such a wicked thing as to destroy so many poor people's lives"—"Yes, but I will," exclaimed the master—"I would not," replied the quaker, "for the world; but I will tell thee what friend, if I was inclined to do such a thing, I would *starboard my helm*"—the master did starboard the helm, and the boat was run down. The learned serjeant repeated, that the object of the defendant and the Berkeley club, was to preserve foxes in order to hunt them. Very like raising the devil for the purpose of laying him. After some other general observations, he concluded by expressing his perfect confidence, that the verdict of the jury would prevent a repetition of the injury.

Two witnesses, one of the name of Richard Pugh, his lordship's bailiff, and John Hollishead, his lordship's gamekeeper, clearly proved the facts of the case, and the last



witness distinctly stated, that he had been asked by the defendant, Mr. Capel, not to destroy foxes.

Lord Ellenborough interrupted the further progress of the cause, observing, that it was a contention against all nature and conviction. Could it be supposed that gentlemen hunted for the purpose of killing vermin, and not for their diversion? Could the jury be desired to say upon their oaths, that the defendant was actuated by any other motive than a desire to enjoy the pleasures of the chace?—He had wished to suffer the cause to go to a certain extent before he expressed his opinion upon the subject. Even if the dogs might be allowed to run, was there any pretence for saying, that where the dogs did not go, any person could ride and break down the fences?—The defendant said, that he had not committed the trespass for the sake of the diversion of the chace, but as the only effectual way of killing and destroying the fox. Now, could any man of common sense hesitate in saying, that the principal motive was not the killing vermin, but the sport? It was a sport the law of the land would not justify, and there should not be a new law of the land accommodated to the pleasures and amusements of these gentlemen. The pleasures of the chace might be taken when there was the consent of others who were injured by them, but they must be subservient to such consent. There might be such a nuisance by a noxious animal as would justify the attempt to destroy him, by running him to his earth, but that would not justify the digging for him afterwards—that had been settled to be law—but even if an animal might be

pursued with dogs, it did not follow that fifty or sixty persons had therefore a right to trespass on other people's lands. He could not see what there was in the case of *Fentham v. Grundy*, 1st Term Reports, to warrant the opinion that any person might follow the hounds over the lands of another. He had looked into that case, and had referred to the others quoted in it. Even in the case chiefly relied on, it was stated that a man might not hunt for his pleasure or profit, but only to destroy such noxious animals as were injurious to the *common wealth*; therefore, the good to the public must be the *governing* motive. He would ask the jury, whether that could have been the motive of the defendant? The last witness had expressly stated, that he wished rather to nourish these noxious animals than to destroy them.

Mr. Serjeant Best.—After what your lordship has said, I will not occupy the time of your lordship or the jury with one word more.

Lord Ellenborough. — There should be nominal damages; it is only meant to quiet a right—the plaintiff's counsel tell me they will be satisfied with nominal damages, therefore nominal damages will do. If this trespass is repeated it will be a different thing.

The jury consulted a short time, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with forty shillings damages.

The foreman stated, that it was the wish of the jury to give exemplary damages, but understanding that his lordship and the plaintiff acquiesced, they had only given forty shillings.

Lord Ellenborough.—You do very right to find forty shillings—though in this case, as there is a special



special justification on the record, one shilling damages would answer the purpose of carrying the costs, &c. I should, however, still advise the damages to be forty shillings, but that there are seven other actions depending, and the effect of your verdict would be not to give one forty shillings, but forty shillings seven times over.—One shilling damages will answer every purpose, and I shall, if necessary, certify that the trespass was wilful and malicious.

The jury then altered their verdict to one shilling damages.

The counsel for the plaintiff were —Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, Mr. Garrow, and Mr. Harrison; attorney, Mr. Wilkinson, Red Lion square—and for the defendants, Mr. Serjeant Best, Mr. Maryatt, and Mr. Stewart; attorney, Messrs. Robinson, Piccadilly.

## AUGUST.

1. *Cambridge*.—The annual prizes given by the representatives in parliament for the University, value 15 guineas each, are this year adjudged to Messrs. H. F. Ainslie, and G. Burges, of Trinity-college, senior batchelors; and Messrs. T. S. Hughes, of St. John's; and C. J. Blomfield, and W. Clark, of Trinity-college, middle batchelors.

Sir William Browne's three gold medals, value five guineas, are adjudged as follows:—to Mr. Edward Blomfield, Caius college, for the Greek ode, *Desiderium Porsoni*; to Mr. Lonsdale, of King's, for the Latin ode, *Lusitania Liberata*; and to Mr. E. H. Barker, of Trinity, for the epigram.

4. *Fine Arts*.—On this day, Thursday, the scaffolding and awning were removed from the statue erected in Russel-square, in honour of the late Duke of Bedford. Many friends of the duke, and lovers of sculpture attended: the effect produced on the spectators was a lively admiration of the performance, mingled with emotions of regret for the loss of a nobleman who delighted in promoting the good of his country. The statue is colossal; the attitude well chosen, graceful, and manly; the folds of drapery are ample, yet sufficiently detailed. His grace reposes one arm on a plough, the left hand holds the gifts of Ceres, conforming with the general plan of a monument intended to mark the duke's patriotic fondness for agricultural pursuits. Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, personified in the endearing semblance of children, play round the feet of the statue, whose apparent magnitude seems augmented by the contrast. The pedestal, in embellishments and size, is well adapted to the purposes of illustration and strength: to the four corners are attached bulls' heads in very high relief; the cavity immediately beneath the upper moulding is adorned with herds of cattle in recumbent postures; on the curved sides are rural subjects in *basso relievo*, the first represents the preparation for the ploughman's dinner; the husbandman's wife, on her knees, attends the culinary department; a youth sounding a horn, two rustics, and a team of oxen at rest finish the groupe. The second composition is made up of reapers and gleaners variously employed, the young woman in the centre is delineated with the comeliness and



grace of a village favourite. These enrichments, the four seasons, and the statute of the Duke, are all cast in bronze, and so very successfully, that, with the polish of high finishing, they preserve the spirit of an original model.

The massy material of the pedestal is Scotch granite, and together with the superstructure measures, from the level ground to the summit of the monument, 27 feet. The principal figure is nine feet high.

This statue is the production of Mr. Westmacott, to whom the public are already indebted for the admirable monument erected to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. The statue of the Duke of Bedford reflects the highest credit on Mr. Westmacott, for correct and philosophical thinking in his art; it evinces moreover, that exquisite refinement of taste and purity of invention, which are peculiar to classical studies and enlarged research.—It will remain a distinguished ornament to the nation, and elevate us to as proud a station, for the works of the chisel and allegorical statuary, as that to which France attained in the æra of Richlieu.

6. *Indian Goats*.—Some very beautiful animals of the goat kind have been sent home from India in the late fleet, as a present from Sir E. Baillie, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. They are larger than the ordinary size, with smooth hair, beautifully speckled, as we sometimes see deer, with very brilliant colours. One of them in particular, a male, is beautifully variegated with red and white. His horns, which are smooth, are also elegantly mottled. These animals were brought to Calcutta at the express desire of his Royal Highness

to Sir E. Baillie, from Delhi, where they have been introduced from Persia. His Royal Highness intended them for his Royal Mother's lodge at Frogmore, and has already presented them to her Majesty, who is highly gratified with the gift. The number originally embarked was four, viz. one male and three females; and being likely to be very troublesome passengers, and to endanger their own safety by their own inconsiderate and untimely gambols, they were committed to the care of Captain Herbert of the company's ship *Euphrates*, with a particular request to pay every attention to their safe and healthful conveyance. Captain Herbert attended so well to his charge, that though two of the females were knocked about so dreadfully as to occasion their death in the tremendous gale which separated the fleet off the Isle of France, on the 14th of March, one of two kids, a female, left by one of them, was preserved and reared by the milk of the ship's cow, and landed in good health with the surviving female and male. These three were conveyed to town immediately after the *Euphrates* arrived in the river; and after being kept some days in the stable of Carlton-house, were sent to Frogmore, where they now are. There is every assurance that with proper attention, the breed will be speedily multiplied, as the elder female was twice pregnant during the voyage, though, in consequence of the male having got access to her, she was prevented from bringing forth her young in a perfect state. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has conveyed, through Colonel Macmahon, his gracious acknowledgments for Captain



tain Herbert's care of these animals, which, from the description of their beauty and usefulness, he had long desired to annex to the ornamental stock of Frogmore. When the breed is more generally diffused, it will be a valuable addition to the improvements and extensions recently made in the animal stock of the kingdom.

13. The Marquis de Romana has caused a very splendid monument to be erected to the memory of Sir John Moore, in a conspicuous situation, to which the remains of the lamented hero have been removed, from the obscure place where they were deposited in the fortress of Corunna. The following inscription is placed on the monument:—

A la Gloria

Del General Ingles Moore,  
Y sus valientes Compatriotas,  
La Espana Agradecida.

(To the Glory

Of the English General Moore,  
And his valiant Countrymen,  
The Gratitude of Spain.)

And on the other side:—

Memoria del Dia 16 de Enero, 1809.  
(Memory of the Action of the 16th  
January, 1809.)

20. *Joint Stock Companies.*—

*The King v. Webb and others, proprietors of a company calling themselves the Birmingham Union Flour and Bread Company.*—This was a prosecution, by indictment, preferred by the millers and bakers of that town and neighbourhood, against the conductors of the Union Flour and Bread Company, on the statute of the 6th Geo. I. as being a joint stock company, and prohibited by that statute.

Several witnesses were examined on the part of the prosecution, with

a view of shewing that it had been *injurious* to the prosecutors, and therefore illegal; and on the part of the defendants, it was clearly proved, that the institution was of a *general benefit* to the town, and that a short time previous to the establishment the inhabitants were *scarcely supplied* with flour and bread, and that of an *inferior* quality, and much *adulterated*, and therefore it was formed with a view of preventing a recurrence of it.

After a considerable discussion of the legal question, arising upon the construction of the above Act, the Learned Judge recommended certain points to be submitted to the consideration of the Jury, for the purpose of making a special case for the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, which were as follow:—1st. Whether the undertaking was originally beneficial to the public?—2dly. Whether it continues to be so?—and 3dly. Whether it was injurious to the millers and bakers?

On which the jury returned the following verdict:—"That its original institution was *laudable*, that it was *beneficial* to the town of Birmingham, and continues to be so: but that it was prejudicial to the *private interests* of the millers and bakers concerned in that trade."

*Ireland.—Extraordinary Case.*—*From the Dublin papers of the 22d ult.*—"On Thursday last, at seven o'clock in the evening, as a man was passing by the lime-kiln of D. Gosson, near Finglas, he saw, in a hollow below the wall of the kiln, a person in a grey coat lying on his face on the ground. At first he supposed him to be asleep or intoxicated, but after some time perceiving he did not stir, he was induced to examine him more closely,



closely, when he found him apparently dead. On turning him on his back, to ascertain who he might be, a sight the most awful and horrid presented itself to his view. The person was not dead, but on moving his coat, the whole surface of his body seemed a moving mass of worms; his face was much disfigured, apparently from some bruises inflicted either by blows or from a fall; and from every aperture of his head, his eyes, ears, mouth, and nose, poured innumerable worms, as if the interior of the skull were entirely filled with them. His eyes were dissolved, and the cavities, as well as those of his ears, mouth, and nose, were filled with a white moving mass, more horrid and disgusting than it is possible for imagination to conceive, without ocular inspection. After some time, the miserable being recovered sufficient strength to walk, and so far recovered his recollection and voice, that he distinctly answered several questions put to him; he told who he was, where he lived, &c; that he was returning home on a car the evening before, and having drank too much he fell off, and lay stunned with the fall till he was discovered. He could not account for the wounds in his head, nor for his being so far off the road; but it is probable he had received the contusion on his face from the fall, or perhaps the car had gone over him, and he had insensibly crawled to the place where he lay. The humidity of the air, and the heat of the weather, had rapidly brought on a solution of the solids in those bruised parts already predisposed to putrescency, and now lying in contact with the moist earth. In this was

speedily deposited the eggs of innumerable insects, whose generation was as rapid as the predisposing causes were favourable; and thus, while the vital powers rallied at the centre, and the blood, yet circulating round the heart, preserved the vital principle, the extremities, in which all pulsation had ceased, were dissolving into their primitive elements, and the whole surface of the body exhibited a mass of animated corruption. He was brought into an out-house, and laid on some hay; the loathsome objects were removed, as far as that could be done; he was washed with spirits and vinegar, had cordials poured down his throat, which he swallowed, though with some difficulty. In fact, every precaution was taken by the worthy people by whom he was discovered, but without effect; the putrescency rapidly increased; in a very short time the spasms in his throat prevented his swallowing; he gradually became insensible, and at twelve o'clock the next day he died, in a state of total putrisolution, having lived in that dreadful situation twelve hours, from the time he was first discovered, and the greater part of that period in full possession of his senses, so much so, that he at several times inquired eagerly for his pocket, in which he recollected he had put some money, and which to a small amount was found. That Herod, Sylla, &c. were devoured by worms, whilst yet alive, are facts recorded by the ancient historians, and that the worms engender in the flesh and in the nuclæ, &c. is also true; but those are not parallel cases, as they were the effects of morbid pendentes, and specific disorders. The only case in



in modern times, perhaps, of a human being living under such circumstances, is recorded in the romantic adventures of St. Pierre Viaud; and even here the incident throws a degree of discredit on the authenticity of the work, although it was attested by the annexed affidavits of persons who had seen it. Yet in that case the worms had only engendered in the lower extremities; while the head and the viscera, necessary to animal life, were free. But here the most essential organ of the animal economy was dissolved, while yet the living being walked and talked."

## SEPTEMBER.

1. *Forged Notes.*—By the late trials at Lancaster, it appears that a traffic in one, two, and five pound notes has existed for some time to a most alarming extent. The Bank of England have long been aware of these forgeries, and they have taken means of detecting and bringing to punishment many of the delinquents. It appeared that the traffic in forged notes was carried on in Lancashire and the adjoining counties on a larger scale than was ever known before; and a witness stated, that he had been assured by one of the prisoners, that at Birmingham he could buy forged small notes by wholesale enough to load a jackass. It appeared these were retailed by poor ignorant, deluded wretches, few of whom could write or read, at from five to ten shillings in the pound. Birmingham was clearly traced to be the fountain head from whence these forgeries flowed, and Wales and Scotland the parts where they

were principally passed. Comparatively but a small portion found their way to London, as here they were liable to be detected almost immediately. It was found in many instances that the forgers had blundered in the signatures of clerks of the Bank of England who had long been dead, and some of the notes bore the christian names of those who signed them. From these inconsistencies, and the general bad colour of the paper of which they were fabricated, they were not likely to pass undiscovered in London, and were, therefore, chiefly circulated in parts remote from the metropolis. The agents of the Bank, however, have been so vigilant, that 13 prisoners were brought to trial, and it is to be hoped that a death-blow has been given to this iniquitous business; the principal names of those concerned in this nefarious practice, as well as the coiners of counterfeit gold, having been discovered and made known.

The method adopted for taking into custody all the prisoners of the above description, tried at these assizes, was well preconcerted:—Aware that great alarm would be excited by apprehending them separately, it was contrived that they should all be taken in one day, and the 25th of July was fixed, on account of its being near the time of the commencement of the assizes.

Nadin, the constable of Manchester, gave into Court the following account relative to the taking a notorious vender of forged notes, of the name of Bolton:—

About one o'clock in the morning of the 25th of July last, with proper assistants, he went to the prisoner's house. He knocked, but the door not being opened, he forced it, and  
got



got in. The place was all darkness, but hearing a noise, and somebody going up stairs, he at length found out the staircase, pursued, and took a man prisoner; he followed and secured another, which proved to be Bolton, who, as well as the other, had nothing on but his shirt. A lighted candle having been by this time procured, on further search the prisoner's daughter was found. Nadin then went into the back room, where he found hid in the closet Bolton's wife, who was quite undressed. Having thus seized on all the persons in the house, he began his search for the forged notes. Among the coals, 92 notes of 1l. each; in a large mug with water in it, many more of the same description, a quantity torn to pieces; and two 2l. notes. In a pickling jar, with liquor in it, he found 41 2l. notes, and 3 of 5l. with a quantity torn to pieces; and in another room, 20 more.

The *cant* terms for false notes are *softs* and *screens*—of counterfeit gold, *yellows*. It appeared, the paper composing the notes was manufactured in Ireland; and the forgeries executed at Manchester and Birmingham.

Various accounts, similar to the above, were given by the officers employed in taking into custody these unhappy, deluded people, who imagined they were free from danger, if the forged notes were not actually *found in their possession*; and that they could not be convicted, unless by the evidence of a *third person seeing them take the money for the disposal of them*.

The flattering encouragement which the Bathcaston coal and mining concern has lately experienced; will soon enable the pro-

prietors to prosecute the works, and there is every well-founded reason to expect that their efforts will be crowned with success, and check the growing price of coal. The subscription has been considerably augmented in consequence of a new share of 25l. being declared to be equal to an original one of 50l.; and there is no doubt that this circumstance will be the means of speedily filling the subscription.

The recent improvement of the port of Bristol, by the formation of the most extensive docks in Europe, the float being two miles and a half in length and covering 82 acres of ground, promises to be of very important advantage to the commercial interest, and eventually of great benefit to the land and house proprietors in the vicinity of the Wells. At all hours of the day ships and vessels can now pass from the dam head to the quays of the city, and discharge their cargoes into warehouses while afloat, the mud (so offensive formerly in its appearance and smell, on which they used to ground) being no longer visible. The swamps near the works are also filled up in a judicious and uniform manner; so that in a few months that which resembled a barren waste, will be turned into useful culture, and bear the appearance of a rich lawn. Clifton already is influenced by the completion of these magnificent docks; most of the houses of the Upper and Lower Crescent, which had remained in a state of dilapidation several years, being now sold, and in the actual operation of fitting up. Indeed, from the picturesque natural scenery of the delightful hill of Clifton, combined with the salubrious effects of its waters, and the created



created plain of ground beneath, we conceive it bids fair to be the most favoured spot in England.

3. A cause of some interest came on at the Suffolk assizes. It was brought by Mr. Smith, who is a protestant dissenter, to recover back the sum of 3*d.* which he had been obliged to pay to Johnson, a toll-keeper of the turnpike gate at Halesworth, for a taxed cart, in which he was going on Sunday to divine worship at a meeting-house at the above place.—The plaintiff claimed an exemption from toll under the clause of the statute which gives exemptions to persons going to their *proper parochial* church, chapel, or other places of public worship. It was intended by both parties, that a case should have been agreed on for the opinion of the court of king's bench; but the judge was so decidedly of opinion that the plaintiff was entitled to the exemption, that he would allow only a verdict to be taken for him, with liberty for the defendant, if he thought proper, to move the court next term to have a nonsuit entered.

It was decided at the late Essex assizes, that no person has a *right* to glean in any field, unless by permission of the occupier.

*Italy.*—By an order of a decree of Joachim Napoleon king of the Two Sicilies, most of the religious orders and convents throughout the whole of his dominions are suppressed.

At Rome the consulta has ordered that from the 1st of October of the present year, the division of time at Rome and throughout the whole Roman territory, shall be the same as in France and other European countries. It is well

known, that it has hitherto been the custom there to begin to reckon the hours from sunset, and count forward through the whole twenty-four.

M. Degen, a watch-maker in Vienna, has invented a machine by which a person can rise into the air. He has since made several public experiments, and rose to the height of 54 feet, flying in various directions with the celerity of a bird. A subscription has been opened at Vienna to enable him to prosecute his discoveries. The machine is formed of two parachutes of taffeta, which may be folded up or extended at pleasure, and the person who moves them is placed in the centre.

At Somerset Assizes, a cause of considerable interest to the proprietors of lands adjoining rivers, and also to mid-owners, was tried before Mr. Baron Graham.—Mr. Kinglake, the owner of a floor of meadows, adjoining a stream of water, brought this action against Mr. Norman, the proprietor of grist-mills and silk machinery, worked by such streams;—and the questions were, whether the mill-owner had a right to pond the water higher than its accustomed level, and whether it was not his duty to draw his fenders after heavy rains, to prevent the adjacent lands from being flooded?

The judge declared, that the occupiers of lands have a right by common law to the natural flow of water through the same, and that any claim in opposition to such rights, must be proved to have been exercised without interruption for at least 20 years. He stated the law on the other question to be, that if a mill-owner, had been in the practice of drawing his fenders to discharge



charge by the natural channel the superfluous water, it was evidence of his having been permitted by the proprietors of the adjoining lands to erect the drains, and pond the water, upon stipulation so to do. In this case, it appeared that the fenders had been raised within 20 years, and that the mill-owner had neglected to draw the sluices, until the plaintiff's lands were flooded.—The plaintiff therefore obtained a verdict.

*Property Tax.—Return to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated the 8th day of June, 1809, for an Account or Estimate of the Nett Assessment of the Property Tax, for the years ending 5th April, 1807, 1808, and 1809, respectively.*

Anno ending 5th April, 1807,  
11,299,936l.

Anno ending 5th April, 1808,  
11,345,350l.

Anno ending 5th April, 1809,  
11,359,229l.

For the year ending 5th April, 1807, the above account is made out from actual returns, except from the department of the War office.

For the year ending 5th April, 1808, returns from 218 Surveyors' districts have been received; from which it appears that the assessments on trade and professions have decreased: so that on the whole a diminution of duty may be computed, to the extent of 72,000l. nearly in the assessments by commissioners for general purposes; but which is overbalanced by the deductions of duty in other departments.

For the year ending 5th April, 1809, returns from 25 Surveyors' districts have been received; the result from which is more favourable

than in the year preceding, at the rate of 4 1-6th per cent. increase, and will therefore warrant an estimate to the amount of that year. The remainder of that year, except in the article of duty on Dividends, is likewise computed on the amount of the preceding year, from the same sources, for want of returns.

*Office for Taxes, June 13, 1809.*

4. *Mount Vesuvius.*—A letter from Naples, of the 9th ult. states, that on the 4th of September a new crater opened to the South-east, from which there had been a continued eruption of lava. The torrent of lava, which took a direction towards the town of Della Torre, had divided into two branches, and formed an island, at the extremity of which it again united, and produced a lake of fire in the district of A Trio del Cavallo. In the night of the 5th there was an eruption of an immense quantity of ashes and stones.

7. The annual conference of the Methodists held this year at Manchester terminated last week: —250 preachers attended.—Actual increase of members during the past year, 14,200; —6200 in England and Ireland, and 8000 in America. The number of preachers received at conference, after the four probationary years, exclusive of those in the districts was 20; and the number of new chapels opened since last conference is stated to be considerable.

17. *Opening of Covent Garden Theatre.*—The New Theatre opened on Monday night, with the Tragedy of *Macbeth* and the *Quaker*. It was crowded the instant the doors were open, and though on the steps of the portico the mob were exclaiming against the advance of prices, yet



yet when they got into the theatre, they were at first silenced by the beauty of the spectacle they beheld. After waiting quiet for some time, the band struck up "God save the King," and then the call for the song was so general, that no performer in the orchestra could be heard but the double-drum player. The singers then made their appearance, and could as little be heard as the instrumental performers. However, during all this uproar, applause was predominant,

and it was evident, from the appearance of pit and boxes, that the majority in favour of the managers, was at least Twenty to one! Presently Mr. Kemble appeared to speak the opening address, habited in the costume of the part he was about to play, *Macbeth*. The uproar was now greater than ever; Mr. Kemble waited in hopes of silence for some time. At last he motioned his lips through the following address:—

In early Greece, and in a barbarous age,  
A wretched tumbrel was the Actor's Stage:  
The muse, with cheek reclined in pensive shame,  
Blush'd for her wanderers from the path to Fame.

Æschylus sprang; and storm'd, as he arose,  
His country's passions, like his country's foes.  
Rough from the battle, train'd to vanquish men.  
E'en as his sword he wielded, so his pen.  
He smote the heart, the trembling sense oppress'd,  
And gave no quarter to the human breast.

Yet, stage improvement mark'd the Soldier's sway,  
And ting'd with taste the captives to his lay.  
Then, first (the cart of Thespis overthrown)  
Form'd by rude planks, a Theatre was known  
Cop'd by th' Heavens, it o'erspread the lawn,  
And light on scenic dress appeared to dawn.

But, all divine, when Sophocles appeared,  
'Twas then the Drama's majesty was rear'd.  
Builders and decorators came,—their boast  
Was who could grace the lofty Poet most.  
The lofty Poet lack'd not brains to know  
That Dramatists require the Drama's show.  
Nature's perfection springs from various parts;  
And "Nature's Mirror" needs the Sister Arts.

Hence grew the splendour of the scene—and hence  
The handmaids that embellish eloquence:  
Dance, music, painting, pageantry, parade,—  
All that gave zest, or yield illusion aid.

Rome.



Rome caught the spark from Greece, improv'd the plan :  
 At last the flame through modern Europe ran.  
 Our scene now decks, in an illumined age,  
 The Bards who first gave vigour to our stage :—  
 Thus Shakespeare's fire burns brighter than of yore ;  
 And may the stage that boasts him burn no more !

From this our fabric, banish we to night,  
 Figures worn threadbare, metaphors grown trite,  
 No Phoenix from her ashes shall arise,  
 Stale to our thoughts as sparrows to our eyes ;  
 No naked truism be cloak'd anew,  
 To tell that fire, which cheers, consumes us to ;  
 No,—let a Briton now to Britons speak ;  
 His cause is strong, although his language weak.  
 We feel with glory all to Britain due,  
 And British Artists rais'd this pile for you :  
 While, zealous as our patron, here we stand,  
 To guard the staple genius of our land.

Solid our building, heavy our expense ;  
 We rest our claim on your munificence ;—  
 What ardour plans a nation's taste to raise,  
 A nation's liberality repays.

We shall now make a few observations upon the architecture, interior and exterior, of this magnificent structure ; and endeavour to explain those principles of science, by which alone such a building ought to be judged.—*Rationem artis intelligunt docti, indocti sentiunt voluptatem.*

Mr. Smirke, jun., the architect, has selected, and upon very just grounds of preference, the Doric style of architecture, which, in majesty, simplicity, and strength, so much excels the other orders. The front of the theatre occupies one half of that side of Bow-street nearest to Covent-garden ; and upon our first approach, we are struck with the astonishing breadth and majestic simplicity of the building. The portico, in the centre, is of the

same proportions as those in the portico of the temple of Minerva at Athens ; and the characteristics of Greek architecture are preserved in the other parts of the front. The columns of the portico, we believe, with the exception of those of St. Peter's at Rome, and those in the temple of the Acropolis, are the largest of any existing building in Europe.

We observe that the rusticated work, which is more familiar to the eye as having the appearance of *lines in score*, and which is in truth a modern corruption, has been judiciously omitted by the architect,—who was doubtless aware of their effect in destroying the simplicity of a building, by distracting the eye, and diverting its attention from the main features.—The mouldings on the exterior of the building,



building, the Architraves round the windows,—in short every part, are correct examples of Greek forms and purity.—In the lower part of the front an arcade extends from one end to the other, and there is no decoration introduced which does not tend to the general effect and character of the whole.—The front of the building is terminated at each end by two pilasters, and the figures of Comedy and Tragedy are placed in niches between them.—It is worthy of remark, that there is a breadth of plain surface under each niche, by means of which the effect of the figures is very much assisted.—The *Basso relievos* in front are each about forty-five feet long, and are executed with the same *relief* as those in the temple of Minerva, which were the work of Phidias.—The projection of the most prominent figure not exceeding three inches, they have a peculiar effect from the plain surface behind them, and, being slightly indented, harsh shadows are avoided.—They thus form a part of the general character and prevailing simplicity of the structure, and constitute a modest decoration and delicate enrichment.

Under the portico, in the same relief as the other *bassos relievos*, the king's arms are introduced.—The main walls of the theatre, which are about one hundred feet in height, and of a proportionate thickness, rise considerably above the other parts of the front, and arched openings have been judiciously introduced, by which the chimnies are concealed, and the water is discharged from the great roof.—In the other fronts of the building all architectural decoration has been omitted, but the same

flowing lines, the same exactness of proportions, and purity of parts,—the same noble simplicity, and character of severe grandeur, is preserved throughout.—The building is entirely insulated, but a communication has been preserved between Hart-street and Bow-street, and the Piazzas in Covent-garden.

But in a work conducted upon principle, having said thus much, having praised the architect, not only for his taste and genius, but for his knowledge of the rule, and strict conformity to it; it is but justice to the public not cover him with indiscriminate eulogy, but to apply the rule, as well where it apparently makes against him, as where it is in his favour.

Ought not the Entablature in the front of the building to have been one *unbroken line*? Ought it to have divided into compartments? In this style of building, the Doric order, nothing is admissible for the mere purpose of ornament.—Every thing must have an immediate or presumable reference to utility.

According to this principle, the Entablature is *supposed* to be the strap or *vinculum*, by which the parts are bound together.—Now it is evident that this idea necessarily involves unity and continuity.—There is no strength in a cord thus minutely snapped. This division, moreover, was not necessary for the purpose of comprehending the figures of the *bassos relievos*.—According to all existing reliques of the pure Greek Doric, they might have been introduced in the interstices of the Tryglyphs.—Division always takes from effect.—It belongs to ornament but not to simplicity.

There is one peculiar praise which



which belongs to this building—*It is the only existing specimen of pure Greek architecture*, uncorrupted by Roman or Gothic appendages.—It is filled up as it were from the remaining shell of the Acropolis at Athens.—Mr. Smirke has caught from the temple of Minerva the general idea; the proportions, the parts, the finishing, are all Mr. Smirke's own; in a word, it is a building of which Athens would not have been ashamed, and of which England, therefore, may be reasonably proud.—Like every true work of art, it does not command attention by its mere mass; the effect is purely given to it by the art, the harmony, the mind of the workman.

The mass, the brick and mortar, and all that was done by the trowel and the plane, belong to Mr. Copeland; the order and effect, the *mens agitans molem*, to Mr. Smirke, jun. It is he that has lifted the mass into lightness, and, like the Atlas in the fable, carries it with majesty and simplicity on his shoulders.

*The Basso Relievos in front of the Theatre.*—The specimens of the fine arts exhibited in the sculpture of the front are representations of the ancient and modern drama, in basso relievo. The designs are classical, and the execution masterly. The piece representing the ancient drama is to the north of the portico, and that representing the modern drama is on the south side.

*The ancient drama.*—In the centre three Greek poets are sitting; the two looking towards the portico are Aristophanes, representing the old comedy, and (nearest to the spectator) Menander, representing the new comedy. Before them Thalia presents herself with her

crook and comic mask, as the object of their imitation. She is followed by Polyhymnia playing on the greater lyre, and by Euterpe on the lesser lyre, Clio with the long pipes, and Terpsichore, the Muse of action or pantomime. These are succeeded by three nymphs crowned with the leaves of the fir-pine, and in succinct tunics, representing the hours or seasons governing and attending the winged horse Pegasus. The third sitting figure in the centre, looking from the portico, is Æschylus, the father of tragedy. He holds a scroll open on his knee; his attention is fixed on Wisdom, or Minerva, seated opposite to the poet. She is distinguished by her helmet and shield. Between Æschylus and Minerva, Bacchus stands leaning on his fawn, because the Greeks represented tragedies in honour of Bacchus. Behind Minerva stands Melpomene, or Tragedy, holding a sword and mask; then follow two Furies, with snakes and torches, pursuing Orestes, who stretches out his hands to supplicate Apollo for protection. Apollo is represented in the quadriga, or four-horsed chariot of the sun. The last-described figures relate to part of Æschylus's Tragedy of Orestes.—*The modern drama.* In the centre (looking from the portico) Shakspeare is sitting; the comic and tragic masks, with the lyre, are about his seat; his right hand is raised, expressive of calling up the following characters in the Tempest:—first, Caliban, laden with wood; next, Ferdinand, sheathing his sword; then, Miranda, entreating Prospero in behalf of her lover;—They are led on by Ariel above, playing on a lyre. This part of the composition is terminated



nated by Hecate (the three-formed goddess) in her car, drawn by oxen, descending. She is attended by Lady Macbeth, with the daggers in her hands, followed by Macbeth turning in horror from the body of Duncan behind him. In the centre (looking towards the portico) is Milton, seated, contemplating Urania, according to his own description in the *Paradise Lost*. Urania is seated facing him above; at his feet is Sampson Agonistes chained. The remaining figures represent the masque of Comus; the two brothers drive out three Bacchanals, with their staggering leader Comus. The enchanted lady is seated in the chair; and the series is ended by two tigers, representing the transformation of Comus's devotees. The designs of both bassos relievos, and the models of the antient drama, are by Mr. Flaxman. The models of the modern drama, and the execution in stone, is by Mr. Rossi.

Statues 7 feet in height, representing Tragedy and Comedy, are placed in niches in the wings of the theatre. Tragedy, on the south wing, is a fine figure, holding the tragic mask and dagger: the sculptor is Mr. Rossi. Comedy holds the shepherd's crook or pedom on her right shoulder, and the comic mask in her left hand. This is the workmanship of Mr. Flaxman, and occupies the northern wing.

The composition and executive part of these bassos relievos, are entitled to every praise; the characters, in the main, are marked with much boldness and precision: there is a spirit of poetical imagery in the allegorical and ideal appendages, which gives to this sculpture

a kind of epic dignity, not unworthy the genius of the master, from whom the general idea has been caught. With respect, however, to character and propriety and that peculiar correctness which one expects to find in a work aiming at refinement, there is an error of such magnitude as to deserve pointing out. The artist has very properly introduced Shakspeare as the head of the modern drama,—conjuring up his Prospero, his Caliban, and Ariel, and all the creation of the *Tempest*; but Prospero, Caliban, and Ariel, are real embodied characters—they have a dramatic, personal entity, and are not, like the *air-drawn* dagger of Macbeth, the mere idea and notion of the mind, under the impulse of violent passion.

In the sculpture of the antient drama the artist has confounded the two ideas, and given a personal form and representation to a mere notion and affection of the mind. In the *Choephoroi* of Æschylus, the Furies have no existence beyond what they assume in the terror of Orestes: he sees them in his mind's eye, and in the distracted vision of his fears and remorse. The fiction of poetry will allow this; but the sculptor must not *out-Herod Herod*. He must not play the poet with the poet—he must not extend the extravagance, and give flesh and blood to what the poet has been contented to leave mere fancy and passion. This is certainly an error on the part of propriety.

*The statues of Tragedy and Comedy.*—We have little to remark upon the statues of Tragedy and Comedy. The figures are good in themselves; but if we regard them distinct from their appendages, they



are not sufficiently characteristic: a statue or painting should declare itself, seen at any distance, without requiring a minute inspection of the attributes; but these statues, stripped of their attributes, convey no precise idea: they are what you please—a Muse or a Pomona.

Let us carry our minds forward, and suppose that we should find these statues a hundred years hence, stripped by rapine or accident of their appendages,—would it be possible to affix to either of them the character of tragedy or of comedy? But tragedy and comedy are decided characters of themselves: the masque, the bowl and buskin, should not be required to distinguish them. Sculpture and fancy have already assigned to them naked and abstract peculiarities. They are, moreover, too small for the building; as mere figures, the parts of them, the adjustment of the drapery, and the quantities, are excellent; we could only wish to have seen what would have distinctly marked them as Tragedy and Comedy. It was not correct, we think, nor consistent with the ample grandeur and severe dignity of the Doric order to mount them upon lofty pedestals, and to cut them down to the size of the human figure. It would have been better if they had had no other pedestal than the basement of the niche in which they stand, and had mounted to the spring of the arch without artificial elevation.

*Interior of the Theatre.—Entrance.*—The entrance from the Piazza is by a double flight of stone steps; the walls are also of stone, and the whole is lighted by antique lamps, placed on tripods of bronze. Taste and judgement have con-

curred in producing the union of beauty and convenience. Nothing can be more elegant than the ornaments, and nothing more perfect than the accommodation provided for the public. The communication from one part of the house to another is complete, being facilitated by staircases, by which one may go from the stage or the pit to the upper gallery, in a few minutes. Large reservoirs of water have been judiciously formed, from which pipes lead to every part of the house. These conduits are of a very considerable diameter, and would in an instant inundate any spot to which it might be necessary to direct the flood.

Within the solid parts of the walls,—and indeed in the very heart of the building, are introduced ventilators, for the purpose of economising and distributing the air. The house, therefore, is always capable of being purified and refreshed, and, in figurative language, may even be said to *respire*.

*The stage.*—The stage, in height, breadth, and especially in depth, appears to be of admirable dimensions, and excellently adapted to scenic shew and processions. The boxes, except those over the side doors, are not suffered to intrude upon the *proscenium*; a proper departure from the common practice. On each side of the *proscenium* are two lofty pilasters in *scaliogla*, with light gilt capitals; between which, are the stage doors and managers' boxes, &c. These support an arch (the segment of a circle): the soffit painted in light relief; from which descends the crimson drapery, over the curtain. Above is a bold and simple entablature, with the royal arms (the supporters



porters *couchant*) resting on its centre. In each spandrel of the arch is an emblematical antique celestial figure, holding the wreath, torch, &c. excellently executed in relief. The entablature, devices, and the whole frontispiece, are in the same light relievo as the cupola.

The whole will be lighted by patent lamps, suspended by brackets.

The ceiling is painted to resemble a cupola, in square compartments, in a light relief. In the centre is a lyre. The character of the decorations is perfectly Grecian, and every part is chastened and controuled by an uniform tone of simplicity. The artist appears to have studied the *simplex munditiis* in the general effect of the ornaments which he has introduced; and never did artist more completely accomplish his object. An elegant simplicity, in which the *antique* tone and character abound, without pedantry or quaintness,—a simplicity equally remote from glare and glitter on the one side, and crudity and coldness on the other, prevails throughout.

The machinery of the stage is most admirably contrived for expedition and facility of application—A scene, once used and done with, is not suffered to stand in the way, and block up the lateral avenues of the stage—It is thrown back into the rear of the stage, and finds its place in an orderly and capacious receptacle. The scenes are let down from above, and lifted up again with surprising facility, and most dexterous mechanism. There will be no more clamour and confusion as formerly behind the curtain. On each side of the stage are rooms appropriated to the use of the performers, fitted up with great neatness and

commodiousness. There are likewise three green rooms (as they are termed) spacious, elegant, and simple.

The Drop is peculiarly grand. It represents a temple dedicated to Shakespeare, in the back of which is seen his statue copied from his monument at Westminster abbey, supported by Tragedy and Comedy, and between pillars on each side are statues of Æschylus, Plautus, Lopez de Vega, Ben Jonson, Moliere, &c. &c.

*The Boxes, Pit and Galleries.*

—There are three tier of Boxes, which are disposed in a semicircular form, and afford a perfect view of the stage from every point. The front of the Boxes are of a cream colour, with Greek ornaments in gold upon a pink ground and gold mouldings. The boxes are also supported by gold fluted columns. In each Box there are three rows of seats, with light blue coverings. The three circles of Boxes are furnished with large chandeliers, elegantly mounted.—These splendid ornaments were made by Collins, at Temple-bar. They are chaste and beautiful in their design, which appears to be after the style of Piranesi, forming a graceful canopy of the richest cut drops, of which there are at least *five and twenty thousand*. These were all modelled and cut for the purpose on an entire new fashion, and they produce a lustre almost equal to the diamond.—The mountings are also costly and elegant, combining strength and beauty. There are forty in number, suspended from a rich gold bracket in front of the three tier of boxes and over the stage doors; the latter are large and magnificent, bearing nine lights each; those in



front of the Boxes bear five and six lights each. The principal Green-room is also splendidly illuminated by a large chandelier, corresponding with those on the stage, rich ornaments bearing lights on the chimney-piece, &c.

The Pit, besides its usual lateral passages, has two central passages, which extend through its whole length from the Front Boxes to the Orchestra, an improvement, the advantage of which will be most beneficially felt both in egress and ingress, when the house is crowded. It ought also to be mentioned, that the seats in the Pit are gradually elevated in a manner which will greatly conduce to the convenience of the audience. The eye of each individual will be raised so high, that it will be impossible for the head of the person sitting before him to intercept his view of the stage. The seats are 25 inches broad, and are covered with light blue cloth, edged with scarlet.

The upper gallery is divided into five compartments, and may be thus considered a tier of five boxes, with a separate door at the back to each: these doors open into a spacious lobby, one side of which is the back of the gallery, and the other the exterior wall of the theatre, with the windows into the street. The lobby to the middle gallery beneath is similarly situated. One great advantage attends this construction: in summer the doors of the galleries and the windows of the lobbies being left open, the audience in those parts cannot be oppressed by the heat, as in the former Theatre. Under the gallery is a row of private boxes, constituting the third tier. They consist of 26 in number, with a private room behind each. The

access to these boxes is by a beautiful staircase, exclusively appropriated to them, and not connected with any other part of the house.—with also a saloon, exclusively—spacious and magnificent in the extreme. This saloon is adorned with magnificent columns of Sicilian marble, the colour of which is a beautiful light *verd antique*, instead of porphyry. Busts of Shakespeare, Milton, &c. are introduced in various parts of it,—drawings in *chiaro oscuro*, principally from the works of our dramatic Poets, executed in an elegant and scientific manner,—splendid lustres and chandeliers, and the most sumptuous furniture, contribute to the decoration of this magnificent apartment, which for convenience, taste, and elegance, will become another Ranelagh. The carpeting is laid down in these boxes, but the furniture of each, and also of the adjoining room, will be according to the taste of the several occupants, among whom are some of the royal Dukes, and the leading persons of rank and fashion in the country. The lower boxes appear to be upon the same plan with those in the old house. There is an additional seat; each box will thus hold twelve persons, being three more than in the old house.

There is not a point of the house, before the curtain, that does not command a complete view of the stage; nor a point in which a word distinctly spoken on the stage is not perfectly audible to the remotest extremity.

The artist has been also particularly attentive to the comfort and accommodation of the performers. The gentlemen's dressing rooms are on one side, and those of the ladies on the other. The wardrobe room is



is spacious and superb; in the centre is a square table of immense size—the surface mahogany, highly polished; the presses which line the room are in wainscot, finished with the most exquisite taste. In the construction of this splendid edifice, the calamitous fate of the late two great winter theatres has not been forgotten. Every means of safety against fire, or other accident, that ingenuity could devise, has been adopted. At all convenient intervals are strong party walls, with iron doors, by which, if a fire were to break out, it would be confined within that particular compartment, and be prevented from spreading through the house. The fire-places are also made with the grates turning upon a pivot, by which means the front can be moved round to the back, and the fire is thus extinguished without the possibility of accident. Water-pipes are also insinuated into every part of the house, through which they are spread like veins through the human body. Great brass cocks, which, when turned, would pour the contents into the house, present themselves to the eye in the lobbies and other open places.

The flight of stairs to the upper gallery consists of 120 steps, and the number of bricks laid down in seven months, amounted to seven millions; a circumstance which may afford an idea of the magnitude of the edifice, and the celerity with which it has been built. The materials are of the best quality, and the building is most substantial and secure. Previous to its opening its strength was tried by immense leaden weights placed on the several tiers, greatly exceeding the weight of the most crowded audience that could be compressed into the

house, and yet the building did not in any point give way.

We ought to have mentioned a very great improvement in the doors, which not only facilitates admission, but which affords the most satisfactory means of security, in case any accident should render the immediate evacuation of the theatre necessary. The doors, now, instead of opening backwards or forwards, upon touching a spring, slide laterally, and are wholly removed from the passages.

The interior of this theatre is exceeded by no building ancient or modern, and the entire structure will probably remain an example to the present and succeeding ages, of elegance and magnificence controuled and directed by an unrivalled simplicity and taste, and a commodiousness and general competency to its various purposes of which there is no parallel in any building of the same kind.

26. *Westphalia.*—*The following letter, after our disappointments in the North of Germany, will be read with a degree of interest proportioned to the mortification it produces.*

You may form a tolerable idea of the miserable state of oppression the people of this kingdom groan under, by the subsequent anecdote:—

“Some time after the war against France broke out in Austria, the people of Hesse Cassel, and the officers and soldiers of the armies, indignant at the tyranny of the government of Jerome, entered into a plot to overturn his throne. The officers were to wear a particular mark worked on the coat sleeve.—About two miles from Hesse Cassel stands a convent, for the reception of



ladies of high rank but of moderate circumstances. One of the noviciates, in love with an officer who had joined in the conspiracy, worked the badge of liberty upon his sleeve. The peasantry were armed with scythes and other destructive instruments, and the eve of the breaking out of the revolution had approached within two days. A traitor to his country and its freedom disclosed the plot, and many of the officers concerned in it were seized and executed, among whom was the lover of the young lady. French cruelty did not end here. The beautiful girl herself was dragged forth and publicly decapitated. The Abbess of the convent and her nuns, who had furnished the conspirators with money, were thrown into the common bridewell of the city, and compelled to spin for a scanty subsistence."

27. Thursday, James Hewit, an old man nearly sixty years of age, was indicted for a misdemeanor, in having, in the month of May last, contrary to an act passed in the reign of Geo. II, seduced an artificer of this country to leave this kingdom. From the testimony of the witness examined, it appeared that the prisoner, although recently from America, is an Englishman and had lately frequented a public-house called the York Minster, immediately in the vicinity of the cotton manufactory of Messrs. Hughes and Lewis, Bunkill row, to which the men employed in the service of Messrs. Hughes and Lewis resorted; and amongst others a man named Hutchinson, who had been formerly apprenticed from the parish of St. Martin, to a cotton manufactory near Manchester, where he remained till he arrived

at the age of 21. He then came to London, and was employed in the service of Messrs. Hughes and Co. in the wool-dyeing business, and was in fact returned a fair workman. This man the prisoner frequently met, and, by glowing representations of the advantages and great wages he was likely to obtain by going to America, induced him to agree to emigrate, for the purpose of being employed in a cotton manufactory at a place called Cooper's Town, within two miles of New-York, and a short distance from the residence of the prisoner. Messrs. Hughes and Lewis having heard of this negotiation, sent for the prisoner and remonstrated with him on the illegality of the steps he was pursuing, forewarning him at the same time, that if he persisted in his delinquency they would punish him with the rigour of the law. The prisoner then declared his ignorance of any criminality attaching to his conduct, and promised most faithfully that he would relinquish his intentions. In a few days, however, Mr. Hughes discovered that Hutchinson was making preparations for his departure, and that his passage had actually been taken on board an American ship. The prisoner was then apprehended; and on being brought before a magistrate produced a receipt for 121 dollars, paid by him to the mate of an American ship for Hutchinson's passage, and also a promissory note of Hutchinson's for that sum, and for other moneys which had been advanced to him by the prisoner, to be paid out of the produce of his labours in America. The prisoner's defence was, that Hutchinson came a second time to him, and said he had his master's



master's permission to leave the country, and that from his solicitations he was induced to pay his passage out.

The common serjeant, who tried the case, in summing up the evidence, dwelt with peculiar force on the mischievous tendency of the crime of which the prisoner stood charged, which he said, was most materially connected with the manufacturing interests of the country, and well deserved punishment by law in a most exemplary manner; the legislature having decreed, that persons convicted of such an offence should be subject to twelve months imprisonment, and to pay a penalty of 500*l.*—The jury, without a moment's hesitation, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

Hutchinson, the artificer seduced, was then tried under an act, passed in the 5th of George the First, which enacts, "That any artificer, particularly in the manufactures of cotton, wool, silk, mohair, &c. who should be convicted of, or detected in, preparing to leave the kingdom, for the purpose of devoting his knowledge for the benefit and advantage of foreign countries, not within the British dominions, should be bound to enter into recognizances himself, and two sureties, for remaining in the country."

The evidence in the former case was again gone through, and the prisoner was found *Guilty*.

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## OCTOBER.

4. The following particulars of Lefebvre's expedition against the Tyrol, in August last, were communicated by a Saxon major, who

escaped from the destruction of those terrible days :—

"We had penetrated to Inspruck without great resistance; and although much was every where talked of the Tyrolese stationed upon and round the Brenner, we gave little credit to it, thinking the rebels to have been dispersed by a short cannonade, and already considering ourselves as conquerors. Our entrance into the passes of the Brenner was only opposed by small corps, which continued falling back, after an obstinate though short resistance. Among others, I perceived a man full eighty years of age, posted against the side of a rock, and sending death amongst our ranks with every shot. Upon the Bavarians descending from behind to make him prisoner, he shouted aloud, *Hurrah!* struck the first man to the ground with a ball, seized hold of the second, and with the ejaculation, *In God's name!* precipitated himself with him into the abyss below. Marching onwards, we heard resound from the summit of a high rock : *Stephen! shall I chop it off yet?* to which a loud *Nay* reverberated from the opposite side. This was told to the duke of Dantzic, who, notwithstanding, ordered us to advance: at the same time he prudently withdrew from the centre to the rear. The van, consisting of 4000 Bavarians, had just stormed a deep ravine, when we again heard halloo'd over our heads—*Hans! for the most Holy Trinity!* Our terror was completed by the reply that immediately followed :—*In the name of the Holy Trinity!—Cut all loose above!* and ere a minute had elapsed, were thousands of my comrades in arms crushed, buried, and overwhelmed, by an incredible heap of broken



broken rocks, stones and trees, hurled down upon us. All of us were petrified. Every one fled that could; but a shower of balls from the Tyrolese, who now rushed from the surrounding mountains in immense numbers, and among them boys and girls of ten and twelve years of age, killed or wounded a great many of us. It was not till we had got these fatal mountains six leagues behind us, that we were reassembled by the duke and formed into six columns. Soon after the Tyrolese appeared, headed by Hofer the innkeeper.—After a short address from him, they gave a general fire, flung their rifles aside, and rushed upon our bayonets with only their clenched fists. Nothing could withstand their impetuosity. They darted at our feet, threw or pulled us down, strangled us, wrenched the arms from our hands; and, like enraged lions, killed all—French, Bavarians, and Saxons, that did not cry for quarter. By doing so, I, with 300 men, was spared and set at liberty. When all lay dead around, and the victory was completed, the Tyrolese, as if moved by one impulse, fell upon their knees, and poured forth the emotions of their hearts in prayer under the canopy of Heaven; a scene so awfully solemn, that it will ever be present to my remembrance. I joined in the devotion, and never in my life did I pray more fervently.”

16. *Extraordinary Phenomenon*.—At Sandside, in the parish of Reay, in the county of Caithness, there was seen, about two months ago, an animal supposed to be the mermaid. The head and the chest, being all that was visible, exactly resembled those of a full grown young woman. The mammae were

perfectly formed; the arms longer than in the human body, and the eyes somewhat smaller. When the waves dashed the hair, which was of a sea green shade, over the face, the hands were immediately employed to replace it. The skin was of a pink colour. Though observed by several persons within the distance of twenty yards, for about an hour and a half, it discovered no symptoms of alarm. It was seen by four or five individuals, of unquestionable veracity, at the same time. Something of the same kind was observed in the same neighbourhood, about seven or eight years ago, by a gentleman then residing near the spot.—*Edinburgh Weekly Journal*.

We give the following letter, leaving our readers to attach what credit to it they please:—

*The Mermaid seen on the coast of Caithness.—Letter from Miss Mackay, daughter of the Rev. David Mackay, Minister of Reay, to Miss Innes Dowager, of Sandside.*

*Reay Manse, May 25, 1809.*

MADAM,—To establish the truth of what has hitherto been considered improbable and fabulous must be at all times a difficult task, and I have not the vanity to think that my testimony alone would be sufficient for this purpose, but when to this is added that of four others, I hope it will have some effect in removing the doubts of those, who may suppose that the wonderful appearance I reported having seen in the sea on the 12th of January, was not a mermaid, but some other uncommon, though less remarkable inhabitant of the deep. As I would willingly contribute to remove the doubt of the sceptical on this subject,

I beg



I beg leave to state to you the following accounts, after premising that my cousin, whose name is affixed along with mine, was one of the four witnesses who beheld with me this uncommon spectacle.

While she and I were walking by the sea shore, on the 12th of January, about noon, our attention was attracted by seeing three people who were on a rock at some distance, shewing signs of terror and astonishment at something they saw in the water: on approaching them, we distinguished that the object of their wonder was a face resembling the human countenance, which appeared floating on the waves; at that time nothing but the face was visible; it may not be improper to observe, before I proceed farther, that the face, throat, and arms, are all I can attempt to describe, all our endeavours to discover the appearance and position of the body being unavailing. The sea at that time ran very high, and as the waves advanced, the mermaid gently sunk under them, and afterwards reappeared.

The face seemed plump and round, the eyes and nose were small, the former were of a light grey colour, and the mouth was large, and from the shape of the jaw-bone, which seemed straight, the face looked short; as to the inside of the mouth, I can say nothing, not having attended to it, though sometimes open. The head was exceedingly round, the hair thick and long, of a green oily cast, and appeared troublesome to it, the waves generally throwing it down over the face; it seemed to feel the annoyance, and as the waves retreated, with both its hands frequently threw back the hair, and rubbed its throat, as if to remove any soiling it might have re-

ceived from it. The throat was slender, smooth, and white; we did not think to observe whether it had elbows, but from the manner in which it used its arms, I must conclude that it had. The arms were very long and slender, as were the hands and fingers, the latter were not webbed. The arms, one of them at least, was frequently extended over its head, as if to frighten a bird that hovered over it, and seemed to distress it much; when that had no effect, it sometimes turned quite round several times successively. At a little distance we observed a seal. It sometimes laid its right hand under its cheek, and in this position floated for some time. We saw nothing like hair or scales on any part of it; indeed the smoothness of the skin particularly caught our attention. The time it was discernable to us was about an hour. The sun was shining clearly at the time; it was distant from us a few yards only. These are the few observations made by us during the appearance of this strange phenomenon.

If they afford you any satisfaction, I shall be particularly happy; I have stated nothing but what I clearly recollect; as my cousin and I had frequently, previous to this period, combated an assertion which is very common among the lower class here, that mermaids had been frequently seen on this coast, our evidence cannot be thought biassed by any former prejudice in favour of the existence of this wonderful creature.

To contribute in any degree to your pleasure or amusement, will add to the happiness of,

Madam, your greatly obliged,  
(Signed) ELIZ. MACKAY,  
C. MACKENZIE.

[Extract



[Extract from the Glasgow Courier.]

"To The Editor.

"SIR—The letters from Caithness respecting the Mermaid, which have lately appeared in the public prints, having excited considerable attention, the Glasgow Philosophical Society, by their Secretary, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Mackay, Minister of Reay, to ascertain the authenticity of these documents. The following polite answer was, in due course, received by the Society.—I am, &c.

"JAMES WATT, Pres.

"*Society's Hall, Oct. 16, 1809.*

"SIR—In terms of your and the Philosophical Society's request, I have to inform you, that my daughter wrote a letter to Miss Innes Dowager of Sandside, concerning the strange phenomenon seen near this place merely for private information, without the smallest suspicion of any other use to be made of it. But having excited Sir John Sinclair's curiosity, he obtained a copy of this letter, and it seems that by one of his friends it found its way to the English newspapers. Though I never saw the letter, either originally or in the papers, I have good reason to suppose that it is a genuine document.

"With regard to the animal's timidity, I have only to say, that two servant maids and a boy being at the time down among the rocks, it was the cries of the boy that made it first disappear. It soon re-appeared farther out in the sea, and ultimately disappeared, after having taken its course a considerable way along the shore, the spectators following, and walked on until they lost hope of its coming up again. The schoolmaster of Thurso's letter is also genuine; and he

is a gentleman whose veracity is not called in question.

"I am respectfully, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble  
Servant,

"DAVID MACKAY, Reay,  
Oct. 3, 1809.

"*James Boag, Esq. Sec. Phil. So.  
High-street, Glasgow.*"

The strange accounts of Mermaids having been seen on the coast of Scotland, have induced some of the collectors of "*Tales of Wonder*" to bring forward the following still more extravagant and improbable story respecting an animal of the same kind, pretended to have been found in Holland:—

"In a History of the Netherlands it is stated, that in the year 1403, the dikes were broken near Campear by an inundation; and when the inundation had returned, a Merwoman was left in the Dermet Mere; and the milk-maids, who used to cross that Mere in boats, when they went to milk, saw a human head above water, but believed their eyes deceived them, till the repeated sight confirmed their assurance; whereupon they resolved one night to watch her, and saw that she repaired to a seggy or flaggy place, where it was ebb, and near the side; whereupon, early in the morning, they got a great many boats together, and environed the place in the form of a half moon, and disturbed her; but she attempting to get under the boats, and finding her way stopped up by staves and other things on purpose fastened, began to flounce, and make a hideous deafening noise, and with her hands and tail sunk a boat or two, but at last was tired out and taken; the maids used her kindly, and cleaned the  
sea-moss



sea-moss and shells from off her, and offered her water, fish, milk, bread, &c. which she refused; but with good usage, in a day or two, they got her to eat and drink, though she endeavoured to make her escape again to sea; her hair was long and black, her face human, her teeth very strong, her breasts and belly to the naval were perfect—the lower parts of her body ended in a strong fish tail.

“The Magistrates of Haerlem commanded her to be sent to them, for that the Mere was within their jurisdiction; when she was brought thither, she was put into the Town-house, and had a dame assigned her to teach her; she learned to spin, and shew devotion to prayer; she would laugh, and when women came into the Town-house to spin with her for diversion, she would signify by signs she knew their meaning in some sort, though she could never be taught to speak; she would wear no clothes in summer; part of her hair was filleted up in a Dutch dress, and part hung long and naturally.—She would have her tail in the water, and accordingly had a tub of water under her chair, made on purpose for her; she eat milk, water, bread, butter and fish; she lived thus out of her element (except her tail) fifteen or sixteen years. Her picture was painted on a board with oil, and hangs now in the Town-house of Haerlem, with a subscription in letters of gold, giving an account when she was taken, how long she lived, and when she died, and in what church-yard she was buried; their annals mention her, and their books have her picture, and travelling painters draw her picture by the table. By the above-mentioned relation, the querist

may be satisfied that she exceeds all the other creatures in cunning and docility that have ever yet been known.

25. *JUBILEE—At Windsor—* The Jubilee, as was expected, was celebrated on Wednesday with every demonstration of joy at Windsor. At six o'clock in the morning the commencement of the Jubilee was announced by the sound of trumpets; after which the drums beat to arms, the Royal Horse Guards, (Blues), the Staffordshire Militia, and the Volunteers; the bells also rung a merry peal.

Between eight and nine o'clock their Majesties, Princess Elizabeth, and the Dukes of York and Sussex attended Divine service at the private chapel in the Castle. After Divine service, Turnerelli was introduced to her Majesty and the Royal party, and presented the Jubilee Bust which his Majesty has lately sat for, the striking likeness of which was taken upon this memorable occasion and was highly approved of.

*Fête at Frogmore—* But a more refined and classical entertainment, a superb *Fête*, was given, on Wednesday night, by her Majesty at Frogmore. At half past nine o'clock the gates were thrown open for the Nobility, Gentry, and others having tickets of admission. On the entrance into the gardens, the spectator was struck with astonishment and delight at the charming and fanciful scene of variegated lamps, of different figures and colours.—The avenues and walks were hung with brilliant coloured lamps, in the shape of watchmen's lanthorns.—The lawns adjoining to the house afforded a rich display of the choicest shrubs and plants, taken from the green-house. At ten o'clock the Queen



Queen arrived, and after her Majesty had joined the company, the fire-works began, at the conclusion of which there appeared on a sudden, and as it were by magic, on a beautiful piece of water opposite the garden front of the house, two triumphal cars, drawn by two sea-horses each, one occupied by Neptune, and preceded by the other with a band of music. The cars had a very superb appearance. On coming to the temporary bridge erected over the canal opposite to the garden front, transparencies were displayed in an equally sudden and unexpected manner on the battlement, with the words, "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves," inscribed on them. At the same moment the band struck up the tune. Opposite the bridge, an elegant Grecian temple was erected on the mount, surrounded by eight beautiful marble pillars. The interior of the temple was lined with purple, and in the centre was a large transparency of the Eye of Providence, fixed, as it were, upon a beautiful portrait of his Majesty, surmounted by stars of lamps.—From the temple a double staircase descended to the water's edge. On the windings of the staircase were erected nine altars with burning incense.

On the lawn twelve marquees were erected, where the company partook of tea and coffee during the fire-works. Covers were laid in the principal dining-rooms, and at 12 o'clock the company sat down to an elegant supper, consisting of all the delicacies of the season. The frames were beautifully done in emblematic figures, part of which represented Britannia kneeling by the lion, the eye of Providence above,

and underneath was written by her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth, "Britannia, grateful to Providence, celebrates the 50th year of a reign sacred to piety and virtue."

On the island, in the middle of the sheet of water in the gardens at Frogmore, there has been erected a temple; it is a square pile of building, decorated with Doric columns and a dome, with emblematical figures descriptive of the happy event represented thereon. Fronting the noble vista, or grand promenade-walk, leading from the Palace to the Lake, there was a bridge, consisting of only a single arch, and like the celebrated Rialto at Venice, it was decorated in the same manner and illuminated. In the centre of the temple was an altar, classically ornamented with figures, &c. the designs were furnished by the Princess Elizabeth, and executed under the direction of Mr. Wyatt. In the front of the altar there was a female figure of Gratitude, in a kneeling posture: this figure exactly resembles the Venus of Cleomenes. The altar, &c. could be seen in perspective, by means of open arches, from the house and gardens on every side. The temple and the bridge were the only erections made at Frogmore expressly for the celebration of the Jubilee. Tents had been erected sufficiently capacious to entertain from twelve to fifteen hundred people. The fanciful and romantic bower, or rustic ball-room, erected under the superintendence of the Princess Elizabeth, about ten years since, and which was suffered to fall into decay, has been repaired and decorated with laurel leaves, the rose, thistle, and the shamrock; it was illuminated with coloured lamps. In the town of Windsor, the grand triumphal



triumphal arch extended from the Castle Inn, over the High-street, to the Town-hall. It was decorated with obelisks and devices in transparent colours, executed by Mr. Matthew Wyatt. Another triumphal arch in Sheet lane, at the sole expence of Mr. Tibbett, who is the carpenter to the Board of Works at Windsor: the latter was illuminated by exactly 2000 variegated lamps.

*At Kew*, the whole of the town was illuminated. A grand Gothic arch was erected, from the centre of which a star was suspended: it was of vast dimensions, and underneath a medallion of his Majesty, a very correct likeness, with a motto—"Virtue, Honour, and Glory."—The whole of the trees around the green were illuminated by variegated lamps, in arches, wreaths, and columns.

*Celebration of the Jubilee by the City of London.*—The joyful event of our beloved Sovereign entering the 50th year of his reign, was celebrated by the Corporation of this great metropolis, with a magnificence and splendour becoming its wealth and distinguished rank among the nations of Europe. At an early hour the day was ushered in by the ringing of bells in the different Churches, among which we noticed particularly the fine peal of St. Michael's, Cornhill.

At half past ten o'clock the Lord Mayor proceeded from the Mansion House to Guildhall, in the City State Coach drawn by his set of six beautiful grey horses, splendidly adorned with ribbons, and attended by the usual officers, preceded by the trumpets sounding, and the Band of the West London Militia playing God Save the King. At Guildhall his Lordship was joined

by the Members of the Corporation, and at half past eleven o'clock the Procession moved from thence.

In the large space between the iron gates and great West door of the Cathedral the West London Militia received his Lordship and the rest of the Procession, with presented arms. On entering the great West door of the Cathedral, his Lordship was received by the Dean and Chapter. The centre aisle to the Choir was lined on each side by the River fencibles, in full uniform.

A most excellent and appropriate Sermon was preached by his Lordship's Chaplain, from a well chosen text, in the 8th chapter, 2d Kings, and 66th verse, "And they blessed the King, and went into their tents joyful and glad of heart, for all the goodness the Lord had done for David, his servant, and for Israel his People."

The Coronation Anthem was performed previous to the Sermon, by the full Choir with great effect.—The procession returned about three o'clock in the same order. At five o'clock the Corporation were introduced up the grand staircase, in front of the Mansion House. The trumpets sounding during their entrance in the vestibule. The building had been previously decorated with a splendid illumination, consisting of elegant devices of the Oak, Thistle and Shamrock, in coloured lamps—in the centre, a radiant display of G. R. and the Crown, with "Long may he reign." The pillars were tastefully ornamented with wreaths of lamps; the whole was much admired for its general grandeur and effect. On entering the grand Saloon, which was lined by the band of the West London Militia, playing God Save the King,



King, Rule Britannia, &c.: the company were individually received by the Lord Mayor in his robes of state, with that affability, politeness, and attention, that distinguish this worthy Chief Magistrate.

The Saloon was brilliantly lighted with several large Grecian lamps beautifully painted, and displaying a scene at once novel and elegant. At half past five o'clock, the doors of the magnificent Egyptian Hall were thrown open, illuminated by the blaze of innumerable lamps, tastefully arranged round the pillars and the elegant lustres and chandeliers suspended from the roof.

The tables were laid out with the greatest taste, and covered with an elegant and hospitable dinner, the whole of which was served with plate, and a plentiful supply of Madeira and Red Port of a most superior quality and flavour. The band continuing during the whole of dinner to play several delightful military and other airs.—After the cloth was removed, *Non Nobis Domine* was charmingly sung by Messrs. Taylor, &c. &c.

The Lord Mayor then gave,

The King, God bless him, and long may he reign over a free and united people.

Which was drank with three times three, and with exulting enthusiasm amid thunders of applause, that continued unabated for a considerable length of time. After this effusion of loyal feeling had subsided, the grand national anthem of God save the King, was performed by the professional Gentlemen present, with appropriate additional verses for the occasion, the whole company standing and joining in the chorus with the most heartfelt zeal, accompanied by the animating sound of the military band.

The worthy Chief Magistrate then gave,

The Queen.

The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family.

The Wooden Walls of Old England.

After which, Rule Britannia was sung accompanied in full chorus by the band and company present.

The Army of the United Kingdom.

Prosperity to the City of London, &c. &c.

The illuminations of the Public Buildings and Offices were unusually tasteful and splendid.

*The following is the Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving appointed to be read in the Churches on this occasion:—*

O God, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and to whom alone it belongeth to distribute mercies, as well in lengthening as in shortening the days of men, we yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the protection thou hast vouchsafed to our gracious Sovereign, during a long and arduous reign. Continue, we pray thee, thy watchfulness over him: shield him from the open attacks of his enemies, and from hidden dangers; from the arrow that flieth by day, and from the pestilence that walketh in darkness: enlighten his Counsels for the public good: strengthen all his measures: and when it shall seem fit to thine unerring wisdom, perfect the ends of both—the restoration of peace and security to his people: of concord and independence to contending and bleeding nations.—These blessings, and mercies, we implore for our Sovereign, ourselves, our allies, and our enemies, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

On this happy occasion too, a proclamation was issued for pardon-

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ing all deserters from the fleet, whether they return to their duty or not; and another, pardoning all deserters from the land forces, provided they surrender in two months from the 25th. The lords of the admiralty ordered an extra allowance of 4lbs. of beef, 3lbs. of flour, and a pound of raisins to every eight men in his Majesty's ships in port, with one pint of wine, or half a pint of rum each man—Eleven crown debtors were this day discharged from prison, in addition to above 100 liberated by the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts. The donations to this laudable society for the above charitable purpose have been most liberal. The city of London set the example by subscribing 1000*l*.

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### NOVEMBER.

6. *Court of Chancery.—Ward of Court v. Giles.*—Mr. Richards moved for an attachment against Mr. John Giles, for carrying off Miss Augusta Nicholson, a ward of that court; and also for having a fit and proper person appointed by the court, to whom the care and custody of the infant should be entrusted. The circumstances of the of the elopement it may be proper to detail.

Miss Augusta Nicholson, the daughter of colonel Nicholson, a ward of chancery, with a fortune of 14,000*l*. eloped with Mr. Giles the comedian, from Tunbridge Wells. The family reside at Worcester; the colonel is, we understand, at the Isle of Wight; the young lady's mother is dead; the colonel is married to a second wife. Miss Nicholson has become entitled

to a fortune of 14,000*l*. when of age, in consequence of the death of eight relatives since 1803. During the colonel's absence from home, Miss Nicholson and her mother-in-law visited Tunbridge Wells, at which fashionable place the parties first became acquainted. Mr. G.'s first introduction to the lady was by an offer to carry some books for her from the library. On the following evening she went to the theatre, accompanied by her mother-in-law, and sat on the front seat of the stage-box; and while Mr. Giles was performing close to the box, Miss Nicholson contrived to drop a letter to him unobserved, which he picked up unperceived by her mother-in-law. In that letter she acknowledged her attachment to him, and gave him encouragement to pay his addresses to her, and said that she would marry him. From that time a mutual intercourse and correspondence took place, in which the warmest affection was expressed. This proceeding was communicated to Miss N.'s mother-in-law, who, to prevent the intercourse proceeding further, confined her to the house. This regulation, however, had not the desired effect: for Mr. Giles contrived a plan of exchanging letters through the key-hole of the street-door; Miss N. had a bed-room to herself, and got up every morning before five o'clock, and conversed with her lover out of the window. The correspondence continued about five weeks previous to the elopement. The elopement was effected by the following circumstances:—

Mr. Giles, destitute of the most needful article, money, for carrying on such an exploit, made Mr. Smith,



Smith, a brother performer, his confidant; told him what he had been doing, and what he was about to do, and asked him to lend him a sum of money to enable him to run away with Miss Nicholson. Mr. Smith entered into his views, and lent him 30*l.*, being the whole of his stock. The two sons of the buskin having agreed upon their object, and having the consent and approbation of the lady, set off to walk from Tunbridge Wells to Seven Oaks, on the evening of the 24th; and, to avoid suspicion, they hired a chaise-and-four at a by-inn, a few miles from Seven Oaks, and set off in it about three o'clock in the morning, and proceeded towards Tunbridge Wells. They stopped a short distance before they came to the town; Smith stopped in the chaise, and Giles went for the lady; and she, on the signal of love, flew to his embraces with only one change of clothes, in hopes never more to part; but disappointment overlook them.

Miss Nicholson's flight was soon discovered after the family got up, and it was at length ascertained that she had eloped with Mr. Giles. On Thursday, the following day, her mother-in-law wrote to Messrs. Cardale and son, solicitors, of Bedford-row, who are trustees to Miss Nicholson. They employed Adkins and his brother to trace the fugitives out. The officers pursued their inquiries with all possible expedition and exertion. They traced the parties to have changed their horses at the White Heart inn, at Bromley, and from thence gradually to Westmorland-place, City-road, which is extremely well calculated for persons to conceal themselves. Adkins went with Mr.

Cardale to the house of Mr. Steele: Adkins knocked at the door; a female answered it, and Adkins asked if Mr. Giles was within; she answered in the affirmative, and that he was at dinner. Adkins followed her in, and saw Mr. Giles: Adkins addressed him by his name, and he answered to it; but when Adkins told him his business, he told him he must be mistaken, and that he never was at Tunbridge Wells in his life; Adkins, however, persisted that he was the man, from the description of him that he had received, and that the young lady who was dining with him was Miss Nicholson; the dispute about the identity of their persons was soon settled by Mr. Cardale, the solicitor, and Miss N.'s trustee, entering the room, and a frantic tragic scene took place. Miss Nicholson finding any attempt to conceal herself longer a folly, both lovers rushed into each other's arms, and swore attachment, beating their heads, and running about the room distracted; Miss Nicholson agreed to go with them quietly, after much persuasion; but, said she, I must go up stairs first. Adkins told her he must accompany her, to which she agreed; and one of the principal objects to take care of was her purse, which was not for the amount of the cash it contained, as we understand it only contained a dollar and a few shillings at the one end, but the other contained the jewel of all jewels to her, the wedding ring, which was to tie her to her dearly beloved Giles that morning at Marylebone church, they having been asked in the church two Sundays, and the third time was to have taken place on that day. But, alas! Miss Hoyerden



den is disappointed of being a married woman this time, especially as she has been so extremely anxious to get married to her dearest dearest Giles, that she has made him, since her elopement, swear several times upon the Bible, that he will never marry any woman but her.

The learned counsel read the affidavits of Mrs. Sarah Frances Steel, of Westmorland-place, stating that Miss Nicholson and Mr. Giles came to her house on the 21st of last month, and had been seldom out from that time to the period of their being taken into custody. That she understood that they had come to her house for the purpose of being married, and that the banns had been proclaimed in Mary-le-bone church, and also in another church, the name or situation of which she did not know. Mrs. Nicholson, the step-mother, had also made an affidavit, stating that it would be inconvenient for her any longer to take charge of the infant. There was a relation of the infant's however, (an aunt,) who, he believed, would be ready to undertake the charge of her. The friends of the young lady had reason to suppose that her indiscretion had gone no farther than the act of eloping. The learned counsel, therefore, left it with his lordship to determine how the other parties should be disposed of.

Mr. Bligh appeared for a Mr. Smith, an accessory against whom an attachment had already issued, and expressed his deep contrition for the part he had taken in the business.

The lord chancellor said, if Mr. Smith wished to throw himself on the court with this expression of sorrow, it would certainly avail him

in some degree, and if he had any thing farther to state, he should have an opportunity of doing so on Thursday, when his lordship would dispose of the case so far as he was concerned. As the proclamation of banns, where any of the parties might happen to be a ward of that court, was held by the law to be a matter of very serious importance, his lordship ordered that the persons who had been concerned in proclaiming the banns in the church of Mary-le-bone, and in the other church, if it could be found out, should attend the court on Thursday. This order he made, not for the purpose of having it held out that their conduct had been improper, but because the law was particularly strict in such matters, requiring that every diligence should be used for the purpose of ascertaining that the parties, as to whom the banns were to be proclaimed, resided within the parish, and laboured under no disability which should prevent the marriage from taking place. Seven days were even allowed by Act of Parliament for the purpose of making this inquiry.—The care of the infant, in the mean time, his lordship ordered to be entrusted to the relation whom the learned counsel suggested. Against Mr. Giles, he ordered, that the attachment should issue, leaving it to the discretion of the plaintiffs to judge how far it would be proper that it should be carried into execution. If not absolutely necessary, he was satisfied they would not feel themselves called on to resort to such an extremity. Mr. Giles, in all probability, was not aware of the situation in which he stood, and, if he chose to appear by his counsel, and



state any thing which he might think would be for his advantage, his lordship would hear him on Thursday.

On Thursday Mr. Richards called the attention of his lordship to the above case. He recapitulated the circumstances which have been already laid before the public, and recommended that the young lady should be placed under proper protection; as she had repeatedly declared her intention of running off, if she could get an opportunity.

Mr. Blythe, as counsel for Mr. Giles, stated that he had much to offer in extenuation of his conduct; but that he refrained, from considerations of delicacy to the family of the lady. He stated the contrition of Mr. Giles for what had passed, and his readiness to submit to any terms which it might be his lordship's pleasure to impose. As to the conduct of Mr. Smith, the brother comedian, who had assisted in the elopement, and had lent money towards carrying it into execution, he had an affidavit from him, stating his utter ignorance at the time of the lady's being a ward in chancery. He read this affidavit, and also another from Mr. Fry, Mr. Giles's solicitor, in extenuation. —The learned gentleman then stated, that Mr. Giles was without friends, and without any means of subsistence; so that his utter ruin was certain in case of confinement.

The lord chancellor said, that he would defer his decision until Friday; but could not avoid now remarking upon the impropriety of the clergyman's conduct, who had published the banns. He did not wish to impute any wilful impropriety to the gentleman who had

acted upon this occasion; but an error he was certainly guilty of. He lordship now deemed it necessary to lay down the law precisely for the guidance of those who might be hereafter concerned in such circumstances. He understood that clergymen frequently published banns, upon their being handed up to them, after the first and second lesson. The law, however, allowed no such power. By the Act of Parliament for the regulation of marriages, the banns should be made known to the clergyman at least seven days before their publication, together with the christian and surname of the parties, the parish in which they resided, together with their respective residences, and how long they had occupied them. It was the duty of the clergyman, after the first notice, to go to the house to which he was directed, and make inquiries there as to the correctness of the facts.—If on such inquiry he was deceived, then he certainly was not to blame; but if he neglected to make such inquiry, he was subject not only to heavy ecclesiastical censures, but to punishments of another description.—Ignorance, on the part of the clergyman, would not avail him as an excuse. He cited the strictness of Lord Thurlow in the case of Dr. Markam, and recollected himself a cause, in which the absurd excuse of the officiating clergyman was very near subjecting him to a most severe prosecution. The clergyman said he had given the strictest orders to his curate; the curate had given the same orders to his clerk; the clerk to his wife; and so they accounted and thought to apologize for the dereliction of their duty. His lordship advised a petition to be



be sent up in the course of the day, from Mr. Giles, which he would take into consideration and decide upon on Friday.

A petition was afterwards presented to his lordship.

10. *Court of Chancery—Nicholson v. Giles.*—Mr. Blythe informed his Lordship, that Messrs. Giles and Smith were in attendance, in conformity with the directions which his Lordship had given on the preceding day.

The Lord Chancellor asked Mr. Richards if he had any thing to offer from the guardian of Miss Nicholson.

Mr. Richards replied in the negative, but observed, that Mr. Giles had, in his affidavit, stated something respecting a letter to Mrs. Wells, which required some further explanation.

The Lord Chancellor intimated his intention of looking into that part of the affidavit. With respect to Mr. Smith, he should allow him to be discharged, upon his undertaking to come forward, if necessary, upon any future occasion.—Mr. Smith was of course then discharged.

13. The new cut on the Union Canal from Leicester to Harborough (through Foxton) was opened this day. Upwards of 10,000 persons were present; and a sumptuous entertainment was given at the Angel inn in Harborough to about 180 gentlemen interested in the concern. Thus have the Union Canal Company, after a period of 15 years from its commencement, finished a work of great public utility. Very few canals, in the same distance, have had to encounter such difficulties in the course of the undertaking. Nearly 200 feet of lockage, a tunnel more than half a mile in length, two

considerable aqueducts, other large embankments, a large reservoir, and several hundred yards of very deep cutting, have been completed.

## DECEMBER.

11. *Mr. Kempe v. the Rev. Mr. Wicks, in the Court of Arches*—

This cause was instituted by Mr. Kempe, a gentleman of Calvinistical independence, (the real doctrine, in fact, of the church of England,) against the Rev. Mr. Wicks, rector of a parish in Somersetshire, for refusing to bury a child belonging to two parishioners, on the ground of the child having been baptized by a dissenting minister. It was contended, on the part of the Rev. Mr. Wicks, that the administering of this sacrament must be performed by a lawful minister of the established church of England, otherwise such baptism was to be considered as null and void, both by the ancient and modern rubrics, canon law, and various other authorities, quoted by the learned civilians on the subject.—Sir John Nicholl, after hearing the counsel on behalf of the promoter of the suit, was of opinion (after entering at considerable length into the various authorities upon the point in question), that the Rev. Mr. Wicks had mistaken the law, and that it was his duty to have performed the ceremony; at the same time recommending, as this suit was not brought by Mr. Kempe through any vindictive spirit, but only for the purpose of determining the right, and setting the question at rest, that he would be satisfied with correcting the error, and establishing the right, without proceeding any farther in the cause.



*Oxford Election.*—The election of chancellor of the University of Oxford concluded at ten o'clock on Thursday night, after the most severe contest ever experienced there. The numbers were as follow:—

For Lord Grenville..... 406

Lord Eldon ..... 390

Duke of Beaufort.. 288

Lord Grenville was therefore declared duly elected, by a majority of 16 over Lord Eldon, and of 118 over the duke of Beaufort.

This election was more warmly contested than any former one recollected in Oxford. So great a number of votes were never before offered. The number that voted amounted to 1084, and the whole that have a right to vote amount only to 1274. There remained therefore only 190 persons who did not vote on this occasion. All the bishops who have a vote for the election of chancellor in this University, it is understood, voted for lord Grenville, except two, who, it is reported, voted for lord Eldon.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE RIOTS AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

16. In consequence of the great expence attending the building of the new theatre, the proprietors found it necessary to make an advance in the prices of admission. The whole rise, however, was only one shilling on the boxes, and sixpence on the pit; the half-price for the latter remaining the same as before, as well as the prices to the galleries.

The intended rise had no sooner got abroad, than the people instantly manifested a spirit of resistance; and previous to the opening of the theatre, there appeared in different newspapers various advertisements, paragraphs, letters, &c. inciting the

public to resist this advance of prices, and tending to produce the riotous combination of individuals, for the purpose of carrying that object into effect. Accordingly, on the opening of the theatre, there was a great number of people collected in all parts of the house, who, by their noise and riotous behaviour, by barking, shouting, groaning, catcalls, cries of off! off! old prices, &c. interrupted the performances, or at any rate, rendered them totally inaudible. A croud of people also assembled on the outside, actuated with like feelings and designs. This noise and riot having continued with similar or increased violence for five successive nights, Mr. Kemble came forward and informed the house that the proprietors had resolved to shut up the theatre, and submit their accounts and the concerns of the house to the inspection of a committee of gentlemen of the first respectability, who should report their true state to the public. This committee consisted of the following gentlemen; Alderman Sir Charles Price, Bart. M. P. Sir Thos. Plomer Knt. the Solicitor General; John Sylvester, Esq. the Recorder of the city of London; John Whitmore, Esq. Governor of the Bank of England, and John Julius Angerstein, Esq. The report of this committee was, that the rate of profit actually received upon an average of the last six years, commencing in 1803 (the period of the present copartnership in the theatre) upon the capital embarked therein, amounted to 6½ per cent. per annum, charging the concern with only the sum actually paid for insurance on such part of the capital as was insured; that if the whole capital had been insured the profit would have been reduced to little more



more than five per cent. though for want of this full insurance, the proprietors, being in part their own insurers, sustained a loss by the late fire, for which no compensation has been made, to the amount of more than the whole of their profits for the above period of six years." The report farther stated that the committee was fully satisfied, that the future profits of the new theatre at the proposed advance in the prices of admission, would amount to no more than three and a half per cent. per annum upon the capital expended in the theatre, if the same were insured; and that upon the same supposition of insurance, at the former prices of admission, the proprietors would in the judgment of the committee, annually sustain a loss of nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per annum on their capital."

Upon this report being made public, the question arose whether the common interest of 5 per cent was, or was not, included in the estimate of profits; which called forth the further declaration, that after deducting the legal interest of 5 per cent. on their capital, no more than  $1\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. remained to the proprietors for their whole profits."

Notwithstanding, however, the commissioners were men of business, used to accounts, and hence not likely to be deceived themselves, and of a respectability which seemed to preclude the presumption of their deceiving others, their report was very far from proving satisfactory to the public. On re-opening the theatre, therefore, the same discordant and hideous noises were resumed, with cries of "Old prices:" "No garbled extracts to humbug John Bull," &c. Placards also of

like tendency were exhibited in various parts of the house, as,

"Mr. Kemble lower your prices; for no evasion

Will suit John Bull on this occasion."

And:

"John Kemble, let your monopoly cease, and then raise your prices as high as you please."

"No private boxes for intriguing."

"A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether for old prices."

"John Bull, be very bold and resolute! Never depart from your resolution, but firmly keep your noisy station."

For the first two or three nights after the re-opening, these disturbances began at the commencement of the play; but afterwards, the rioters becoming tired of paying the full price, did not begin till the half price, and there seemed to be, if not an expressed, at least an understood, conspiracy, for the obtainment of the proposed object. The instruments of noise and uproar were now varied and multiplied, and in addition to laughing, singing, groaning, &c., we had an accompaniment of coachmen's horns and trumpets, dustmen's bells, and watchmen's rattles. Many came with the symbolical characters of O. P. in their hats, and upon their clothes, forming rings and making mock-fights in the pit, and sometimes pushing in a mass; or the whole joined in the notable O. P. *Dance*, as it was called, which consisted in an alternate stamping of the feet, accompanied with the regular cry of O. P. in noisy and monotonous cadence. The performances, the awhile, consisted merely in dumb show and pantomimical representation.

The proprietors and performers seem, at length, to have been wearied out by this vulgar and unceasing clamour; they lost their



temper, the most ominous of all losses in a contest with a mob. A pugilistic corps was imprudently introduced into the pit, composed principally of the children of Israel, with Dutch Sam at their head, and a body of constables armed with staves of authority. For awhile, there was in the gallery a delusive calm; but as the curtain drew up, the actors were saluted with the customary hisses and groans. The constables and fighting men, however, were not wanting in activity, and though stoutly opposed, they had before half-play clearly the advantage. But when the pit began to fill, the yell of horror was renewed, and, in five minutes, a hundred fists were clenched in savage hostility. The people were exasperated, almost to frenzy, at the idea that brutal force was thus employed to compel them to submission; and the evening closed in unwonted confusion.

These disgraceful tumults at length began to subside, and the peaceful admirers of the drama were congratulated on a prospect of returning tranquillity, when an incident occurred which rekindled those flames which were about to be extinguished. Mr. Clifford, a barrister of distinction, appeared in the pit, with the letters O. P. in his hat, and was saluted by the familiar and commendatory address,—"Here comes the honest counsellor!" and way was made for him to the centre of the pit. Thus encouraged, and, as it was thought, authorized, the people again gave free scope to their clamour; and "Old Prices,"—and "Clifford for ever," became the rallying words of the night. Brandon, the box-keeper, got Mr. Clifford appre-

hended as a rioter, and carried before a magistrate at Bow-street; by whom, however, he was immediately discharged. Mr. Clifford now indicted Brandon for an assault and false imprisonment, in which indictment Brandon was cast. When the jury came in with their verdict for the plaintiff, a burst of applause and uproar broke forth in such a manner, as entirely to disregard the decorum of a court of justice. Cries of huzza by hundreds at once, were communicated like electricity to the multitude in the open hall, and echoed, in the instant, in palace-yard.

In consequence of the issue of this trial, a dinner took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Mr. Clifford in the chair, and a committee was appointed to defend the persons under prosecution for the like conduct. These symptoms of a regularly organized opposition, added to the late decision of the jury, showed the proprietors the necessity of an immediate compromise; and Mr. Kemble requested admission to the meeting, when the following resolutions were agreed upon: "That the boxes should continue at 7s; that the pit should be lowered to the old price, 3s. 6d.; and that the tier of private boxes (the tier of boxes in the front of the house) should be thrown open and restored to the public at the end of the present season; and that all prosecutions on both sides should be stopped." The people, however, would not be satisfied, without the dismissal of Brandon, who had displayed a zeal and activity (and it must be owned, not without malignity) in the cause of his employers, which was not to be forgiven. This demand was also complied



complied with. But a supplicatory letter from Brandon procured his reinstatement in office, and the customary routine is restored.

We cannot dismiss this subject without a few observations. Nothing, as it appears to us, can be more unfounded, than the vulgar and senseless clamour against the trifling advance in the prices of admission to the theatre. The first feeling would naturally be, its being an innovation—contrary to custom; and whatever is contrary to custom, is likely to encounter popular resistance. But the question is, whether the advance be reasonable? It should be observed, that the prices have remained unvaried during nearly twenty years, within which period, it must be allowed, that expences of almost all descriptions have been more than doubled; and the salaries, in particular, of all performers, have been raised four-fold. Mr. Kemble stated (and doubtless with perfect truth) “that the price of the pit, in the reign of Queen Anne, was three shillings; the galleries, a hundred years ago, the same as they are at present. One hundred and fifty thousand pounds (says he) have been already expended to make this the first theatre in Europe. The proprietors have still to furnish a wardrobe, scenery, and other most expensive decorations, necessary to the getting up (as we phrase it) of our dramatic representations, all of which have increased double, treble, quadruple, and more within the last five years.” These circumstances afford a strong presumption in favour of the proprietors; and if we credited the report of the committee, this presumption would be converted into a firm conviction. But, it

must be acknowledged to be scarcely conceivable, that the committee, however dexterous in business, could have obtained, in two or three days a competent knowledge of the accounts of many years.

But admitting that the proprietors made eleven or twelve per cent. on their capital—that is, six or seven per cent., in addition to the legal interest;—what just ground of complaint would be furnished the public even by this rate of profit? the average profits on capital are from 12 to 15 per cent., and the proprietors can be considered only as a company of traders, who have embarked a quantity of capital in a given concern. They have, therefore, a right to expect a reasonable profit, that is, a profit which is allowed to be the average profit on capital. But who are to be the judges of this reasonable gain? undoubtedly the proprietors themselves, as in all other instances of the investment of capital. They alone can be the best judges at what rate they can afford to accommodate the public. If the public suspected imposition, and their suspicions were not shown to be groundless, they might *conspire* to stay away from the theatre, and the evil would speedily cure itself. The idea of extortion is absurd, as plays, though delightful and humanizing amusements, are not necessities of life. The least defensible part, in our opinion, of the conduct of the managers, is the erection of private boxes, which, as they are the haunts of profligacy, are offensive to morals and to decency; and were they appropriated only to the nobility, and persons of consequence, they would be invidious distinctions in a national theatre. It



may be doubted, however, whether the proprietors would be able to indemnify themselves, or, at any rate, to derive a reasonable profit without the private boxes. They are said to produce 12,000*l.* a year. Their value to the proprietors is certainly the only excuse that can be made for them.

After all, if the proprietors were in the wrong, the law was open for the redress of grievances. The proprietors act under a patent, which patent, if it can be shown to have been abused, is liable to be revoked. Serjeant Best, though counsel for Mr. Clifford, observed, that "however illegal or improper was the conduct of the managers, it could not be resisted by riot." He admitted the illegality, therefore, as well as the existence of the riot; he only contended, that his client could not be proved to have had any share in it. We are about to have another new theatre erected, and it is to be hoped, that no pretext will be afforded for a repetition of noises and outrages, which are more distinctive of barbarism than of civilization.

23. *Curious cause.*—*The king and the lord of the manor of Holderness.*—The curious suit between the crown and — Constable, Esq. lord of the manor of Holderness, in Yorkshire, is at length determined; it is of much importance to lords of manors on the sea coast.

A cask of wine was floated on shore on the coast of the manor of Holderness. The coast bailiff, and some Custom-house officers, on hearing of the stranger's arrival, went immediately to pay a complimentary visit; the officers laid hold of one end of the cask, and said, "this belongs to the king;" the

bailiff laid hold of the other end, and said that it belonged to the lord of the manor. Say the officers, "it is smuggled, it has not paid the *Port* duty;" said the bailiff, "I think it is *Madeira*." The officers smiled at the honest man's blunder, and explained, they meant the duty on wine *imported*; says the bailiff, "it has been in no port, it has come by itself on the beach." Both parties remained inflexible: and the officers having, after grave consultation, determined, that the bailiff could not drink the cask of wine whilst they went to their Custom-house at a short distance for advice, proposed the wine should be put into a small hut; but the bailiff thinking it safer within the lord's immediate jurisdiction, in the mean-time removed it to the cellar of the baronial chateau. The officers returned on this: "Oh, ho!" said they, "now we have you; the wine is our's, to all intents and purposes, as it *has been removed without a permit*."—Says the bailiff, "if I had not removed the wine without a permit, the sea would the next tide." "Then," quoth the officers, "the sea would have been put into the court of exchequer." The bailiff shut the great hall door in their faces.

The lord was exchequered; that is, the attorney-general filed his information against him; lawyers learned were engaged on both sides; the crown lawyers said the officers were certainly right; the lord's lawyers said *he* certainly was.

The cause came on at York assizes, and the noise it made was as great as the contested election there. All the wine-bibbing lords of manors in that and the adjoining counties were present, and the court

was



was consequently very much crowded. A special verdict was found, which left the question for the determination of the court of exchequer.

It came on to be argued. Sir Roger de Coverley's dictum, that "a great deal may be said on both sides," was demonstrated to the fullest extent, by the long-robed band of wordy combatants engaged by the crown and the lord of the manor.

The court took time to deliberate; and on the last day of last Term, pronounced judgment that it was a case which the Act requiring permits for the removal of wine did not embrace, the Act only alluding to wine which had paid duty; that from the case in Vaughan,

it was clear, that wine to be liable to duty must be imported; that wine, as Vaughan said, could not be imported by itself, and must be by the agency of some one else; and that it was in that case determined, that wine wrecked could not be subject to duty. The lord keeps the wine, and will have to pay an enormous bill of costs for the defence of his rights, as in informations by the Attorney-General, though the verdict is with the defendant, he does not get his costs. *John Bull* will (but hold, we have just mentioned the name of Mr. Attorney)—and the counsel who were in the cause say, in their opinion, it was one of the best casks of wine which ever reached the English coast.

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## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Dispatch from the General in Chief of the Army of Catalonia, to the Minister at War, 27th November, 1808.*

**M**OST excellent Seignor—According to the intention, of which I apprised your excellency in my dispatch of the 29th ult. the general attack took place yesterday on all the posts occupied by the enemy without the limits of Barcelona, from all of which he was immediately dislodged, and compelled to take refuge under the guns of the fortress, with the exception of the advantageous position of St. Pedro Martin which is the most commanding. The communication with this post being completely cut off, in consequence of our line being advanced to Hospitalet, Esplugas, Sarria, Gracia, and Horta, as your excellency will perceive from the plan which I have the honour to send you, I, upon this ground, summoned the commandant to surrender. He refused compliance, and I immediately gave orders for an attack; but at half past 12 o'clock this day he surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war, consisting of 104 privates and two officers. We found in the place four 4-pounders and one 2-pounder, with magazines of ammunition and

stores. At the same time a firing was commenced from the right and centre of our line, and the enemy were repulsed as far as the walls of Barcelona, from which it will not now be an easy task for them to advance again. I now, (four in the afternoon) forward this to your excellency in the mean time by a special messenger, for the satisfaction of his Majesty, until, by receiving the statements of the generals and commanders of columns, I shall be enabled to transmit to your excellency the details of the operations of these two days. Our line occupies the above-mentioned posts, and I have fixed the head-quarters of the army in this town, which is about a league's distance from it, &c. &c.

JUAN MIGUEL DE VIVES.

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*Proclamation of Sir David Baird, dated Astorga, 1st December, 1808.*

THE events that have occurred in Biscay, and in the neighbourhood of the Ebro, have made it indispensibly necessary that the British troops should be concentrated, in order more effectually to assist and support the Spanish nation in the heroic exertions she is applying



ing for the defence of her independence. Under these circumstances, lieutenant-general sir D. Baird, commander of the British division in Castile and Leon, informs the royal subjects of these kingdoms, that he has just received orders from his excellency sir J. Moore, commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's army in Spain, to unite his forces with those of the said general, without loss of time, by the road of Portugal. The object of this movement is in no respect to evacuate Spain, or to abandon a cause so dear to Great Britain. The only design is to combine the whole of the British forces, in order to enable them to act in a situation where they can render their services more beneficial. Gallicia, strong by nature, does not require for its protection a more numerous army, nor can it possess a more gallant one than the army of the left; composed principally of the courageous youth of the kingdom (province) which is now united in Leon under the orders of the highly distinguished commander his excellency the marquis de la Romana. The resort of more troops, in the present circumstances, in the defiles of the mountains, would be prejudicial, since they would consume the provisions and other resources of the country, without increasing its security.—To the worthy inhabitants of these kingdoms the most grateful acknowledgments are due from the British forces, for the hospitality and friendship with which they have been treated in every situation: and the lieutenant-general hopes that the feelings of reciprocal attachment and respect will prevail, not only now, but that they will continue to animate both nations to the latest

posterity.—In taking leave of the subjects of this part of the Peninsula, the lieutenant-general feels it to be his duty to exhort them, by the loyalty they owe to their sovereign, by the affection they bear to their families, and by all that is sacred in religion, to unite for the protection of their country. Unless the government and the people combine their utmost efforts in this just and honourable cause, Spain will be exposed to the most serious danger; but if these endeavours be not wanting, under the direction of Divine Providence, all will terminate in victory and happiness.

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*Palafax's Dispatch to the Central Junta—December 3, 1808.*

SEIGNOR—This capital has recently given an additional proof of that heroic patriotism and attachment to its sovereign which distinguish and characterise it. On the 30th of November, in the dusk of the evening, the enemy, being about 12,000 men in number, made their appearance in the quarter of Torrero and Casa Blanca, having come by Muel and Muria, on the roads from Madrid and Valencia. Part of them took post on the road, on a height situated between the hermitages of Soledad and Santa Barbara, and commanding La Casa Blanca; the rest ascended, under cover of the Ravine de la Muerre which covers Torrero, and took possession of the Carthusian monastery of Conception. They had a considerable body at Alagon, and we were informed that 3000 men were advancing by way of Tauste and Castejon de Baldejussa a Zuera, in order to attack us at four points. The whole of the garrison were immediately ordered



ordered under arms, and the heroes of Saragossa also took up their muskets. All the posts were occupied, and the whole of the inhabitants went out with alacrity and enthusiasm to be spectators of the glorious action which was impending. On the first of December, at day-break, the enemy were dislodged from the Carthusian monastery, and compelled to fall back through the Ravine, when they took post in five columns on the heights that command Torrero, with the decided intention of making their attack in that quarter. They manœuvred until 10 o'clock, A. M. at which hour they commenced their most decisive and vigorous attack in the direction of Casa Blanca. It was received on our side with a very brisk fire of musquetry and cannon, which lasted until two o'clock, when the whole of the enemy's army in Soledad fell back, shamefully abandoning Torrero.

The country demands great sacrifices. She calls us to her assistance; she sees no other defenders but her children; we are her only support. We should violate our duty to her, and to ourselves, did we not employ our arms, and risk our lives and property, in order to save her. Noble Aragonese! brave Soldiers! ever ready to shed your blood to defend her and your King, it is unnecessary for me to remind you of sacred duties which you have never forgotten, but the important charge which you have confided to me, and my anxious desires to fulfil my duty, and to make a just return to your attachment; do not permit me to leave unemployed any means that may contribute to deliver you from those perfidious wretches who, already setting themselves in opposition to our determinations, already indiffer-

ent to the grand cause which we are defending, give utterance to sentiments little conformable to our tried loyalty. I therefore ordain and command:

1. That all the inhabitants of this city, of every rank and condition, shall consider themselves bound to devote to its defence their persons, property and lives:—the rich and great lending a helping hand to the poor, fostering and assisting them, contributing to cover their nakedness, and to enable them to maintain their respective posts; thus performing a sacred duty, enjoined by natural affection, recommended by the holy religion which we profess; and, at the same time, remunerating them for the zeal with which they defend their lives, their estates, and their common country. Should any man be so unnatural as to disown their obligation, he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of his offence, and the amount of the fine shall be appropriated to the subsistence of the army.

2. That such towns as do not contribute all in their power to the relief of our present necessities, shall be treated as enemies to our king whose sovereign rights we defend, and their inhabitants of every rank shall be punished as traitors.

3. That every individual of the army of reserve, and the recruits of Arragon, already enrolled and regimented, who shall not join his corps, within the space of six days thereof, shall be treated as a deserter in time of war, and as such shall suffer the pains of law.

4. That the alcaides shall scrupulously examine the soldiers in their respective wards, who may not have so joined, and make a return of their names and the corps they belong to; and that the justices of the kingdom

of



of Arragon, under the responsibility of person and property, transmit an exact list of all the individuals of their jurisdiction, who have served in the army, distinguishing the cavalry from the infantry, and remarking their state of health and personal vigour.

5. That all who profess want of confidence in the chiefs of the people or the army, who make pasquinades, excite riots or disturbances, shall be immediately apprehended, and carried before the newly-appointed judge of the police, Don Santiago Penicela, who will pass judgment according to the times and critical circumstances in which the country is placed, and suitable to their crimes; imposing the punishment of death he shall consult me.

6. That all the measures adopted shall be obeyed with religious respect, since they all are directed to the good of the country, which will recompense in more happy times the sacrifices we make, and which are so pleasing to God and the celestial protectress who guards us.

7. That all the houses shall be well supplied with cisterns and vessels of water, in order to be ready to assist in extinguishing any fire which may occur: and that the Alcaldes de Barrio shall in particular superintend this important preparation.

8. That the entrance and departure of persons by the gates shall be watched with the greatest care, recollecting that the enemy even assume our dress, and resort to every artifice, because they do not trust entirely to their force, though greatly superior in numbers.

9. That precisely three days shall be allowed for the departure of all the women, old men arrived at sixty,

and all the boys not able to carry cartridges, with moderate equipages, for whose convenience orders have been issued to all the towns and villages, to receive them with kindness, and to supply their wants.

10. That all Frenchmen, who may happen to be within the city, shall be presented to the judge of the police, in order to be removed without the walls. All the women and children of the same nation shall be removed with their husbands and fathers; as also all the prisoners and deserters from the enemy's army, to places appointed for their reception.

11. To prevent those persons, whose virtue is respected by every catholic from being exposed to insult, I permit the nuns to proceed to occupy other convents, without the limits of the city and suburbs, where they may have an opportunity of devoting themselves, without interruption, to their holy exercises.

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*Capitulation of the Town of Rosas.  
Rosas, Dec. 5 1808.*

Capitulation of the town of Rosas and of the castle of the Trinity, entered into between messrs. the adjutant in chief Dombrowski, chief of the staff of the Italian division, commanded by general Pino, and chevalier Pio, colonel commandant of the 2d French regiment of the line, appointed by general of division Reille, aid-de-camp of his majesty the Emperor and king, on the one part, and messrs. col. Don Pedro O'Daly, governor commandant of the fortress of Rosas, and of the castle of the Trinity, and Don Manuel Lemaure, col. of engineers, on the other part.

Art. 1.—The town and the fort shall be delivered in the course of the



the day, to the troops of his majesty the Emperor and King.

2. The garrison shall lay down their arms upon the glacis of the place, shall be prisoners of war, and conducted into France. The officers shall keep all that belongs to them.

3. Immediately after the signature of the present capitulation, one gate of the town of Rosas, and one gate of the castle of the Trinity, shall be given up to two companies of grenadiers.

(Signed)

JEAN DOMBROWSKI, Adjutant-Commandant, Chief of the Etat Major.—

PIO, Colonel Major.—

DON PEDRO O'DALY.—

MANUEL LEMAU.—

The present Capitulation is approved of.

REILLE. General of Division commanding the siege,

#### CAPITULATION OF MADRID.—

*From the Madrid Gazette, Dec. 7, 1808.—Capitulation proposed by the Military and Civil Junta of Madrid, to his Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of the French.*

Article 1. The preservation of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, without any other being legally tolerated. Ans.—Granted.

2. The liberty and security of the lives and properties of the citizens and other persons residing in Madrid, as well as of those in public employments: the preservation of their situations, or the option of their retiring from this court, if they should prefer it. Likewise, the lives, privileges and properties of the secular and regular ecclesiastics of both

sexes, together with the respect due to the churches, all in conformity to our laws and customs. Ans.—Granted.

3. The lives and properties of all military officers, of rank, are likewise to be safe. Ans.—Granted.

4. No person shall be liable to persecution, on account of their political opinions or writings, any more than those employed in a public capacity, for what they may have done hitherto in the exercise of their employments, or in obedience to the former government; nor shall the people suffer for the efforts which they have made for their defence. Ans.—Granted.

5. No other contributions shall be exacted beyond the ordinary ones that have hitherto been paid. Ans.—Granted, till the realm shall definitively be organized.

6. Our laws, customs, and courts of justice shall be preserved in their present constitution. Ans.—Granted until the kingdom undergoes its definitive organization.

7. The French troops and their officers shall not be quartered in private houses, but in military lodging houses and tents, and by no means in convents or monasteries; the privileges allowed to the respective classes by the laws being preserved. Ans.—Granted; it being well understood that both the officers and privates must have quarters and tents that are furnished conformably to the military regulations, unless the said buildings be insufficient.

8. The troops shall march out of the town with the honours of war, and be at liberty to retire whithersoever they choose. Ans.—The troops shall march out with the honours of war; they shall march off by files to day



to day at four o'clock in the afternoon, and leave their arms and cannon; the armed peasants shall also leave their arms and artillery; after which the inhabitants shall retire to their houses, and those from without the town, to their villages. All the individuals that have enlisted among the troops of the line, four months ago, shall be free from their engagements, and retire to their villages. All the rest shall continue prisoners of war till an exchange takes place, which will commence immediately between equal numbers, and rank for rank.

9. The public debts and engagements of the state shall be faithfully and constantly discharged. Ans.—This being a political object, belongs to the cognizance of the Assembly of the Realm, and depends on the general administration.

10. Those generals who wish to continue in the capital, shall preserve their rank; and such as are desirous of quitting it, shall be at liberty so to do. Ans.—Granted: they shall remain in their station, although their pay can only continue till the kingdom receives its ultimate organization.

Additional Art. 11. A detachment of guards shall this day, at four o'clock, take possession of the palace gates. The different gates of the city shall about the same time be delivered up to the French army. The guard-house of the body guards and the general hospital, shall be surrendered at the same time. At the same hour the park of artillery, and the arsenals, together with the engineers, shall be surrendered to the French artillery and engineers. The works and entrenchments shall be levelled, and the streets repaired. The French officer about to take the command of Madrid, shall

about mid-day repair, under a military guard, to the house of the principal (governor) in order to concert with government, regulations of police, and measures for the re-establishment of good order and public security in all parts of the town.

We, the undersigned commissioners, authorised by full powers for settling and signing the present capitulation, have agreed upon the faithful and entire execution of the above measure.

FERNANDO DE LA VERAY  
PANTOGA.

THOMAS DE MORLA.  
ALESSANDRO.

Imperial Camp, Madrid, the 4th  
of December 1808.

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*O'Neill's Report to Pallifox respecting the battle of Tudela, 8th Dec. 1808.*

“In consequence of the actual situation of this city, threatened with a siege by the enemy, it has been until now found impossible to lay before the public an official account of the details of the attack and obstinate battle fought at Tudela on the 23d ult.; a battle equally fatal and glorious to this army, which, supported only by its own strength and its own valour, maintained the contest for eight hours in the midst of the most dreadful fire. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the number of heroic achievements performed by the officers and soldiers, whilst one-half of the army was defending their posts with discharges of musketry, and the other were maintaining the contest with the bayonet, until the number of the slain on both sides left scarcely room for action, and both the contending armies retired.—The captain-general  
of



of this excellent army of reserve has received the following detailed dispatch from lieutenant-general Don Juan O'Neil, who commanded the troops in the engagement, from Ill-lucca, whither he retired with field marshal D. Felipe St. March.

Most excellent Seignor—A few hours after my conference with your excellency at Caperoso, respecting the good condition of the troops under my command, at that most important point, full of ardour and enthusiasm, from the superiority which they conceived themselves to possess over the enemy, who for so long a period had not dared to attack us, and from advantages of greater magnitude which they anticipated in the direction of Pampe-luna; and when your excellency, convinced of the necessity of not permitting a favourable opportunity to pass, for executing designs in which I cordially concurred, proceeded to consult with the captain-general of the army of the centre; I received a dispatch from the captain-general of the army of the centre, and the representative of the supreme central Junta, D. Francisco Palafox, dated the 21st inst. informing me of the extreme urgency that all my troops should immediately put themselves in motion, and proceed by way of Tudela, to the right of the line, which was to be formed upon Cascante and Tarragona, as far as the heights of Moncayo; and charging me not to lose a moment, since they had given orders for the march of the army of the centre, and were on the point of attacking and defeating the enemy, in order to save that army; an object, the attainment of which would be of the greatest importance for Spain, and totally disconcert the plans of the

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enemy.—Surprised at the novelty of this dispatch, so completely at variance with the plan we had agreed upon at Caperoso the day before, I sent to inform your excellency, and before I received your answer, your dispatch, dated at Tudela on the same day (the 21st) reached me, directing, that in consequence of what the captain-general of the centre had stated to you, I should, the instant I received it, march with the whole of my army, and the troops belonging to the centre attached to it, for Tudela, there to fix my headquarters, it being understood that the troops that occupied the posts of Cintrunego, Calahorra, and the other parts of the Ebro, were already on their march for Borja and Tarragona, and consequently that any delay might be very injurious, and expose the army to be turned in that quarter. On the same day, as my troops were just setting off, I received your excellency's answer, confirming your previous order, in consequence of the army of the centre having already commenced its movement. I cannot describe to your excellency, the sensation felt by the troops under my command, in consequence of this retrograde movement, as all of them, previously animated by the preceding fortunate movements, found all their hopes frustrated, and saw themselves removed from the advanced situation that they always occupied in front of the enemy. An event so unexpected, disheartened them; and in order to inspire them with the same degree of ardour which they had hitherto manifested, and to prevent the fatal consequences of which I was apprehensive, I exerted my authority, accompanying it with the most energetic persuasion, and

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shewing them the order of that evening, according to which the safety of the whole army depended upon our retrograde movement, and in short, telling them that it was the result of the express orders of your excellency, and must be obeyed. This representation, in some degree, tranquillized them, and I proceeded with my troops to Tudela, where your excellency the seignor representative, and the captain-general of the army of the centre, were already arrived. At nine in the morning of the following day, (23d) colonel Don F. Perena sent to inform me that two columns of the enemy were deploying in front of Ablitas.

In consequence of this intelligence, and the captain-general of the army of the centre having, the preceding evening, informed me, that the enemy had entered Cintriniego, I ordered the generale to be beaten, apprising at the same time, the captain-general, that as commander in chief, he might make the necessary dispositions. He ordered some reinforcements to advance, and soon after caused gen. St. March to do the same on the left, sending various corps of my division to the heights of Santa Barbara, to reinforce that important point, and to support the troops already occupying it belonging to the division of general Roa. As he left me on the high road with the remainder of my troops, I sent to him my aide-camp, D. B. Gelabert, to ascertain what I was to do, as the engagement was already begun. His answer was, that I should proceed to the centre of the line, where he was posted. Soon after, he ordered the remainder of the troops to join him, and he assigned me the command of the whole of the left wing.

When I arrived, I found the heights on the left already occupied by the enemy, who threatened to turn us; but having received his order to attack them, and an assurance that the division of gen. La Pena would advance to my assistance, I determined to execute the attack by echellons of battalions. The battalion of the royal Spanish guards commenced it with such unexampled gallantry, that, the enemy instantly abandoned that important post, leaving the field of battle covered with dead bodies. The same success attended the attack in front, by the regiments of the volunteers of Castile and Segorbia. While I was indulging in the satisfaction produced by our success, and considering the battle gained, two orderly officers of cavalry came to desire me, on the part of the captain-general, not to be alarmed by the appearance of a column of infantry, with a considerable body of cavalry, who were advancing on the left, as they were the troops of general La Pena coming from Cascante. Congratulating myself upon this aid, which would have decided the battle in our favour, I rode along my left to direct general St. March to continue the attack in the same order, when that general surprised me by telling me it was necessary we should retreat, as our right had been forced, that the enemy were in Tudela, and that all the troops that occupied the centre of one position had retreated. This intelligence astonished me the more, as the captain-general had sent me no information of this event, a circumstance which appeared to me impossible; but a firing being heard in the rear of the olive plantations, I was convinced of the fact. In  
this



this melancholy situation, the division of general La Pena not having moved, and that which was announced as his division proving to be a corps of the enemy, of about 8000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry, I gave directions for retreating in the best possible order; placing the 2d regiment of Valencia in an oblique position to cover the retreat of our troops. The troops were surrounded on all sides, but they gallantly cut their way with the bayonet. I put myself at their head, and left general St. March, with the cavalry to protect this daring and only resource that was left to us. The general discharged this trust with the same exactness that he did every other duty confided to him during the action. I can assure your excellency, that I never witnessed an occasion in which all the officers and soldiers more completely performed their duty; but of those who were under my orders, I ought to make particular mention of the third battalion of the royal Spanish guards, and the regiments of Castile, Segorbia, and Turia. D.M. Velasco, commander of the artillery of my division; D.A. Ulloa, commander of general St. March's; D.J. Monino; D.R. del Pino, who though surrounded by the enemy, spiked a part of the artillery which they could not bring off, are very much entitled to consideration for having entirely destroyed three columns of the enemy.

The enemy's loss cannot be less than 8,000 men, as we may assure ourselves, when they admitted it exceeded 4,000. I have not yet received all the returns of the loss on our side, but I doubt whether it amounts to 2,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. I have the satis-

faction of having saved half of the artillery, which was brought off by routes almost impracticable, and of having been a near spectator of every thing that passed to the last moment. I can assure you, that in this unfortunate event all those under my command have done their duty to their king and country; and that had the captain-general ordered the army of the centre to support us, it would, beyond all doubt, have been the most glorious day for his majesty's arms, of any recorded in the history of this war.

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*Municipal Sitting.—Madrid, Dec. 9, 1808.*

This day at 11 o'clock in the morning, the hour appointed for the opening of the Sitting, the following persons assembled:—The Corregidor; the Regidores; the Alcades; the deputies of the Third Estate; the heads of the Assembly of the Masta; [the Council of the Masta is composed of the great proprietors in cattle] the Procurators; the Alguazil-Majors; the Suffragan Bishops; the Vicars; the Body of the Curates and beneficed Clergy; the heads of the different Commonalties; the body of the Nobility; the deputies of the five principal Corporations; and all the deputations representing the 64 divisions of the city of Madrid.—The Corregidor rose to address the meeting, and informed them, that he had had the honour of being admitted to present the homage of his respect to his imperial and royal Majesty, and to lay at the foot of his throne the tribute of gratitude of the inhabitants of Madrid for the kindness and clemency which his Majesty had



had shewn towards that city. The Corregidor expressed to his imperial and royal Majesty the happiness which his presence shed over the city, and the desire with which all the inhabitants were animated to deserve and to justify such a peculiar mark of favour. The Corregidor observed, that his imperial and royal Majesty had condescended to converse with him in the most benevolent manner, and added, that the object of this meeting was to acquaint the deputies of the City of Madrid with the beneficent intentions of his Majesty. Accordingly he had to repeat to them in the same terms he had heard them, the sentiments of his Majesty, and the favourable dispositions he entertained towards the whole of Spain; adding, that the fate of Madrid would depend upon its own conduct. That that would be a happy and prosperous one, if the inhabitants adhered faithfully to the constitution, and acknowledged with sincerity, for their legitimate king, Don Joseph Napoleon I; but that, on the other hand, Spain should be reduced to a province of France. Here, the Corregidor, drew a faithful picture of the good nature of King Joseph, who had employed his best offices and entreaties for the conservation of that capital, as well as of the neighbouring cities, and who treated them with the tenderness of a generous father. The Corregidor impressed upon the minds of all the deputies, that the presence of the King in his capital, should be considered as the greatest advantage that could be wished for.

Accordingly the Deputies, deeply penetrated with the same sentiments, and anxious to contribute

their best endeavours for the happiness of the inhabitants of Madrid, determined humbly to implore his imperial and royal Majesty to indulge the capital with the presence of the King, that city, and even all Spain, being convinced of the signal advantages which must be derived from the wisdom of his government. The Deputies insisted, that a fresh tribute of thanks should be presented to his imperial and royal Majesty, for the kindness with which he had treated that city, which his triumphant arms had conquered, and for the generous pardon of what had happened during the absence of king Joseph. His imperial and royal Majesty is also to be implored to extend pardon to those whom fear had induced to desert the city, as well as to all the peasants who had taken up arms. His imperial and royal Majesty is also finally to be implored, that he will be pleased to order his troops to respect property, the holy temples, the religious institutions; in a word, the property of every class. This humble supplication is to be laid before his imperial and royal Majesty, and is to be presented to him by a deputation taken from among the representatives of the city of Madrid. It was resolved, in the same sitting, that a tribute of the most lively gratitude should be presented to the king Joseph Napoleon, whose happy intercession with his august brother, the emperor of the French, saved the city of Madrid. His royal Majesty shall be humbly supplicated to grant the favour of his presence to the city of Madrid, that under his just and beneficent government, good order, justice, and tranquillity, may be restored within its walls.—

His



His royal Majesty shall be implored to employ his royal good offices with his imperial brother, that pardon may be obtained to the absent, and to those inhabitants, who had taken up arms.

The present proces-verbal shall be presented to his imperial and royal Majesty.

[Here follows several thousand signatures.]

On the 11th a similar meeting was held, for the deputies of the inhabitants of the parishes, and who acceded to a similar measure, which was likewise accompanied with a vast number of signatures.

#### BRITISH ARMY IN SPAIN.

*From the London Gazette, dated Downing-street, Jan. 10, 1809.*

Dispatches, from which the following are extracts, were, on the 8th instant, received at the office of lord visc. Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from lieut. gen. sir John Moore, k. b. commander in chief of his majesty's forces employed in Spain :

*Benevente, Dec. 28, 1808.* Since I had the honour to address you upon the 16th, from Toro, the army has been almost constantly marching through snow, and with cold that has been very intense. The weather, within these few days, has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almost impassable. On the 21st the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information I received was, that marshal Soult was at Saldana with about 16,000 men, with posts along

the river from Guarda to Carrion. The army was ordered to march in two columns, at 8 o'clock on the night of the 23d, to force the bridge at Carrion, and from thence proceed to Saldana. At 6 that evening, I received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Valencia, and a letter from the marquis de la Romana informed me, that the French were advancing from Madrid either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to prosecute the attempt upon Soult, that I must be satisfied with the diversion I had occasioned; and that I had no time to lose to secure my retreat.—

The next morning, lieut. gen. Hope, with his own division and that of lieut. gen. Fraser, marched to Majorga. I sent sir David Baird, with his division, to pass the river at Valmira, and followed lieut. gen. Hope, on the 25th, with the reserve and light brigades, by Majorga, Valdeiras, to Benevente. The cavalry under lord Paget followed the reserve on the 26th; both the latter corps entered this place yesterday. We continue our march on Astorga.—Generals Hope and Fraser are already gone on; sir David Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia; and I shall leave this with the reserve at the same time; lord Paget will remain with the cavalry, to give us notice of the approach of the enemy; hitherto their infantry have not come up, but they are near, and the cavalry is round us in great numbers; they are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their spirit and enterprise, an ascendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great superiority of numbers on their part will get the better of.—The diversion made by our march



on Sahagun, though at great risk to ourselves, has been complete; it remains to be seen what advantage the Spaniards in the South will be able to take of it; but the march of the French on Badajoz was stopped when its advanced guard had reached Talavera de la Reyna, and every thing disposeable is now turned in this direction. The only part of the army which has been hitherto engaged with the enemy, has been the cavalry, and it is impossible for me to say too much in their praise. I mentioned to your lordship, in my letter of the 16th, the success brigadier-general Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Rueda. Since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them. On the march to Sahagun, lord Paget had information of 6 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched on the night of the 20th from some villages where he was posted in front of the enemy at Majorga, with the 10th and 15th hussars. The 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget, with the 15th, endeavoured to turn it. Unfortunately he fell in with a patrol, one of whom escaped and gave the alarm. By this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town, before lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them, beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst whom were two lieutenant-colonels and eleven officers, with the loss, on our part, of six or eight men, and perhaps twenty wounded. There have been taken by the cavalry from 4 to 500 French, besides a considerable number killed; this since we begun our march from Salamanca.

On his march from Sahagun, on the 20th, lord Paget, with two squadrons of the 10th, attacked a detachment of cavalry at Majorga, killed twenty and took above 100 prisoners. Our cavalry is very superior in quality to any the French have; and the right spirit has been infused into them by the example and instruction of their two leaders, lord Paget and brigadier-general Stewart.

*Astorga, Dec. 31, 1808.*—I arrived here, yesterday; major-general Fraser, with his division, will be at Villa Franca this day, and will proceed on to Lugo. Lieutenant-general Hopeworth with his division, stopped yesterday two leagues from this, and proceeds this morning, followed by sir David Baird. The two flank brigades go by the road of Penfere-da. I shall follow with the reserve and cavalry, to Villa Franca, either this night or to-morrow morning, according as I hear the approach of the French. The morning I marched from Benevente, seven squadrons of Buonaparte's guards passed the river at a ford above the bridge.—They were attacked by brigadier-general Stewart, at the head of the piquets of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, and driven across the ford. Their colonel, a general of division, Lefebvre, was taken, together with above 70 officers and men.—The affair was well contested. The numbers with which brigadier-general Stewart attacked were inferior to the French; it is the corps of the greatest character in their army, but the superiority of the British was, I am told, very conspicuous. I inclose, for your lordship's satisfaction, lord Paget's report of it.

*Benevente, Dec. 29, 1808.*—Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that



that about nine o'clock this morning I received a report that the enemy's cavalry was in the act of crossing the river at the ford near the bridge. I immediately sent down the piquets of the night, under lieutenant-colonel Otway of the 18th. Having left orders that the cavalry should repair to their alarm posts, I went forward to reconnoitre, and found four squadrons of imperial guards formed and skirmishing with the piquets and other cavalry in the act of passing. I sent for the 10th hussars, who having arrived, brigadier-general Stewart immediately placed himself at the head of the piquets; and, with the utmost gallantry, attacked. The 10th hussars supported in the most perfect order. The result of the affair, as far as I have yet been able to collect, is about 30 killed, 25 wounded, 70 prisoners, and about the same number of horses. It is impossible for me to avoid speaking in the highest terms of all those engaged. Lieutenant-colonel Otway and major Bagwell headed the respective night piquets. The latter is slightly wounded. The utmost zeal was conspicuous in the whole of my staff, and I had many volunteers from head quarters, and other officers of your army. Amongst the prisoners is the general of division Lefebvre, (who commands the cavalry of the imperial guard) and two captains. Our loss is, I fear, nearly 50 men killed and wounded. I will send a return the moment I can collect the reports. I have the honour to be, &c.

PAGER, lieut. gen.

I have forwarded the prisoners to Baviza. On the other side of the river the enemy formed again, and at this instant three guns of Captain

Donovan's troop arrived, which did considerable execution.

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*Intercepted letter to the Marquis De Romana :*

"SIR—I should not have detained your instructions so long, had not sir John Moore returned very late to Villa Franca. He arrived greatly fatigued. I delivered your letter to him, to which he cannot return an answer till to-morrow; but he desired me to inform you, that he would set out at an early hour.—There are at Benevente, 2 or 300 of the French cavalry, who annoy our stragglers between Benevente and Villa Franca. General Moore begs you will place a battalion on the heights over the road, where they may fire on them without any risk. There is no news. We know nothing of the movements of the French, and we continue to retreat. I am not certain that sir J. Moore will allow me to return to your excellency. In that case, permit me to express an hope of meeting with you in London, in better times; for be assured, sir, I retain a grateful recollection of your kindness, and am, with the greatest respect, &c.

M. LYMER."

Villa Franca, Jan. 2. 1809.

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*Intercepted Letter.—St. Jago, Jan. 6, 1809.*

"I suppose, my dear friend, you are already acquainted with my arrival at this place; I have been here these eight days, with a detachment composed of troops from seven different regiments. We are guarding the magazines that are here; and I hoped to continue at St. Jago for



some months, which would have given me great pleasure. As I am a person of some consequence, I am never addressed but as Seigneur, the Commander of the English troops ; I am well lodged, and have an agreeable society about me, all which comforts I shall be very sorry to quit. The French are the most uncivil people in the world. I think they have very little to eat or drink themselves, and, therefore, they have nothing to do but annoy us poor fellows, when we are just sitting down to a good repast. Last night I was called up by a Spanish dragoon, who brought letters from Corunna, informing me that a part of our army would soon reach St. Jago, and that I must hold myself in readiness to march along with it upon Vigo. I could not close my eyes the whole night, for thinking at every instant that our troops were arrived ; but till the present moment not one man has made his appearance ; and I begin now to think that the whole has been a dull joke. As you are nearer the theatre of war than myself, you will oblige me by giving me a true account of the present state of affairs. If there is reason to think that we are going to re-embark, and to be, as it were, hunted out of the kingdom, without ever coming to blows, a pretty figure we shall make of it ! I think I already hear Cobbett's sarcasms upon us, who will not fail to represent us as the *heroes of Spain*, cooped up in their own transports.

(Signed)

L. E. THURN."

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*Capitulation proposed by Victor Hugues, Officer of the Legion of*

*Honour, Commissioner of his Majesty the Emperor and King, Commander in Chief of Cayenne and French Guyana, and accepted by James Lucas Yeo, Post Captain in his Britannic Majesty's Service, commanding the Combined Naval English and Portuguese Forces, and Manuel Marques, Knight of the Military Orders of St. Benoit d' Avie, Lieut. Col. in Chief, and Director of the Corps of Artillery of Para, commanding the advanced Army of the Portuguese, dated Jan. 12th, 1809.*

Although the advanced posts have been carried, and that the commissioner of the emperor and king is reduced with his garrison to the town, he owes it to those sentiments of honor which have always distinguished him, to the valour and good conduct of the officers and soldiers under his command, to the attachment of the inhabitants of the colony for his majesty the emperor and king, to declare publicly, that he surrenders less to force than to the destructive system of liberating all the slaves who should join the enemy, and of burning all the plantations and ports where there should be any resistance. The commissioner of the emperor, commanding in chief, after having witnessed the burning of several plantations, particularly his own, the most considerable of the colony, had attributed it at first to the casualties of war ; and the disorganization of the gangs, and the liberation of the slaves, appeared to him a momentary measure ; but being assured in writing, that the English and Portuguese officers acted in virtue of the orders of his royal highness the



the Prince Regent, and wishing to save the colony from total destruction, and to preserve his august master's subjects, who had given him so many proofs of their attachment and fidelity, the commissioner of his imperial and royal majesty surrenders the colony to the forces of his royal highness the Prince Regent on the following conditions :

Art. 1. The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage and all the honours of war ; the officers shall retain their side arms, and those of their staff their horses ; the garrison shall lay down their arms and engage not to serve against his royal highness and his allies during one year.

2. Vessels shall be furnished at the expence of his royal highness the Prince Regent, to carry the garrison, the officers, civil and military, and all those employed in the service, with their families and effects, direct to France, with as little delay as possible.

3. A convenient vessel shall be furnished to convey to France the commissioner of the emperor, commanding in chief, his family, his officers, his suit and effects ; the chief of the administration of the finances, the commander of the troops, the inspector and the commandant of artillery, with their families.

4. A convenient delay shall be granted to the officers, who have property in the colony, to settle their affairs.

5. The arsenals, batteries and every thing belonging to the artillery, the small arms and powder magazines, and the provision stores, shall be given up by inventory, and in the state in which they are now, and the same shall be pointed out.

6. The slaves on both sides shall

be disarmed, and sent to their respective plantations. The French negroes whom the commanders by sea and land of his royal highness the Prince Regent have engaged for the service during the war, and to whom in virtue of their orders they have given their freedom, shall be sent out of the colony, as they can only remain there in future an object of trouble and dissension.—The commanders engage, as they have promised, to solicit of his royal highness the Prince Regent, the replacing of those slaves, as an indemnity in favour of the inhabitants to whom they belong.

7. The papers, plans and other articles belonging to the engineer department, shall be equally given up.

8. The sick and wounded who are obliged to remain in the colony, may leave it, with all that belong to them, as soon as they are in a situation to do so ; in the mean time they shall be treated as they have been hitherto.

9. Private property, of whatever nature or description, shall be respected, and the inhabitants may dispose of it as heretofore.

10. The inhabitants of the colony shall preserve their properties and may reside there, conforming to the orders and forms established by the sovereign under which they remain ; they shall be at liberty to sell their properties and retire wherever it may suit them, without any obstacle.

11. The Civil Laws known in France under the title of the Napoleon Code, and in force in the colony, shall be observed and executed until the Peace between the two nations ; the magistrates shall only decide on the interests of individuals, and



and differences connected with them in virtue of the said laws.

12. The debts acknowledged by individuals during or previous to the time fixed by the preceding article, shall be exacted agreeably to the basis determined by the same article.

13. The papers concerning the controul and matriculation of the troops shall be carried away by the quarter-master.

14. Desirous of preserving the spice plantation called La Gabrielle in all its splendour and agriculture, it is stipulated that neither it, nor any of the plantation trees or plants shall be destroyed, but that it shall be preserved in the state in which it is given up to the commanders of his royal highness the Prince Regent.

15. All the papers of the stores of inspection of the Customs, or of any responsibility whatever, shall be deposited in the Secretary's office, or in any other place that may be agreed on, to be referred to when there is occasion: the whole shall be under the seal of the two governments, and at the disposal of his imperial and royal majesty.

16. The present capitulation shall be written in the three languages, and signed by the three officers stipulating.

At the advanced posts of Bourde,  
this 12th Jan. 1809.

(Signed) VICTOR HUGUES.  
JAMES LUCAS YEO.  
MANUEL MARQUES.

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The following Extract from the last Letter of General Sir John Moore has been printed, in pursuance of the order of the House of Commons :

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Corunna, Jan. 13, 1809.*

“ Situated as the army is at present, it is impossible for me to detail to your Lordship the events which have taken place since I had the honour to address you from Astorga, on the 31st of December: I have therefore determined to send to England brigadier-general Charles Stewart, as the officer best qualified to give you every information you can want, both with respect to our actual situation and the events which have led to it. Your lordship knows that had I followed my own opinion, as a military man, I should have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spanish armies were then beaten; there was no Spanish force to which we could unite, and I was satisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us, or to favour the cause in which they were engaged. I was sensible, however, that the apathy and indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat, and it was necessary to risk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. It was for this reason that I made the march to Sahagun. As a diversion it succeeded; I brought the whole disposable force of the French against this army, and it has been allowed to follow me, without a single movement being made to favour my retreat. The people of the Gallicias, though armed, made no attempt to stop the passage of the French



French through the mountains.— They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the smallest aid to the army. The consequence has been, that our sick have been left behind; and when our horses or mules failed, which on such marches, and through such a country, was the case to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, stores, &c. and even money, were necessarily destroyed or abandoned. I am sorry to say, that the army, whose conduct I had such reason to extol on its march through Portugal; and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character since it began to retreat. I can say nothing in its favour, but that when there was a prospect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly and seemed pleased and determined to do their duty. In front of Villa Franca the French came up with the reserve, with which I was covering the retreat of the army; they attacked it at Calcabellos. I retired, covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herresias, and from thence to Nogales and Lugo, where I had ordered the different divisions which preceded to halt and collect. At Lugo, the French again came up with us. They attacked our advanced posts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulsed in both attempts, with little loss on our side. I heard from the prisoners taken, that three divisions of the French army were come up, commanded by Marshal Soult; I therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was my wish to come to that issue; I had perfect confidence in the valour of the troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that we could hope either

to retreat or to embark unmolested. I made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. This was not Marshal Soult's object.— He either did not think himself sufficiently strong, or he wished to play a surer game by attacking us on our march, or during our embarkation. The country was intersected, and his position too strong for me to attack with an inferior force. The want of provisions would not enable me to wait longer; I marched that night; and in two forced marches by advancing for six or eight hours in the rain, I reached Betanzos on the 10th instant. At Lugo, I was sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo, which was at too great a distance; and offered no advantages to embark in the face of an enemy.— My intention was then to have retreated to the peninsula of Betanzos, where I hoped to find a position to cover the embarkation of the army in Ares or Redes Bays; but having sent an officer to reconnoitre it, by his report I was determined to prefer this place. I gave notice to the admiral of my intention, and begged that the transports might be brought to Corunna; had I found them here on my arrival, on the 11th, the embarkation would easily have been effected, for I had gained several marches on the French. They have now come up with us, the transports are not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one; and this place, if I am forced to retire into it, is commanded within musquet shot, and the harbour will be so commanded by cannon on the coast, that no ship will be able to lay in it. In short, my Lord, general Stewart will inform you how critical our situation is. It has been recom-



recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly; in which case he gets us out of the country soon, and this place, with its stores, &c., complete; that otherwise we have the power to make a long defence, which must cause the destruction of the town. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but whatever I resolve on this head, I hope your lordship will rest assured, that I shall accept no terms that are in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country. I find I have been led into greater length, and more detail, than I thought I should have had time for; I have written under interruptions, and my mind much occupied with other matter. My letter, written so carelessly, can only be considered as private. When I have more leisure, I shall write more correctly; in the mean time, I rely on General Stewart for giving your lordship the information and detail which I have omitted. I should regret his absence, for his services have been very distinguished; but the state of his eyes makes it impossible for him to serve, and this country is not one in which cavalry can be of much use. If I succeed in embarking the army, I shall send it to England; it is quite unfit for further service until it has been refitted, which can best be done there. JOHN MOORE."

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*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
dated Downing-street, Jan. 24,  
1809.*

The Honourable captain Hope arrived late last night with a dis-

patch from lieut. gen. sir David Baird to lord viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy:

*His majesty's ship Ville de Paris,  
at sea, Jan. 18, 1809.*

My Lord; By the much-lamented death of lieutenant-general sir John Moore, who fell in action with the enemy on the 16th instant, it has become my duty to acquaint your lordship, that the French army attacked the British troops in the position they occupied in front of Corunna, at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day.—A severe wound, which compelled me to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of sir John Moore, obliges me to refer your lordship for the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contested, to the inclosed report of lieutenant-general Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions in direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack. The honourable captain Gordon, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will be able to give your lordship any further information which may be required. I have the honour to be, &c. D. Baird, lieut.-gen.

*His majesty's ship Audacious, off  
Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809.*

Sir; In compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command,



mand, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna, on the 16th instant.—It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front. This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces, and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under major-general lord William Bentinck.—The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest.—I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your service, lieutenant-general sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to

force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by major-general Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and 1st battalion 52nd regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of lieutenant-general Fraser's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.—They were however more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under major-general Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under major-general Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding however his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion 14th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening, we had not only

success-



successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and a fire upon his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the picquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.—Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who, from his number and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late commander of the forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The picquets remained at their posts until five in the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders, and without

the enemy having discovered the movement.—By the unremitted exertions of captains the honourable H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of rear admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by commissioner Bowen, captains Bowen and Shepherd, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the army was embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under major-generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day light.—The brigade of major-general Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under major-general Hill was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.—The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of major-general Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by 3 in the afternoon; major-general Beresford, with that zeal ability which is so well known to yourself and the whole army, having fully explained,



plained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously removed, embarked before one this morning.—Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers, and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection, that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain.—You are well aware with what diligence this

system has been pursued.—These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indispensable to assume, the native and undaunted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under major-generals lord Wm. Bentinck, and Manningham, and Leith; and the brigade of guards under major-general Warde.—To these officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-general Hill and colonel Catlin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81st regiments, with parts of the brigade of guards, and the 26th regiment. From lieutenant-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and the officers of the general staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret, that the illness of brigadier-general Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to brigadier-general Slade during the action, for a zealous



ous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.—The greater part of the fleet having gone to sea, yesterday evening, the whole being under weigh and the corps in the embarkation necessarily much mixed on board, it is impossible, at present, to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say, that I believe it did not exceed in killed and wounded from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown, but many circumstances induce me to rate it at nearly double the above number. We have some prisoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of lieutenant-colonel Napier, 92nd regiment, majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; lieutenant-col. Winch 4th regiment, lieutenant-col. Maxwell, 26th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Fane, 59th regiment, lieutenant-col. Griffith, guards, majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.—To you who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of lieutenant-general sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the conversation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that, after

conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolfe, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.—It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to the service of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less able hands. I have the honour to be, &c.—JOHN HOPE, lieutenant-general.

To lieutenant-general sir D. Baird, &c. &c.

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*Convention between his excellency the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, and Commander in Chief of the Troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King in Gallicia, and General Don Antonio Alzedo, Military and Civil Governor at Corunna.*

Art. 1. The place of Corunna, the fortified works, the batteries and ports which depend on it, artillery, ammunition, magazines, charts, plans, and memoirs, shall be given up to the troops of his majesty the emperor and king, Napoleon. For this purpose his excellency the marshal duke of Dalmatia shall be at liberty to take pos-

session



session of the gate called the Lower Tower (*la tour d'en bas*;) this evening.—2. the Spanish garrison which is in Corunna; the persons in civil authority, as well judicial as administrative or financial; the clergy, and the inhabitants in general, shall take the oath of fidelity and homage to his majesty the king of Spain and the Indies, Don Joseph Napoleon.—3. The persons concerned in the civil administration, as well judicial as financial; the intendant general of the kingdom of Galicia and of the province of Corunna, the Corregidors, Alcaldes, and other functionaries, shall be provisionally preserved in their employments, and shall exercise their functions in the name of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon. All the acts of the civil administration shall be made in the name of his said majesty.—4. The military of the garrison, whatever be their rank and employment, may enter into the service of his majesty, king Joseph Napoleon, and be allowed to retain the same rank, after having taken the customary oaths of fidelity and allegiance, as is provided in the second Article.—For this purpose a list of the names of the principal and inferior officers and soldiers shall be made out.—This list shall be certified by his excellency general Don Antonio D'Alzedo, governor of Corunna, to the end that a particular destination may be given to the military, according to the orders of his excellency the minister of war in the kingdom of Spain; but in the mean time the military shall wait at Corunna. The means of subsistence and quarters shall be furnished to them as to the French troops. The officers, and those employed in the royal marine, who are

at Corunna, are included in the present article, and must await at Corunna the orders of the minister of Marine.—5. The military of the garrison, whatever their rank, who wish to quit the service, shall be at liberty to retire to their respective habitations, after they shall have received their dismissal in due form, under the authority of his excellency the minister at war; and on taking the oath of fidelity described in the second article.—Such as refuse to take such oath shall be considered prisoners of war.—6. The property of the inhabitants shall be respected, and no contribution shall be levied on them, but a subsistence for the troops in garrison shall be provided by the province. That the places of public worship, and the government, shall be placed under safe custody; religion shall be respected, and its ministers shall be protected in the exercise of their functions.—7. The administration of the royal revenues shall be continued as heretofore, but in the name of, and to the use of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon; and to that effect, all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as those employed for the king, shall continue to fulfil their respective functions, and shall be paid according to their several appointments.—8. If any one employed in the courts, or in the administration, shall be desirous of resigning his office, his resignation shall be accepted, and no one shall prevent such measure; and if he should desire to leave the town with his effects and property, he shall be permitted so to do, granting him proper sureties, and a passport for that purpose.—9. The deputies of towns and all other individuals, called to form a part of



the Junta of the kingdom of Galicia, may return to their houses, with their equipages and their property, if they shall so wish; and an escort shall be granted to them for their personal security, on their requiring it.—10. Every inhabitant of the place shall be at liberty to retire whithersoever he pleases, with his moveables, effects, and whatever belongs to him, provided the place of his retirement be in the interior of the kingdom.—11. The houses and effects of all persons who may be absent by order, or leave, business, or any other cause, shall be respected, and the proprietors shall be at liberty to return when they find it convenient.—12. The benefit of a general amnesty, granted by the emperor and king in his own name as well as in the name of his majesty king Joseph Napoleon, shall be extended to the garrison and the inhabitants of Corunna, as also to persons who have filled official situations. For this purpose no individual shall be prosecuted, arrested, or punished, for any share they may have had in the disturbances which have agitated the kingdom, nor for their speeches, writings or actions, the measures, resolutions, or orders, which have been adopted or executed during the commotions. The benefit of the same general amnesty shall be extended to all the towns, villages, and communes of the kingdom of Galicia, as soon as they shall have submitted, and as soon as the inhabitants shall have taken the oath of fidelity to his majesty the king Joseph Napoleon.—13. The laws, customs, and dress of the people shall be preserved without any infringement, or modification; the laws shall be those which are, or

shall be established by the constitution of the kingdom.—Done at Corunna, the 19<sup>th</sup> day of Jan. 1809.

(Signed)

Marshal the Duke of DALMATIA.  
ANTONIO DE ALZEDO.

*Official communication from Marshal Beresford to the President of the Regency. From the Lisbon Gazette of April 25, 1809.*

Head Quarters, Tomas,  
21st April.

Having been informed that general Soult makes it his business to spread false accounts of the near arrival of considerable reinforcements, and Buonaparte himself at the head of 80,000 men, and that he has succeeded in deluding by similar falsehoods part of the Portuguese forces, I have thought it right to order the inclosed proclamation to be printed in Coimbra, and to publish the intercepted letter which general Kellerman wrote to him, and which fell into my hands, in hopes that it will tend to counteract the intrigues of the enemy, for which purpose the above proclamation has been distributed in Oporto, and all other places where its circulation appeared necessary. God preserve your Excellency many years.

W. C. BERESFORD,  
Marshal and Commander in Chief.

**PROCLAMATION.**—Whereas Marshal Soult (who styles himself Governor of Portugal) although he is perfectly aware of the critical situation in which he has placed himself, but which he endeavours to conceal from the unfortunate troops whom he sacrifices to the boundless ambition



ambition of a tyrant, circulates false reports and intelligence of the near arrival of Buonaparte, at the head of a French army of 80,000 men, in order to deceive the public with regard to the dangers by which he is threatened: Marshal Beresford in order to undeceive the people of the North of Portugal, and the French army, and convince them of the falsehood of the above reports, thinks it right to publish the following intercepted letter written to Marshal Soult by general Kellerman, who says that he commands the French force in Upper Spain. When it is ascertained that a General publishes falsehoods in one case, his army and the public at large will know how to appreciate his accounts on other occasions. Marshal Soult is perfectly aware of the danger of his situation, but endeavours to conceal them from his troops; and the couriers of whose arrival he boasts, did probably arrive from some part of the position of his corps, two or three leagues distance, they could not at least come either from France or Spain, his communication with these countries being entirely intercepted.

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*Letter from General Kellerman,  
dated Valladolid, March 31,  
1809.*

SIR; His Imperial Majesty having ordered the duke of Istria to join him, has entrusted me with the command of the French forces in Upper Spain. I received the letters which you wrote him from Berin. I sent copies thereof to his Imperial Majesty, and the prince of Neufchatel, and transmitted the letter which was addressed to the duke, to his highness. Marshal Bessieres set

out for Germany on the 16th instant, and the Imperial Guard, with every person belonging to the Imperial household. On the 20th war against Austria was declared; but it is not yet known whether the emperor will proceed to the Inner Tagliamenta. My position in Spain is rather critical; but I occupy the plain country with a considerable body of horse, although I am destitute of infantry. I am watching the movements of the army of Asturias, and of the troops of Romana, who obstruct our communication with the provinces they occupy. I am not able to do what I could wish, but send strong reconnoitering parties to Braganza and Miranda, and do all I can to keep the people between this place and Madrid in order, whom I know to be disaffected. Your brother has arrived here, but I do not see how he will be able to re-join as he wishes. The war in Germany, produced by the intrigues and gold of England, cannot but be attended with the most dreadful consequences for us, and must for the present render our situation extremely critical. You cannot expect any reinforcements, unless the duke of Elchingen should be able to send you some, of which I cannot judge, as I have not the least communication with him; and all Galicia is in a state of insurrection. I send you this letter by a person in whom I place much confidence, and who is worthy of yours, &c.

(Signed) KELLERMAN.

P. S. Turkey has made peace with England; there are insurrections in every part of Germany.

SOLDIERS, who compose the French army, such are the reports which your commander spreads among you, and such is the true intelligence



telligence which the French Generals endeavour to conceal from the people, who are so unfortunate as to be subjected to their power.

Head-Quarters, Tomas, the 20th April, 1809.

(Signed)

W. C. BERESFORD,  
Marshal and Commander in Chief.

*Supplement to the London Gazette  
of the 11th of July.*

*Account of the BATTLE  
fought near ASPERN, on the  
March-field, on the 21st and  
22d day of May, between the  
Archduke Charles of Austria,  
Generalissimo of the Imperial  
Austrian Armies, and the Em-  
peror Napoleon, Commander  
in Chief of the French and  
Allied Armies.*

The Emperor Napoleon having, after some sanguinary engagements near Abensberg, Hausen and Dinzligen, in which the fortune of war favoured the Austrian arms so as to force the French garrison at Ratisbon to surrender, succeeded in cutting off the left wing of the Austrian army, and driving it back to Landshut, and afterwards in advancing by Eckmühl, with a superior corps of cavalry, taking the road of Eglofsheim, and forcing to retreat those Austrian corps that were posted on the heights of Leikepont and Talmessing, the Archduke on the 23d of April crossed the Danube near Ratisbon, and joined the corps of Bellegarde, who had opened the campaign by several successful affairs in the Upper Palatinate, had reached Amberg, Neumarkt and Hemau, and had by this time approached Stadt-am-Hof, in order to execute his immediate junction with the

Archduke. The Emperor Napoleon ordered the bombardment of Ratisbon, occupied by a few battalions who were to cover the passage of the Danube. On the 23d in the evening he became master of it, and immediately hastened along the right bank of the Danube to enter the Austrian States, in order, as he openly declared, to dictate peace at Vienna. The Austrian army had taken a position near Cham, behind the river Regen, which was watched by some of the enemy's divisions, while the Emperor Napoleon called all his disposable troops, in forced marches, from the north of Germany to the Danube, and considerably reinforced his army with the troops of Wurtemberg, Hessa, Baden, and sometime after with those of Saxony. Near Kirn and Nittenau, some affairs had happened between the out-posts, which, however, had no influence upon our armies. However easy it would have been for the Archduke to continue his offensive operations on the left bank of the Danube without any material resistance, and however gratifying it might have been to relieve provinces which were groaning beneath the pressure of foreign dominion, the preservation of his native land did not permit him to suffer the enemy to riot with impunity in the entrails of the monarchy, to give up the rich sources of its independence, and expose the welfare of the subject to the devastations of foreign conquerors. These motives induced the Archduke to conduct his army to Bohemia, by the way of Klentsch and Neumarkt, to occupy the Bohemian forest with light troops and part of the militia, and to direct his march towards Budweis, where he arrived on the 3d of May, hoping to



to join near Lintz, his left wing, which had been separated from him, and was under the command of lieut.-gen. baron Hiller. But the latter had been so closely pressed by the united force of the French armies, that after several spirited engagements, and even after a brilliant affair, in which he had the advantage, near Neumarkt, and in which the troops achieved all that was possible against the disproportionate superiority of the enemy, he indeed was able to reach Lintz, but was incapable of crossing the Danube, and obliged to content himself with destroying the communication with the left bank, and taking up a position behind the Traun near Ebersberg. This was the occasion of an extremely murderous engagement, during which the enemy in storming the bridge lost near four thousand men; Ebersberg was set on fire, and lieut. gen. Hiller continued his retreat, till he got so much the start as to pass the Danube near Stain without being disturbed by the enemy, and to wait the approach of the Archduke, who after having in vain attempted the junction of the army near Lintz, had marched from Budweis to Zwettel: still hoping, by a quick passage of the Danube, to arrest the enemy's progress towards the metropolis. Meanwhile a corps of Wurtembergers had advanced from Passau along both the shores of the Danube, had occupied Lintz and the bank opposite to it: had restored the bridge, and signalized itself by destroying the defenceless villages and castles which could not be protected by the small advanced guard proceeding by the side of the main army. The enemy, by marching through the valley of the Danube

in the straightest line, had got so much ahead, that all hopes of coming up with him in front of Vienna vanished: still, however, if that city had been able to hold out for five days, it might have been relieved; and the Archduke resolved on venturing the utmost to rescue that good city, which, by the excellent disposition of its citizens, its faithful attachment to its sovereign, and its noble devotion, has raised to itself an eternal monument in the annals of Austria. All his plans were now directed towards gaining the bridges across the Danube near Vienna, and endeavouring to save the imperial residence by a combat under its very walls.

Vienna, formerly an important fortress, was in vain besieged by the Turks, and would even now, from the solidity of its ramparts, the strong profiles of its works, and the extensive system of its mines, be capable of making a protracted resistance, had not, for upwards of a century back, the luxury of a large metropolis, the wants of ease, the conflux of all the magnates in the empire, and the pomp of a splendid court, totally effaced every consideration of military defence. Palaces adorn the rampart: the casemates and ditches were converted into workshops of tradesmen, plantations mark the counter-scarpes of the fortress, and avenues of trees traverse the glacis, uniting the most beautiful suburbs in the world to the corps de la place.

Although under such circumstances no obstinate resistance of the capital was to be expected, yet from the unexampled loyalty of the inhabitants it was confidently hoped that Vienna might for a few days serve as a tête-de-pont to cover



the passage of the river: whence all preparations amounted to no more than to secure the place against a coup-de-main: and for this reason the Archduke had some time before directed field-marshal Hiller to send part of his corps along the right bank towards the capital, in the event of his (the Archduke's) passage to the left shore.

Field-marshal Hiller now received orders to burn the bridge near Stain in his rear, to leave a small corps of observation near Krems, to hasten by forced marches with the bulk of his army to the environs of Vienna, and, as circumstances would permit, by occupying the small islands, to keep up the communication with the city and the debouchee across the bridges.

The army of the Archduke now advanced without interruption, by Neupolla, Horn, and Weikendorf upon Stockerau; and, in order to overawe such enterprizes as the enemy might project from the environs of Lintz, part of the corps of the general of artillery count Kollowrath, which till then had remained near Pilsen with a view to secure the North and West frontier of Bohemia, was ordered to march to Budweis.—Napoleon had used so much expedition on his march to Vienna, that on the 9th of May his advanced troops appeared on the glacis of the fortress, whence they were driven by some cannon shot. From three or four thousand regular troops, as many armed citizens, and some battalions of country militia, defended the city; ordnance of various calibre was placed on the ramparts; the suburbs were abandoned on account of their great extent; and the numerous islands and low bushy ground behind the

town were occupied by some light troops of the corps of Hiller as well as by militia.—The corps itself was posted on what is termed “the Point” on the left shore of the river, waiting the arrival of the army, which was advancing in haste.—The occupation of Vienna formed too essential a part in the extensive plans of the French Emperor; its conquest had been announced by him with too much confidence, and was of too great importance towards confirming the prejudice of his irresistible power, for him not to employ every method of taking it before the assistance which was so near could arrive.—For the space of twenty-four hours the howitzers played upon the town: and though several houses were set on fire, the courage of the inhabitants remained unshaken. But a general devastation threatened their valuable property, and when at length the enemy, availing himself of the numerous craft which he found there, crossed the smaller branches of the Danube, dislodged the troops from the nearest islands, and menaced their communication with the left bank, the city was justified in capitulating, while the troops retreated by the great bridge of Tabor, which they afterwards set on fire.

The Archduke received this intelligence in head quarters, between Horn and Meissau, and though it was scarcely to be expected that this city, surrounded as it was, should continue its resistance, the Archduke proceeded on his march without interruption, flattering himself that he might be able to execute his favourite project by a bold attempt to pass the Danube near Vienna.—This city capitulated on the 13th of May, so that there was



no farther occasion to expose the army to hazard by crossing the Danube, for which no sufficient preparation had been made, and which must have been effected in the face of the enemy, and under local circumstances of the greatest disadvantage. By the surrender of Vienna the army had also lost a point of support on which to rest its military operations.

In this situation of affairs the Archduke resolved to collect his army at the foot of the hill Bisamberg, and allow it a few days of rest, which, after so many forced marches, it urgently wanted. The cavalry, for the convenience of water, was posted along the Russ, a small rivulet, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; and the advanced guards pushed forward to the Danube, in order to observe the movements of the enemy, and prevent his passing the river, which he had already attempted to do from Nussdorf, to what is called the Black Lake, but with so little success, that a battalion of his advanced guard was taken. The chain of the outposts extended on the left side as far as the March, and on the right to Krems; this place and Presburg were occupied by some battalions.

The head-quarters of the Archduke were, on the 16th of May, at Ebersdorf, near the high road leading to Brunn.—On the 19th the outposts reported that the enemy had taken possession of the great island of Lobau, within about six English miles of Vienna: that his numbers increased there every hour, and that he seemed to be employed in throwing a bridge across the great arm of the Danube behind the island. From the top of the Bisamberg, the whole of the opposite country ap-

peared to be enveloped in a cloud of dust, and the glitter of arms evinced a general movement of troops beyond Summering, towards Kaiser-Ebersdorf, whither, according to later accounts, the Emperor Napoleon had removed his head-quarters, and was by his presence hastening and promoting the preparations for passing the river.—On the following morning, at day-break, the Archduke resolved to reconnoitre the island, and employ for this purpose, part of the advanced guard, under the command of field-marshal lieutenant count Klenau, supported by some regiments of cavalry.—The isle of Lobau forms a convenient place of arms, which is about six English miles long, and four and a half broad, and being separated by the large arm of the Danube from the right bank, nothing prevents the building of a bridge, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; and the great extent of the island affords the advantage of sending troops and ordnance from so many points of it, that the passage across the smaller arm to the large plain of Marchfeld, may be made good by force of arms.—It was soon perceived by the strength of the enemy's columns which advanced upon the island, and placed their cannon so as to support the second passage, that he meditated a serious attack. The advanced guard sustained a tolerably warm engagement, and the cavalry routed the first division of the enemy, which debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river, late in the evening; upon which the Archduke, whose intention was not to prevent the passage of the enemy, but to attack him the following day, retreated with his cavalry to Anderklaa, and ordered the advanced



troops to fall back to Maass, according as the enemy should extend himself.

On the 21st at day-break the Archduke ordered his army under arms, and formed it in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the Bisam-hill and the rivulet Russ. The corps of lieu.-gen. Hiller formed the right wing near Stammersdorf; on its left was the corps of the general of cavalry count Bellegarde, and next to that the corps of lieu.-gen. prince Hohenzollern, in the allignement of Deutsch-Wagram. The corps of prince Rosenberg was posted by battalions in column on the Russbach on the rivulet Russ, kept Deutsch-Wagram strongly occupied, having, for the security of the left wing, placed on the heights beyond that place a division in reserve. The whole cavalry, which the day before had advanced under the command of prince Lichtenstein by Anderklaa, was called back into the line, filling, in two lines, the space intervening between the left wing of prince Hohenzollern and the right of prince Rosenberg.

The vast plain of the March-field spread like a carpet before the front of the line, and appeared, by the absence of every obstruction, to be destined to form the theatre of some great event. The grenadiers remained in reserve near Seiering, and the corps of the gen. of artillery, prince of Reuss, kept the Bisam-hill, and the low bushy ground along the Danube strongly occupied. Part of it was still left near Krems, the corps being almost broke up by having so many of its divisions detached to so considerable a distance.

At nine o'clock, the Archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and

the troops to dine. The piquet of observation on the Bisam-hill reported that the bridge across the Danube behind the isle of Lobau, being now quite finished, was plainly perceivable, and that troops were, without intermission, seen filing off over it, as well as passing in boats to the isle. The outposts, likewise, gave information of the gradual augmentation of the enemy in the town of Enzersdorf, and in the villages of Essling and Aspern, and of his advancing towards Hirschstetten.

The Archduke Charles now thought that the moment for giving battle had arrived, and hastened to Gerasdorf, where the chief of his quarter-master-general's staff, gen. baron Wimpfen, sketched out the following plan.

*Plan of Attack upon the hostile Army on its March between Essling and Asperne, and towards Hirschstetten.*

The attack to be made in five columns. The first column, or the column of the right wing, is formed by the corps of lieutenant-gen. Hiller. It will advance from its present position in the direction between the "Point" and Leopoldau along the nearest arms of the Danube, pass along the left bank towards Stadelau and Aspern, keep constantly near the Danube and the meadows bordering upon it, and is vigorously to repulse the enemy, who most likely will meet it on the same road, and to drive him from the left bank. This column must not suffer its progress to be impeded by the batteries which the enemy perhaps may have erected on the islands, but must endeavour to silence them by its cannon, and spiritedly continue to advance.

The



The second column consists of the corps of the general of cavalry, count Bellegarde; leaving Gerasdorf to the left, it will march towards Leopoldau, endeavour to join the first column on the right, advance upon Kagrau, and then, conjointly with the third column, upon the left, push forwards towards Hirschstetten.

The third column is composed of the corps of lieut.-gen. prince Hohenzollern. It will march by Sussenbrunn to Breitenlee, and from thence towards Aspern, and will endeavour to join on its right the 2nd column, and on its left the 4th.

The fourth column under the command of lieut.-gen. prince Rosenberg, is made up of that part of his corps which is posted on the right bank of the rivulet Russ: it is to advance, by Anderklau and Raschdorf, towards Essling.

The fifth column is formed by that part of prince Rosenberg's corps which stands between Deutsch-Wagram and Beaumersdorf, it will cross the Russ near Beaumersdorf, leave Raschdorf and Bischofsdorf to the right, endeavour to pass to the left round the town of Enzersdorf, and secure its left flank by the archduke Ferdinand's regiment of hussars.

The cavalry-reserve under the command of gen. prince Lichtenstein, to march by the way of Anderklau, without coming in contact with the fourth column, between Raschdorf and Breitenlee, and straight to the New Inn, keeping continually at such a distance between the heads of the third and fourth columns as, in case of necessity, to be near at hand for the purpose of repelling the main body of the enemy's cavalry.

The genadiers corps of reserve to march from Seiering into the position which the corps of Bellegarde has taken up behind Gerasdorf.

All the columns and corps will march at twelve o'clock at noon. Their second lines to follow them at a suitable distance. Every column to form its own advanced guard. The order of march, and the distribution of the field pieces, to be left to the judgment of the commanders of the respective corps. The whole will march by half divisions. Lieut.-gen. Klenau to form the advanced guard of the fourth and fifth columns, and, before he advances, to suffer the heads of these columns to come quite up to him, in order that he may have at hand a sufficient support of infantry.

Of the corps of cavalry, the brigade under command of Veesey to be attached to the second column, and the regiment O'Reilly to the third; and both brigades are to repair immediately, the former to Gerasdorf, and the latter to Sussenbrunn.

The principal object in view is to drive back the enemy entirely over the first arms of the Danube, destroy the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupying the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery, especially howitzers.

The infantry will form on the plain in battalions, with half divisions from the centre.

His imperial highness the gen. in chief recommends order, closeness during the advance, and a proper use of every species of arms. His station will be with the second column.

Gerasdorf, May 21, 1809.

The



	Battalions.	Squadrons.
The 1st column consisted of	19	22
2nd — — —	20	16
3rd — — —	22	8
4th — — —	13	8
5th — — —	13	16
The corps of cavalry	—	78
The corps of genadiers	16	—
Total	103	148

All which amounted to 75,000 men, effective troops.

Of artillery there were 18 batteries of brigade, 13 of position, and 11 of horse artillery; in the aggregate 288 pieces of different calibres.

The enemy had availed himself extremely well of the advantages of the ground to cover his passage. The extensive villages of Essling and Aspern, mostly composed of brick houses, and encircled all round by heaps of earth, resembled two bastions, between which a double line of natural trenches, intended to draw off the water, served as the curtain, and afforded every possible security to the columns passing from the Isle of Lobau. Essling had a granary furnished with loop-holes, and whose three stories afforded room for several hundred men, while Aspern was provided with a strong church-yard. The left side of the latter village borders on an arm of the Danube. Both villages had a safe communication with the bushy ground near the Danube, from which the enemy had it constantly in his power to dispatch, unseen, fresh reinforcements. The Isle of Lobau served at once as a place of arms and as a tête-de-pont, a bridge-head for the bridge, in the rear across the main arm of the river.

The enemy, with the divisions of gens. Molitor, Boudet, Nansouty, Legrand, Espagne, Lasalle and Fer-

rand, under the marshals Massena and Lasnes, as well as marshal Bessieres, together with the guards of the Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden auxiliaries, had already left this position, and was directing his march towards Hirschstetten, when the first Austrian advanced guards met him.

If it be at all permitted in war, to indulge favourable presentiments, it was certainly excusable so to do at that great moment, when, on the 21st of May, exactly at twelve o'clock, the columns began to put themselves in motion for the attack. A general enthusiasm had taken possession of the troops: joyful war-songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded through the air, and were interrupted by shouts of "Long live our Emperor, long live Archduke Charles!" whenever the imperial general appeared, who had placed himself at the head of the second column. Every breast panted with anxious desire and high confidence after the decisive moment; and the finest weather favoured the awful scene.

#### *Battle of the 21st of May.—First Column.*

The advanced guard under gen. Nordman, consisting of two battalions of Gyulay and Lichtenstein hussars, had formed near the destroyed bridge of Tabor, and leaving the villages of Kagran and Hirschstetten to the left, and Stadlau to the right, marched in the plain towards Aspern. It was followed by the column, which, having left the high road before the post-office at Stammersdorf, had marched from the right by half divisions. Its right flank along the Danube was covered by a battalion of St. Georgians, by the 1st battalion of Vienna



Vienna volunteers, and by a battalion of militia, under the command of major count Colloredo.—Within a cannon-shot of Stadlau the out-posts met the enemy's picquets, which gradually retreated to their original divisions.—At this time general Nordman ordered two battalions of Gyulay to draw up en echelon, in order to favour the advance of the column. The enemy drawn up in large divisions, stood immediately before Aspern, having, to cover his front, occupied all the ditches of the fields, which afforded excellent breastworks. His right was covered by a battery, and his left by a broad and deep ditch (one of those that carry off the waters of the Danube when it overflows), as well as by a bushy ground, which was likewise occupied by several bodies in close order.—Though the enemy had the advantage of position all to himself, inasmuch as the freshes of the Danube were only passable by means of a small bridge, at which he kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches both with cannon and small arms, it did not prevent the 2nd battalion of Gyulay, immediately after the first had penetrated as far as the bushy meadows, to pass the bridge in a column, to form without delay, and with charged bayonets to attack the enemy, who precipitately retreated to Aspern, on which occasion that village, after a vigorous but not very obstinate resistance, was taken for the first time. It was, however, not long before the enemy had it in his power, by the arrival of a fresh reinforcement, to expel again the battalions of Gyulay. By this time some battalions of the column had arrived, the chasseurs of Major

Schneider, of the 2nd column, joined the advanced guard of the 1st; Gyulay formed again, and the enemy was a second time pushed to the lower end of the village, though he succeeded again in regaining what he had lost.—Both parties were aware of the necessity of maintaining themselves in Aspern at any rate, which produced successively the most obstinate efforts both of attack and defence; the parties engaged each other in every street, in every house, and in every barn; carts, ploughs, and harrows were obliged to be removed during an uninterrupted fire, in order to get at the enemy; every individual wall was an impediment of the assailants, and a rampart of the attacked; the steeple, lofty trees, the garrets, and the cellars were to be conquered before either of the parties could stile itself master of the place, and yet the possession was ever of short duration; for no sooner had we taken a street or a house than the enemy gained another, forcing us to abandon the former. So this murderous conflict lasted for several hours; the German battalions were supported by Hungarians, who were again assisted by the Vienna volunteers, each rivaling the other in courage and perseverance. At the same time the 2nd column combined its attacks with those of the first, having to overcome the same resistance, by reason of the enemy's constantly leading fresh reinforcements into fire. At length general Vacquant of the second column succeeded in becoming master of the upper part of the village, and maintaining himself there during the whole of the night.—By the shells of both parties many houses had been set on fire, and



and illuminated the whole country around.—At the extremity of the right wing on the bushy meadow the combats were not less severe. The left flank of the enemy was secured by an arm of the Danube; impenetrable underwood, intersected only by footpaths, covered his front; and a broad ditch and palisadoes afforded him the advantage of a natural rampart.—Here fought at the beginning of the battle the 1st battalion of Gyulay under colonel Mariassay; then the battalion of chasseurs under major Schneider; next the St. Georgians under major Mihailovich, and finally, the two battalions of Vienna volunteers under lieutenant-colonel Steigentesch and St. Quentin. Here also the enemy was defeated; and the first day of this sanguinary engagement terminated by the occupation of Aspern by general Vacquant, at the head of eight battalions of the second column, while lieutenant field-marshal Hiller drew the troops of his corps from the village, placed them again in order of battle, and passed the night under arms.

#### *Second Column.*

The advanced guard, commanded by lieutenant-general Fresnel, advanced by Leopoldo and Kagan towards Hirschstetten, and consisted of one battalion of chasseurs and two battalions of Anton Mitsovsky under general Winzingerode, as well as the brigades of cavalry, Klenau and Vincent, under general Veesey. It was followed in the same direction by the column from its position near Gerasdorf.—The enemy having been discovered from the eminences near Hirschstetten to be near Aspern and Esslingen, the brigade Veesey was detached against

the latter place, and the brigade Winzingerode to dislodge the enemy from Aspern.—The column deployed before Hirschstetten, in two lines, in order to support the advanced guard, and leaving Aspern to the right, followed upon the plain, at a proper distance.—The brigade of Winzingerode, however, met with so spirited a resistance in its attempt upon Aspern, that an attack upon the front alone was not likely to be attended with success; the cavalry, therefore, of the advanced guard was pushed forward from Aspern on the left, in order to support the attack on the flank with the two batteries of cavalry, as well as to facilitate the junction with the third column, which was advancing by Breitenlee. At the same time the regiment of Reuss Plauen was ordered to the right of Aspern, with a view to an attack on that place, the rest of the corps was formed into close columns of battalions.—Meanwhile the enemy formed his left wing, which we refused, towards Aspern, and his right upon Esslingen. Thus he advanced with columns of infantry and cavalry upon the main army, while an extremely brisk cannonade supported him. A line of 12 regiments of cuirassiers formed the centre of the second line of the enemy, giving to the whole an imposing aspect.—Meanwhile the attack of a battalion of Reuss Plauen on Aspern was repulsed, and it gave way, being thrown into consternation by the loss of its commander, but it rallied immediately after. Count Bellegarde ordered gen. Vacquant to renew the attack with the regiment of Vogelsang, and to carry the village at all hazards. The latter obeyed the order with the most  
bril-



brilliant success, and Aspern, though defended by 12,000 of the best of the enemy's troops, was carried by storm; Vacquant being assisted by the regiment of Reuss Plauen, by a battalion of archduke Rainer, and by the brigade of Maier of the third column.—To frustrate this attack, the enemy advanced with two columns of infantry, supported by his heavy cavalry, upon the main army, repulsed the two regiments of Klenau and Vincent's light horse, and fell upon the infantry.—The latter expecting him, with their firelocks ready, and with cool intrepidity, fired at ten paces distance so effectually, as totally to rout the enemy, upon which general Veesey, at the head of a division of Klenau, attacked the enemy's cuirassiers with such energy, that their retreat was followed by that of the infantry.—Hereby the army along the whole of its line was disengaged from the enemy, obtained a communication on the left with the corps of prince Hohenzollern, and became possessed of the important post of Aspern. The enemy being in full retreat attempted no further attack, and confined himself merely to a cannonade. The corps remained during the night under arms. The enemy repeated, indeed, his attacks on Aspern, but they all proved unsuccessful.

### *Third Column.*

This column, according to its destination, had begun its march from its position at Seiring, by the road of Sussenbrun and Breitenlee. Some divisions of O'Reilly's light horse and chasseurs formed the advanced guard of the column, and at three o'clock in the afternoon

met near Hirschstetten, the left wing of the enemy, which consisted mostly of cavalry.—As about this time the first and second columns advanced intrepidly upon Aspern, and the enemy began to fall back to his position between Esslingen and Aspern, lieutenant-general Hohenzollern, ordered up his batteries, and a very brisk cannonade commenced on both sides.—The first line formed in close columns of battalions, and advanced with the greatest resolution upon the enemy, when his cavalry suddenly rushed forward in such disproportionate numbers, and with such rapidity, that there was scarcely time to save the artillery which had been brought up, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. This was the remarkable moment in which the regiments of Zach, Joseph Colleredo, Zettwitz, Froon, a battalion of Stein's, and the second battalion of the Archduke Charles's legion, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Brady, and generals Buresch, Maier and Koller, demonstrated with unparalleled fortitude what the fixed determination to conquer or die is capable of effecting against the most impetuous attacks.—The enemy's cavalry turned these battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, repulsed the squadrons of O'Reilly's light horse, who were unable to withstand such a superior force, and in the confidence of victory, summoned these corps of heroes to lay down their arms. A well directed and destructive fire was the answer to this degrading proposition, and the enemy's cavalry abandoned the field, leaving behind them a considerable number



number of dead.—This corps, as well as the others, passed the night on the field of battle.

*Fourth and Fifth Columns.*

These were both composed of the corps of lieutenant-general prince Rosenberg, on either bank of the Russbach, and directed their march from their position, to the right and left of Deutsch-Wagram.—The fourth proceeded through Raschdorf straight to Esslingen. Colonel Hardegg of Schwarzenberg's hulans conducted the advanced guard.—The fifth directed its march towards the left, in order to go a circuit round the little town of Enzersdorf, and drive the enemy out of the place. It was reinforced by Stipsic's hussars, under the command of colonel Frölich. Lieutenant-general Klenau led the advanced guard of both columns. As this circuit round Enzersdorf obliged the fifth to describe a longer line, it was necessary for the fourth to advance rather more slowly.—Enzersdorf, however, was quickly taken possession of by a detachment of Stipsic's hussars, and of the Wallacho-Illyrian frontier regiment, as it was already for the greatest part evacuated by the enemy, from whom no more than thirty prisoners could be taken.—Both columns now received orders to advance upon Esslingen.—The fourth, in close columns of battalions of Czartorisky's, archduke Louis's and Cobourg's, who were twice successively attacked by upwards of two thousand of the enemy's heavy cavalry; but these were each time put to flight by our brave infantry with considerable loss.—Of the fifth column, two battalions of Chasteler's advanced directly upon

Esslingen, while two battalions of Bellegarde's were ordered to penetrate the left flank of the village, and the small contiguous wood. Two battalions of Hiller's and Cztarray's, besides the archduke Ferdinand's and Stipsic's regiments of hussars, and two divisions of Rosenberg's light horse, were in the plain in readiness to support them.—These combined attacks were made twice successively with uncommon intrepidity, the enemy's troops were repulsed at all points, and driven into the village of Esslingen which had been set on fire. But as the enemy's army was drawn up in several lines between Esslingen and Aspern, and met each new attack with fresh reinforcements, because the safety of his retreat depended on the possession of this village, our troops were obliged to abandon it at the approach of night, and to await, under arms, the arrival of morning.

The reserve corps of cavalry had marched in two columns, under the command of general prince of Lichtenstein, and advanced upon the New Inn between Raschdorf and Breitenlee. General count Wartensleben with Blankenstein's hussars, conducted the advanced guard.—No sooner did the enemy perceive the general advance of the army, than he placed the bulk of his cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry, in order of battle between Esslingen and Aspern, and commenced a brisk cannonade upon the columns of Austrian cavalry as they approached.—Prince Lichtenstein directed his columns to march forward in two lines, on which the enemy detached 4 or 5000 cavalry from his position to the



the right, by way of Esslingen, and excited some apprehension that he would impede the progress of the fourth column, or even break through it. The prince therefore ordered four regiments to the left, and kept the second column formed in two lines, till he was convinced that the fourth would not meet with any impediment to its march.—During this movement the remainder of the enemy's cavalry also advanced with the greatest confidence, towards the right wing of the Austrian. They were received with a firmness which they probably did not expect. The intrepidity of the cavalry which had marched up, particularly Maurice Lichtenstein's regiment, and the archduke Francis's cuirassiers; the former, headed by its gallant col. Roussel, frustrated the repeated assaults of the enemy by counter-attacks, by which at length he put a stop to his impetuous advance, and completely repulsed him with considerable loss. In these conflicts, the French general of division, Durosnel, equerry to the emperor, was taken prisoner a few paces from him, as was also general Foulcr, equerry to the empress, after having been slightly wounded. Notwithstanding the fire of musquetry which now ensued, the prince ordered a general advance, by which the enemy was straitened in the alignment between Esslingen and Aspern, but on account of the flanking fire from Esslingen, could not be pursued any further. The fire of his guns was answered with spirit by the horse artillery. About seven in the evening 3,000 horse were again detached towards the point of union between the cavalry of the corps of reserve and the

left wing of prince Hohenzollern, and fell en masse upon the brigades of cuirassiers of generals Kroyher, Klary, and Siegenthal; but by the steady intrepidity of the Blankenstein's and Riesch's regiments, who with the utmost gallantry made a sudden attack on the enemy's flanks, his cavalry was again repulsed, and part of it, which had fallen upon some of the regiments of the new levies, placed in the third line, was cut off and there taken.—Meanwhile night came on, and it was passed by the prince in the best state of preparation on the ground which he had gained from the enemy.

For the first time Napoleon had sustained a defeat in Germany. From this moment he was reduced to the rank of bold and successful generals, who, like himself, after a long series of destructive achievements, experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. The charm of his invincibility was dissolved. No longer the spoiled child of Fortune, by posterity he will be characterized as the sport of the fickle goddess. New hopes begin to animate the oppressed nations. To the Austrian army the 21st of May was a grand and glorious epoch, that must inspire it with a consciousness of its strength, and a confidence in its energies. Overwhelmed by our irresistible infantry, its proud opponents were extended in the dust, and the presence of their hitherto unconquered Emperor was no longer capable of snatching from the heroes of Austria the laurels which they had acquired.—Napoleon's glory was obviously at stake. New efforts were to be expected the following day; but he was also obliged to fight for his existence.

By



By means of fire-ships sent down the Danube, the Archduke had caused the enemy's bridge on the Lobau to be broken down, and its repairs would take up several hours. Meanwhile Napoleon had already in the evening been joined by the corps of general Oudinot; and all the disposable troops followed from Vienna and the Upper Danube, and were transported across the river in vessels as fast as they arrived. The Archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps, which had not any share in the first engagement, to advance from its position near Gerasdorf to Breitenlee; and the short night was scarcely sufficient to complete the respective preparations for the commencement of a second tragedy.

*Battle of the 22d of May.—Corps of lieutenant-general Hiller.*

With the morning's dawn the enemy renewed his attacks, which far surpassed in impetuosity those of the preceding day. It was a conflict of valour and mutual exasperation. Scarcely had the French guards compelled general Vacquant to abandon Aspern, when the regiment of Klebek again penetrated into the burning village, drove back the choicest troops of the enemy, and engaged in a new contest in the midst of the conflagration, till, at the expiration of an hour, it was also obliged to give way.—

The regiment of Benjovsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the churchyard, the walls of which field-marshal-lieutenant Hiller immediately ordered the first division of pioneers to pull down, and the church, together with the parsonage, to be set on fire. Thus was this regiment, supported by

some battalions, commanded by general Bianchi, at length enabled to maintain itself at the entrance of the village, after overcoming the resistance, bordering on despair, opposed by the flower of the French army.—Neither could the enemy produce any farther effect upon the bushy meadow, after lieutenant-general Hiller had ordered the force there to be supported by two battalions of Anton Mittrowsky's and a battery; on which the Jagers, St. George's, and two battalions of Vienna volunteers, drove him from his advantageous position, which he never afterwards attempted to recover.—At about this time the left wing of the corps was likewise placed in security by three batteries sent by the lieutenant-general to support the general of cavalry, count Bellegarde, and the latter maintained his ground against the most desperate attacks of the enemy. The lieutenant-general Hiller kept his position on the left flank of the enemy, and the victory was decided in this quarter. The corps was therefore again formed in two lines, and thus awaited the approaching events.

*Corps of the General of Cavalry, Count Bellegarde.*

Count Bellegarde having received a message from general Vacquant, that the enemy was assembling in force before Aspern, towards the bushy meadows, and apparently had in view an assault upon that point, was just going to throw a few battalions of Argenteu's into Aspern, when the enemy, in heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous artillery, began to advance upon the centre of the corps in the plain.—The troops stationed at Aspern, exhausted



exhausted as they were with the incessant fire kept up during the night, were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack; their ammunition, both for artillery and musquetry, began to fail, and general Vaccant retreated in good order to the church-yard. This post, gained at so dear a rate, was again taken from him, after several attacks sustained in conjunction with lieutenant-general Hiller; the place was alternately taken and lost, till at length the superiority of our fire obliged the enemy to abandon the house, and a last assault of Hiller's corps prevented all farther attempts.

From the moment of the retaking of Aspern it became possible to oppose an offensive movement to the enemy advancing upon the centre, and to operate upon his left flank and communication. The defence of Aspern was therefore left entirely to Hiller's corps, and while count Bellegarde appuied his right wing on Aspern, he formed his left and the centre in the direction of Esslingen, in such a manner that, by degrees, he gained the right flank of the enemy, compelled him to retreat, and, by the complete effect of the artillery, brought to bear upon the left wing, which commanded the whole space from Aspern to Esslingen, gave him a most severe defeat. *Corps of lieutenant-general the prince of Hohenzollern.*

The dawn of morning was with this corps also the signal for the renewal of the gigantic conflict. The enemy's infantry was drawn up in large divisions, and between it the whole of the heavy cavalry was formed in masses. The general of cavalry, prince Lichtenstein, on observing this order of battle, perceived the necessity of keeping up a

close communication with the infantry placed near him: he therefore drew up his right wing en echiquier, behind the corps of infantry, but kept his left wing together, with reserves posted in the rear.

A prodigious quantity of artillery covered the front of the enemy, who seemed desirous to annihilate our corps by the murderous fire of cannon and howitzers. Upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon were engaged on both sides, and the oldest soldiers never recollect to have witnessed so tremendous a fire.

Vain was every effort to shake the intrepidity of the Austrian troops. Napoleon rode through his ranks, and according to the report of the prisoners, made them acquainted with the destruction of his bridge, but added, that he had himself ordered it to be broken down, because in this case there was no alternative, but victory or death.—Soon afterwards the whole of the enemy's line put itself in motion, and the cavalry made its principal attack on the point where the corps of cavalry of prince Lichtenstein communicated with the left wing of lieutenant-general the prince of Hohenzollern. The engagement now became general; the regiments of Rohan, D'Aspre, Joseph Colloredo, and Stain, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy. The generals were every where at the head of their troops, and inspired them with courage and perseverance. The archduke himself seized the colours of Zach's, and the battalion, which had already begun to give way, followed with new enthusiasm his heroic example. Most of those who surrounded him were wounded; his adjutant-general count Colloredo, received a ball in his head, the



wound from which was at first considered dangerous; a squeeze of the hand signified to him the concern of his sympathizing commander, who, filled with contempt of death, now fought for glory and for his country.

The attacks of our impenetrable corps, both with the sabre and the bayonet, so rapidly repeated and so impetuous, as to be unparalleled in military annals, frustrated all the intentions of the enemy. He was beaten at all points, and astonished at such undaunted intrepidity, he was obliged to abandon the field of battle.

About this time lieutenant-general the prince of Hohenzollern observed on his left wing, near Esslingen, a chasm, which had been formed during the heat of the engagement, and afforded an advantageous point of attack. Frölich's regiment, commanded by colonel Mecsery, was ordered thither in three corps, and repulsed four regiments of cavalry, accompanied with infantry and artillery. The corps remained in the position which they had taken, till the grenadiers of the reserve, which the archduke had ordered forward from Brietenlee, arrived to relieve the battalions exhausted with the sanguinary conflict, and continued the attack upon the centre of the enemy's position. Lieutenant-general D'Aspre penetrated with the four battalions of grenadiers of Przeziński, Puteany, Scovaux, and Scharlach, without firing a shot, to the enemy's cannon, where he was flanked by such a destructive fire from Esslingen, that nothing but the presence of the archduke, who hastened to the spot, could have induced his grenadiers to maintain their ground. Captain count Dombasse had already reached the enemy's

battery, when he was wounded by two balls, and quitted the field.

About noon the archduke ordered a new assault upon Esslingen, which was immediately undertaken by field-marshal-lieut. D'Aspre with the grenadier battalions of Kirchenbetter and Scovaux on the left, and Scharlach and Georgy in front.—Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the very walls of the houses, burning internally and placed in a state of defence; some of the grenadiers thrust their bayonets into the enemy's loop-holes; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair. The archduke ordered the grenadiers to take up their former position, and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the assault, he would not permit them, as the enemy was then in full retreat.

*Corps of field-marshal lieutenant prince Rosenberg.*

Both divisions of this corps, which in advancing to the engagements had composed the fourth and fifth columns, were formed before break of day for a new attack, for which the enemy likewise made preparation on his side, but with a manifest superiority in numbers. Prince Rosenberg resolved to attack the village of Esslingen with the Archduke Charles's regiment of infantry, to push forward his other troops in battalions, and in particular to go and meet the enemy, who was advancing in the open country between Esslingen and the nearest arm of the Danube. The village was already gained, and battalions advancing on the left, obliged the enemy, drawn up in several lines, to yield. The most violent cannonade was kept up incessantly on both sides, and it was sustained by the troops with the greatest



greatest fortitude. Favoured by a fog which suddenly came on, the enemy's heavy cavalry ventured to attack on all sides the corps formed by Cztarray's and Hiller's regiments of infantry. These brave fellows received him with fixed bayonets, and at the last moment poured in their fire with such effect, that the enemy was compelled to betake himself to flight with considerable loss. Five times were these attacks on Cztarray's and Hiller's regiments repeated, and each time were they repelled with equal courage and resolution. The cavalry contributed all that lay in their power to the pursuit of the enemy and the support of the infantry. Coburg's, the Archduke Louis's and Czartorisky's regiments belonging to the division of lieutenant-general Dedovich, stationed on the right, renewed the exertions of the preceding day with the same distinction, and the same success. After this severe conflict, the enemy seemed to have no inclination to expose himself to any fresh disaster, and confined himself to the operation of his superior artillery. About eleven, A. M. prince Rosenberg received orders from the Archduke, commander in chief, to make a new attack upon Esslingen, and a message to the same effect was sent to lieutenant-general Dedovich, who commanded the right division of this corps. Prince Rosenberg immediately formed two columns of attack, under the conduct of lieutenant-generals princes Hohenlohe and Rohan, while lieutenant-general Dedovich advanced against the citadel of the place, and the magazine surrounded with walls and ditches.—The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and our troops rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the

village. Still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post, into which the enemy kept continually throwing new reinforcements, which was of the utmost importance for covering his retreat, which he had already resolved upon, and which he defended with an immense sacrifice of lives. Prince Rosenberg therefore resolved to confine himself to the obstinate maintenance of his own position, to secure the left flank of the army, and to encrease the embarrassment of the enemy by an incessant fire from all the batteries. In the night between the 22d and 23d, the enemy accomplished his retreat to the Lobau, and at three in the morning, his rear-guard also had evacuated Esslingen and all the points which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube. Some divisions pursued him closely, and took possession as near as possible of the necessary posts of observation. Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and in the history of war. It was the most obstinate and bloody that has occurred since the commencement of the French revolution. It was decisive for the glory of the Austrian arms, for the preservation of the monarchy, and for the correction of the public opinion. The infantry has entered upon a new and brilliant career, and by the firm confidence it has manifested in its own energies, has paved the way to new victories. The enemy's cavalry has seen its acquired but hitherto untried glory dissipated by the masses of our battallions, whose cool intrepidity it was unable to endure. Cavalry and artillery have surpassed themselves in valour, and in the space of two days have performed



achievements sufficient for a whole campaign. Three pieces of cannon, seven ammunition waggons, 17,000 French muskets, and about 3,000 cuirasses fell into the hands of the conqueror. The loss on both sides was very great: this, and the circumstance that very few prisoners were taken by either party, proves the determination of the combatants either to conquer or die. The Austrian army laments the death of 87 superior officers, and 4,199 subalterns and privates. Lieutenant-generals prince Rohan, Delovich, Weber, and Frenel, general Winzingerode, Gril, Neustadler, Seigenthal, Colloredo, May Hohenfeld, and Buresch, 663 officers, and 15,651 subalterns and privates were wounded. Of these, field-marshal lieutenant Weber, 8 officers, and 129 men, were taken prisoners by the enemy. The loss of the enemy was prodigious, and exceeds all expectation. It can only be accounted for by the effect of our concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where all the batteries crossed one another, and calculated by the following authentic data. Generals Lasnes, D'Espagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, are dead; Massena, Bessieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lasalle, and the two brothers Legrange, wounded; Durosnel and Fonler taken. Upwards of 7,000 men, and an immense number of horses were buried on the field of battle; 5,000 and some hundred wounded lie in our hospitals. In Vienna and the suburbs there are at present 29,773 wounded; many were carried to St. Pölten, Enns, and as far as Linz;—2,300 were taken. Several hundred of corpses floated down the Danube, and are still thrown upon its shores;

many met their death in the island of Lobau, and since the water has fallen in the smaller arms of the river, innumerable bodies, thus consigned by their comrades to everlasting oblivion, have become visible. The burying of the sufferers is not yet over, and a pestilential air is wafted down the theatre of death. His imperial highness, the generalissimo, has indeed undertaken the duty so dear to his heart, of acquainting the monarch and the country, with the names of those who took the most active share in the achievements of these glorious days; but he acknowledges with profound emotion, that, amidst the rivalry of the highest military virtues, it is scarcely possible to distinguish the most valiant, and declares all the soldiers of Aspern worthy of public gratitude. His imperial highness considers the intelligent dispositions of the chief of his staff, general baron Wimpffen, and his incessant exertions, as the foundation of the victory. The officers commanding corps have rendered themselves deserving of the highest favours by uncommon devotedness, personal bravery, warm attachment to their sovereign, and their high sense of honour. Their names will be transmitted to posterity with the achievements of the valiant troops who were under their direction. Colonel Smola, of the artillery, by his indefatigable activity in the proper application of the ordnance, and his well known bravery, rendered the most important services. The commanding officers of corps and columns have furnished a list of the generals, staff and superior officers, who particularly distinguished themselves.

Lieutenant-general count Klenau, who exhibited fresh proofs of his  
well



well known valour, both in the reconnaissance of the 20th, and in the engagements of both days, bestows particular commendations on the conduct of colonel Trapp of the staff, of colonel Hardegg of Schwarzenberg's hulans, of major Scheibler of Rosenberg's light horse, of lieutenant-colonel Lutz and lieutenant Laghietty and Manz of the first battalion of jagers. Lieutenant-general baron d'Aspre, at the head of his brave grenadiers, whom he led with the most determined intrepidity into fire, deems lieutenant-colonel Bissingen and majors Putteany, Kirchenbetter and Winiasysky, worthy of particular commendation. Sub-lieutenant count Rezewusky distinguished himself in a manner that does him the highest honour. This young man was captain in the Austrian militia, and being afraid at the commencement of the war that he should be obliged to remain with his battalion in the interior, he endeavoured to procure his removal to a regiment of light horse; and as there was no vacancy, he entered as a cadet and volunteer into Kienmayer's hussars, in which he was soon promoted to a sub-lieutenancy. On the attack of the grenadiers he voluntarily accompanied lieutenant-general D'Aspre into the thickest of the fire; and when the field-marshal's horse was shot under him, he sprang from his, and presented it to him with these words—"You want him more than I."—He then joined on foot in the assault made by the grenadiers, till a wound he received put an end to his exertions. As a reward for such extraordinary zeal, his imperial highness has appointed sub-lieutenant count Rezewusky captain in the hulans. Many individual traits of

heroism are not yet known, and consequently cannot be recorded.—Thus corporal Prager of Zettivitz's, took prisoner one of the enemy's chefs d'escadron before the mass of his battalion. Corporals Donner and Horner, and the privates Presich, Herma, and Schmerha, of the battalion of prince Kinsky's legion, were cut off by a fire of musketry from their corps, and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, they fought their way through, and rejoined their battalion. The Oberjager Fickerberger and the Unterjager Schaffer of the second battalion of jagers, penetrated into the French emperor's guard, and seized one of the enemy's captains in the midst of his ranks. The private Larda, of duke Albert's cuirassiers, retook a six-pounder which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and brought it back with its equipage. Serjeant Pap, of Chasteler's, snatched the colours of his battalion, from the hands of the dying first lieutenant Cazan, who had himself taken it from the ensign who had been killed, and headed his troop with the most exemplary intrepidity. Among the artillery there are few but what highly distinguished themselves by deeds of the most daring and contempt of every danger. But a grateful country will not fail to hold in honourable remembrance the departed heroes who found death in the arms of victory. In this number those particularly worthy of mention are, colonel de Fiennes, of Bellegarde's;—major Danzer, of O'Reilly's;—major Gerdech, of Froon's;—captain Charles Kaiser and Konovsky, of Rosenberg's;—captain Surgeant, of Reuss Greyz's;—first lieutenant Cazan, of Chasteler's;—and lieutenant Zakazill, of



the artillery, who displayed the most extraordinary proofs of valour, and with his dying breath recommended his widow to the paternal care of his majesty.

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*From the Lisbon Gazette Extraordinary, June 1.—Letter from D. Manuel De Uria Y Llano, to his Excellency Senor Francisco De Silveira.*

Most Excellent Sir—I have received a dispatch from general de Valdeorras D. Jose Ranaon de Quiroga e Uria, dated in Cosoyo, the 23d current, which is as follows :—

“I just received from the Secretary of the Junta of Montforte, a letter of the 21st instant, of which the annexed is a copy :—“ Irmao, governor of Quiroga, informs me, that the French have been engaged with our army during three successive days. The principal action was at Ponte-vicevo, between Meira and Lugo, in which the enemy lost 3,000 men in killed and prisoners, and 2,000 Germans who abandoned his standard. The firing ceased on the 20th, at ten in the morning, when a capitulation was proposed. I could not prevail upon myself to delay communicating to your excellency intelligence so agreeable. You will have the goodness to inform their excellencies the English and Portuguese generals of these events.” To which I have to add the following :

“The army of the marquis de la Romana attacked the French on the side of Meira, and pursued them to Paraday. From thence the enemy retreated to Clemente, where he was surrounded, and a terrible fire of artillery and musquetry was opened upon him. Not until many were killed, he fled towards Lugo, leav-

ing in our hands three pieces of cannon among the other spoils of our victory. Our troops followed up to the gates of the city, in the full expectation that the place would be taken either by capitulation or force. By good fortune the Apostle Mazarrado who so often has sworn on the Evangelists, fealty to his king in Astorga, happened to be in Lugo, in company with Lot. Ney has escaped, and we are assured that he entered Asturias with 2,000 men, and for our consolation he will probably there remain. The English are in sight of Corunna and Ferrol with a great number of vessels, and have determined to disembark at those places.—Farreira, 21st of May, 1809.

The same general writes me also as follows :—At seven o'clock this evening, I received an official dispatch of the capture of Lugo, by marshal Don Nicholas Mahi, general second in command of the Army of the Left, in the absence of his excellency marquis de la Romana, commander in chief. This action was glorious, not only from its important effects, but on account of the obstinate resistance of the enemy, who, in the sequel, was conquered with the loss of 4,000 men in prisoners, wounded and killed. I cannot express too strongly my praises of the determined valour of the Spaniards, from whose exertions I expect the best results, and which have already acquired for us in this affair six pieces of artillery, and a quantity of ammunition. I hope you will communicate these acceptable articles of information, with the applause due to the brave, to generals Beresford, Silveira, and whomsoever else they may concern, accompanied also by my best acknowledgments.



ledgments. Seeing Lugo has been taken, and that general Carrera, with a division of more than 6,000 men, is in Ponte de Talevada, between the roads of St. Jago and Orense, hopes may be entertained that the armies of Ney and Soult will be destroyed.—God preserve your excellency, &c.—Five A. M. May 25th, 1809. (Signed)

MANUEL DE URIA Y LLANO.

*Letter from Captain M'Kinley to the honourable W. W. Pole, dated Lively, Vigo, June 2.*

Sir—I have the honour of inclosing to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter I received from brigadier-general Carrera, commanding a division of loyal Spanish troops, giving an account of his taking from the French the city of St. Jago Compostella; by which their lordships will see the spirit and gallantry of the brigadier-general, and the ardour of the troops under his orders.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

GEO. M'KINLEY.

*Head-quarters Santiago, May 23.*

Santiago is in our possession: the enemy, consisting of 3,000 infantry, with 14 pieces of artillery, and 300 horse, came out to meet us, and attacked us on our march in the plain called De la Estrella. Our scouts having fallen in with their voltigeurs, and exchanged some firing, brought me the information, and I ordered the division to form in the best position that could be taken. The enemy attacked with vigour, but were unable to gain the smallest advantage. Our artillery was as good as their's was bad, not a man being

wounded on our side by a cannon ball. After an hour's firing, we became impatient of suffering it, and I ordered Don Pablo Murillo to charge them on their right flank, whilst I advanced in front with the three other columns. The enemy twice took up positions, and were as often dislodged. The unevenness of the ground favoured their escape; in effecting which they shamefully blew up two ammunition chests; two others, with two of clothing, upwards of 600 muskets, and some horses and other articles, which I have not yet examined, fell into our hands.—Murillo entered the city, and pursued the enemy through the streets to the distance of more than a league from hence. I am not yet informed of the number of slain, nor of that of the prisoners, of whom there are many. The general, Maquain, has been severely wounded by two musket shot; the second in command was killed in the field, whose insignia have been brought to me by the soldiers. Our loss has been trifling; the troops are in high spirits, and I may expect much from them. I am, &c.

MARTIN DE LA CARRERA.

*From the London Gazette, July 8.*

*Letters from Captain Hotham to Admiral Lord Gambier, dated from the 22d to the 30th June, 1809.*

In consequence of the defeat sustained by the enemy's army under marshal Ney in the action against the Spanish forces at the bridge of Payo, that General fell back on Corunna on the 13th June, and immediately began to take measures for relinquishing the position of that place and Ferrol, removing his forces



by divisions to an encampment 3 leagues in advance from Betanzos towards Lugo. The last divisions of the French left Ferrol on the 21st and Corunna on the 22d, after having in both places spiked the guns and destroyed the defences on the land side, together with the magazines and stores of every kind, and completely disarmed the places and their inhabitants. The proximity of the enemy's position continuing to hold the authorities established by the French at Corunna in subjection through the fear of his return, no communication being suffered with the British ships but by flag of truce, and the state of defence in which the batteries and lines on the sea side were left, rendering it dangerous for the British to land or approach the coast in the event of the re-appearance of any of the enemy, captain Hotham, on the 24th, ordered a detachment of seamen and marines to land, disable the guns on the different batteries bearing on the anchorage, offering, at the same time, to the governor the services of the detachment in rendering any assistance that might be in its power to the cause of the Spanish Patriots. The cannons and mortars on the sea lines at Corunna, and in the forts commanding the bay, were accordingly dismounted on the same day, leaving untouched those on the lines towards the land which had been spiked by the enemy.

On the 26th, captain Hotham sent captain Parker, of his majesty's ship *Amazon*, to Ferrol, where he was received by the people with the loudest acclamations of joy, and received from the higher orders of the inhabitants the strongest possible marks of attachment to the English, and happiness at seeing

once more amongst them an officer of that nation. The castle of San Felipe, however, was still under the command of a person appointed by marshal Ney, and attached to the French interest, with a garrison composed of a detachment of a legion, raised by the enemy during their possession of Ferrol and Corunna; and on the 27th, captain Hotham received information that the above commandant had given orders to fire on any English ships or boats that might attempt to pass the castle. In consequence, captain Hotham repaired to Ferrol in the *Defiance*, and landed the marines of that ship and the *Amazon*, with a party of armed seamen, under the direction of captain Parker, who entered the castle without opposition, preceded by a flag bearing the name of king Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish colours. The detachment then proceeded to the town of Ferrol, where it was received in the most affectionate manner by the inhabitants, and having arrested the commandant of the castle in the name of king Ferdinand, sent him on board the *Defiance*. The governor of Ferrol not having any means of garrisoning the castle, the guns in it were spiked, and the powder removed to the arsenal, and the place left under the command of the former governor, who had been suspended by the enemy.

On the 28th, captain Hotham entered the port of Corunna, where he was informed by the governor that he had received instructions from the marquis de la Romana, dated at Orense on the 27th, to proclaim his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII: with advice that he had dispatched a regiment from his army to attend the ceremony and gar-

rison



rison the place; the governor at the same time gave captain Hotham assurances that the port was from that hour to be considered under the controul and authority of the lawful king of Spain; and the captain placed himself, and every assistance that the ships under his orders might be able to afford, at the governor's disposal.

On the 29th, major-general the conde de Norona, captain-general of Galicia, arrived at Corunna from St. Jago, and was followed on the next day by general Carrera with about 11,000 men, forming the Conde's division of the marquis Romana's army.

The French army under marshal Ney, moved from its camp near Betanzos on the 22d, taking the road to Lugo and Astorga. It was reported, previously to its breaking up the camp, it destroyed its baggage and heavy artillery.

On the 27th the marquis de la Romana was stated to be at Orense with general Mahi and 30,000 men. Marshal Soult's position on the 16th was said to have been at Montforte and Quiraga.

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*On Thursday, the 1st of August, a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, at which the following resolutions were passed:—*

"That this Court did, on the 6th of April last, express its thanks and gratitude to Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Esq. for his conduct in bringing forward and substantiating serious charges against the late commander in chief, which, notwithstanding the majority in his favour in the House of Commons, compelled his resignation. That

no circumstance has since transpired, which can, in any manner, lessen the importance of that investigation, impeach his motives, or affect the merits of the case. On the contrary, his unwearied exertions, perseverance, and fortitude, under unexampled threats and difficulties, have developed a scene of scandalous abuse and corruption, not only in the army, but in various departments of the state.

"That it has been discovered by the said investigation, that these abuses have extended, not only to the disposal of church and East India patronage, but also to the disposal of seats in the legislature, and charges have been brought forward, and proofs offered, implicating in such corrupt and illegal traffic, Lord Viscount Castlereagh, the Honourable Spencer Perceval, and the Honourable Henry Wellesley, all members of the House, and then and now holding ostensible situations in his Majesty's government, a traffic, which, in the language of the Speaker of the House of Commons, "Would bring a greater scandal upon the parliament and the nation than this country has ever known since parliament has had an existence."

"That the said investigation has also led to the discovery, that the said Lord Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, and late President of the Board of Controul, did, in flagrant breach of his duty as a minister, abuse of his patronage, and gross violation of the constitution, place a writership in the hands of Lord Clancarty, a member of the same Board, for the purpose of obtaining for him a seat in parliament; which fact, the said Lord Castlereagh has himself



self admitted, and, notwithstanding there appeared a smaller majority in his favour, than appeared in favour of the Duke of York, in manifest injustice to his Royal Highness, and gross insult to the nation, the said Lord Castlereagh still retains his official situation.

“That these attacks upon the vital principles of the constitution have been made without punishment or censure; and motions for inquiry into such practices have been rejected, upon the alleged frequency and notoriety of them; and parliament has thereby, as well as by passing a Bill to prevent the sale of seats in that house, recognized and acknowledged the corrupt influence under which it has been called together, and exercised its functions.

“That it was stated by Mr. Wardle, that there was an office publicly kept open for the sale of places under government, and although such statement, when made, only excited the derision of ministers, and the house, it has since appeared that the above statement was correct; and his Majesty’s ministers have indicted and convicted several persons concerned therein, and such practices were declared in the said indictment, to have a tendency to degrade, vilify, and traduce and bring into contempt, the administration of the country.

“That by various statements which Mr. Wardle has lately submitted to parliament, it appears, that, by a correction of the frauds, abuses, corruption and speculation, which have been found to exist in every branch of the public expenditure, to which inquiry has extended, and a wise and honest application of our resources, the people

might be relieved from heavy and oppressive burthens, if not wholly from that inquisitorial, and most grievous of all imposts, the tax upon income. That his conduct on this occasion seems to have drawn upon him, in a high degree, the malice and rancour of those who are interested in the continuance of these abuses.

“That in the opinion of this court, individuals who devote their exertions towards exposing and correcting public abuses, are at all times entitled to the support and protection of the country, particularly at the present moment, when there appears an unabating effort on the part of those notoriously under the influence of government, or who participate in the existing frauds, corruptions, and peculations, to cry down, vilify and traduce every man who has courage and integrity to expose such practices, in order to mislead the public, and divert their attention from these great evils.”

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*Official account, by General Cuesta, of the Battle of Talavera, to the Secretary at War, dated Seville, Sept. 7.*

Most excellent Sir—I removed my head-quarters on the 21st current, to Velada, according to what I mentioned in my former dispatch of the same night. This communication was made after I had seen at Oropesa, in the evening of that day, the gallant and illustrious army of the English.

These forces having all reunited in that town, I ordered my vanguard to be placed before Velada, concluding that the firing I then discovered, was a skirmishing of our parties with an advanced body of the



the enemy, stationed at that time in the district of Gamonal, two leagues distant from Talavera, and which in the sequel was routed and pursued to Casar. At break of day, on the 22d, my army being assembled in the extensive plain between Velada and Talavera, I directed that the vanguard, under the intrepid chief, brigadier-general Don Josef de Zayas, should charge the enemy, who had been reinforced with the division of cavalry of general Latour Maubourg, and I directed that the divisions of infantry and cavalry should march in close order, that thus advancing towards Talavera, they might resist the attack, if the French should endeavour to force the entrance to this place, as they seemed to have determined. The dispatch of Zayas, No. 1. sent by this opportunity, will give you a perfect knowledge of what occurred on that morning.

The whole army followed the vanguard, passing by Talavera, and took up a position in the olive grounds, between that town and the river Alberche.

The British army on the night of the 21st, marched from Oropesa, and on the following morning, united with us, and while the vanguard attacked and repulsed the enemy, the English also filed off by Talavera, to take up a position on our left, according to the plan agreed. It was, most excellent sir, a magnificent exhibition, when we saw the combined armies in a plain of two leagues extent, advancing upon the enemy, and most brilliant and gratifying was the admirable order, firmness and gallantry, with which this movement was performed by our allies. The whole evening of the 22d we were reconnoitering the

camp of the enemy, when we took some prisoners between the wood and the olive grounds, who could not reach their vanguard, which had been obliged to retreat in consequence of an intrepid charge by our cavalry.

During the whole of the 23d, nothing deserving notice happened. It was employed in examining the position of the enemy, who had again concentrated his forces in the district of Casalegas, and on the adjacent heights, preserving his vanguard supported by some pieces of artillery on the bridge and shores of the river Alberche, and which fired the greater part of the day on our skirmishing parties.

I had agreed with the general in chief of his Britannic majesty's army, sir Arthur Wellesley, as to the attack on the bridge and shores of the river before day break on the 24th, and to this purpose, I sent onward the 5th division of infantry, under marshal de Camp D. Luis de Bassecourt, in the evening of the 23d, in order, that after having crossed at the ford of Cardiel, three leagues from Talavera, they might march by the contiguous heights, so as by break of day on the 24th, to fall on the rear-guard and right flank of the army of the enemy at Casalegas. At the same hour I proposed to attack in person on the left flank, and a part of his front, while the English army assailed the whole of his right. The flight of the enemy during the night of the 23d disconcerted this plan, and when at dawn of the 24th, we saw the French camp abandoned, I thought it proper to follow them with my army alone (as the British army remained in Casalegas and the shores of the Alberche) with the hope of reaching his



his rear-guard, or some portion of it. The news which I acquired of his route, apprized me that he had proceeded in two columns by Santa Olalla, and Cebolla, and in consequence, I divided my army so as to follow him in both directions.—Notwithstanding the forced march of my army, who made their day's progress without fatigue, we could not accomplish our object, as the enemy had early commenced his retreat, and had proceeded with great rapidity. On the 24th, having posted myself in Santa Olalla, I ordered the troops which had taken the road of Cebolla to join me, with the exception of the 5th corps, which I left there to watch the district, placing the vanguard in the neighbourhood of Alcabon, from whence the piquets of the enemy were dislodged, and pursued to Torrijos, where a considerable part of the army of the enemy was stationed.

The whole of the 25th was engaged in giving repose to the troops and in apportioning the rations, which were extremely deficient.—Parties of the French during the day were employed either in endeavouring to dislodge us from our post, or to reconnoitre our situation, but in both attempts they were disappointed by the valour of the officers commanding the skirmishing parties, who attacked them on all sides, and prevented their approach. At nine o'clock at night, of the same day, I had information that the enemy was advancing upon Torrijos, and that his whole army was in movement, but my advices did not instruct me to which point the greater part was proceeding. On hearing this, I apprised the generals and dispatched an officer to general

Wellesley. In consequence of his determination and direction, and on finding my vanguard powerfully attacked on the morning of the 26th, by a very superior force, and the enemy indicating a design of making a general attack, I resolved to make a retrograde movement upon the Alberche, to reunite with the English, which I effected on the evening of the same day. The dispatches of brigadier-general Don Josef de Zayas, and of lieutenant-general the duke of Alburquerque, No. 2 and 3, explain the particulars of the action on the morning of that day, and in which the corps there mentioned acquired great credit for their firmness, and valour, &c.

Thus the evening of the 26th concluded; and after having conferred with general Wellesley that night on our situation, I resolved to re-pass the Alberche on the morning of the following day, when we agreed that the right line should be taken by the Spanish, and the left by the English army. The English vanguard remained during that night in Casalegas, and on the heights near it, under lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, with orders to retire to the opposite side of the river, which were obeyed on the morning of the 27th.

I must now observe, that at dawn on the 24th, marshal Victor had withdrawn from the post he occupied on the shores of the Alberche, in order to avoid the attack meditated on that day by the allied armies; and he afterwards united himself in the neighbourhood of Tolledo, with the forces under general Sebastiani, and with 8,000 men, composing the guard of the royal impostor, who took the command of the whole, thus congregated, assisted by marshals



shals Jourdon and Victor, and by general Sebastiani.

It now appeared that the enemy wished to bring on a general action, by the frequent approach of his advanced guard, and by the occupation of Santa Olalla by the whole of his army on the evening of the 26th. His out posts then approached the allied army. Thus circumstanced, at break of day on the 27th, the position agreed upon was taken; and sir Arthur Wellesley ordered general Mackenzie, with a division of English infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, to continue in the olive plantation on the right side of the Alberche, where this party, composing the vanguard, might cover the right flank of the British army.

The whole combined army occupied an extent of ground of above three miles: the right towards the Tagus, was covered by our native troops, reaching to the front of Talavera. The ground on the left was occupied by the English army, open to and commanded by an elevation, where was assembled in a second line, a division of English infantry, under the orders of general Hill.—Between this height and a chain of mountains at some distance, there is an inclosure, which, in the first instance, general Wellesley did not order to be defended, because it was commanded by the height, and because it was considered too distant to be useful in the approaching battle. The whole of the ground, on which the Spanish army was drawn up, was covered with olive plantations intersected by sinuosities, inequalities and cottages. The great road towards the bridge of Alberche was defended by a strong battery, served by our infantry, in front of the hermitage of Our Lady

of the Prado. The other avenues of the district were defended in a similar manner. Talavera was protected by an appointed garrison, and the rest of the Spanish infantry, forming two lines, was placed behind a village which is at the extremity of the district, and formed a line in continuation of the position taken by the English army. In the centre, and between the two armies, there was a rising ground, where the English had begun to construct a strong redoubt, having in their rear a small plain. At this point was stationed the English general Campbell, who commanded a division of infantry, supported by the brigade of dragoons of general Cotton, and by some squadrons of our cavalry.

Our combined army being thus arranged, the enemy presented himself in considerable force to our view, manifesting, at first, an intention to attack the division of the vanguard under general Mackenzie. In point of fact, he fulfilled this design before that officer was enabled to retire to his proper position, but these gallant and disciplined troops, which composed the brigade of general Mackenzie, of colonel Donkins, the brigade of cavalry of general Anson, and their corps, supported by general Payne, with four regiments of cavalry, posted in the plain and olive grounds of Talavera, retired in most admirable order, but not without some loss in the olive grounds, particularly two of the corps of this division. The regularity, steadiness, and fortitude of all these troops, as well as the military talents of general Mackenzie, were conspicuous in every movement, and this officer is deserving of the highest praise and admiration.



tion for the coolness and serenity with which he withdrew this division to the left of the British army. The number of the enemy increased on the right bank of the Alberche as the day advanced, and every thing indicated his determination to give battle to the combined forces. As dusk approached, he commenced a furious attack by a cannonade, and a charge by the whole of his cavalry, on the right occupied by the Spanish infantry, with the apparent design of breaking through our ranks, posted as I have before described. This attack was received by an active fire, perfectly well sustained, both of cannon and musketry, which disconcerted the purpose of the enemy and put him to flight at a quarter past eight.— During this time, a strong division of the French advanced by the valley to the left of the height occupied by the English general Hill, of which with very great loss, they obtained a momentary possession, but Hill returned to the charge presently with the bayonet, drove off the enemy, and recovered his ground. In the night the French repeated their attack, but without succeeding, and with great loss. At break of day, on the 28th, they returned with two divisions of infantry, but they were repulsed by the brave Hill, who could not be intimidated by their repeated attempts, or by the progressive accumulation of the forces of the assailants.

General Wellesley, in consequence of these renewed exertions of the enemy by the valley, on the left side of the height, ordered thither two brigades of his cavalry, supported by lieutenant general the duke of Alburquerque, with the whole of his

division of cavalry. The French, seeing this movement, sent sharpshooters into the chain of mountains to the left of the valley, who were attacked by the 5th division of my infantry under Marshal de Camp Don Louis Bassecourt, who dislodged them with much loss.

The general attack commenced by the advance of different columns of the enemy's infantry with the intention of attacking the height occupied by General Hill. These columns were charged by two parties of English dragoons, under the command of general Anson, led by lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by the brigade of cavalry of the line of general Tanne. One of these regiments of English dragoons suffered very much; but this spirited charge had the effect of disconcerting the designs of the enemy, who sustained a very great loss. At the same time, the French attacked the centre of the army, where the English general Campbell was stationed, having on his right lieutenant-general Don Francisco de Eguia, the enemy was driven back by both these generals, who had their infantry supported by the king's regiment of cavalry, and by the division of lieutenant-general Don Juan de Henestroza. This corps covered itself with glory in the charge that it made on the infantry of the enemy, during which it turned the column by which it was assailed; under which advantage, the English infantry, protected by the Spanish, possessed themselves of the artillery of the enemy. At the same time with these proceedings, the French attacked with fury the centre of the English army, commanded by general Sherbrooke. The foes were received



ceived with extraordinary courage, and were driven back by the whole English division, with charged bayonets. But the English brigade of guards, which was carried on precipitately in the ardour of battle, advanced too far, and was in consequence obliged to withdraw under the fire of the second line, composed of the brigade of cavalry of general Cotton, and of a battalion of infantry detached from the height by general Wellesley, as soon as he observed the remote situation of the guards. General Howorth, who commanded the English artillery, was distinguished for his extraordinary courage, and performed the most important services.

Lieutenant-general Don Francisco de Eguia, my second in command was posted on my left, with the 3d, 4th and 5th divisions, under generals the marquis de Portago, Don Rafael Manglano, and Don Louis Alexandro Bassecourt, but the latter was ordered to support the division of cavalry of lieutenant-general the duke of Alburquerque, which was detached to reinforce the British army. The dispatches No. 4, 5, and 6, from these generals, are inclosed for the information of his majesty.

I took under my particular orders the centre and the right, without neglecting, however, the superintendence of the rest, and with much satisfaction I noticed the conduct of the generals of the 1st and 2d division of the marquis de Zayas and Don Vicente Iglesias, as well as Don Juan Berhuy, and lieutenant-general Don Juan Henestroza, &c.

The loss of the enemy was very great. They left on the field of battle from four to five thousand men, and the number of their wounded is computed at 5,000 more. Two

or three generals were killed, several wounded, and at least 400 other officers. We have taken 19 pieces of artillery, and many waggons of ammunition, and the rout was one of the most complete, considering that we were acting on the defensive. The English have lost general Mackenzie, brigadier-general Langworth, and other officers of distinguished rank and merit. The total of their officers, killed and wounded, is 260, and that of their rank and file 5,000. Our diminution is much less. Don Rafael Manglano was wounded, and 50 more of our officers were killed and wounded, and 1,150 rank and file. Our artillery was served with ability and fortitude, and the names of such officers, whose talents were most conspicuously displayed, are mentioned in the dispatches from the respective generals.

I should be negligent of my own duty, if I did not communicate to your excellency, for the information of his majesty, that the conduct of the British general in chief sir Arthur Wellesley, and that of the generals, subordinate officers and soldiers under his command, is above all praise. I have seen the enthusiasm with which these faithful allies have in copious streams poured forth their blood in the defence of our liberty, and no language can adequately express the sentiments of gratitude with which our breasts are animated. With the highest satisfaction I have noticed my army hailing our companions for the victory obtained, and mingling with exclamations indicative of the warmest affection, the appellatives of our country, and Ferdinand, with those of our powerful and generous allies.

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*[This liberal and spirited eulogy is succeeded by a list of the Officers and others of the Spanish army, who deserved the high reward of the approbation of their Commander, among whom is distinguished a lad of 16 years of age, who killed four Frenchmen with his own hand. We are sorry our limits do not allow our inserting the catalogue of the names of these brave champions of Spanish independence.]*

(Signed) GREGORIO DE  
LA CUESTA.

To his Excellency Don Antonio  
Cornel.

*From the Government Gazette extraordinary of Nov. 23.*

Two dispatches have just been received from the General Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga, dated 19th and 20th, in Turleque and Daimiel, both of which arrived at the same time.

In the first he states, that the enemy having attacked our army in the centre and on the flanks at Ocana, but making their principal effort against our right with a view to turn it, an obstinate resistance was made for three hours, when they were repulsed by the division of the gallant Brigadier Lacey; but the superiority of the enemy's artillery caused a dispersion, which obliged our army to retreat under cover of our vanguard, and 6th division; that our loss is considerable, but the enemy's not less so, as he was repulsed several times by our infantry, and the brisk fire of the artillery.

The Dispatch of the 20th is as follows:—

Excellent Seigneur—I arrived here this night, and to morrow I

shall proceed to Santa Cruz, where I have directed the infantry should join, and the cavalry of this dispersed army will join in Manzanares, with the exception of a part of the second division, under the command of Brigadier Don Gaspar Bigodet, in order to check the enemy (whose advanced posts have this day reached Madridejos, and of whose main body I know nothing), not to permit his drawing near the Sierra Morena, and to preserve my supplies from La Mancha. Then, should it be possible for me, I will give your Excellency an account of our loss. I can, however, in the mean time, inform your Excellency, that it has been very considerable in good Generals and Officers, which is the best proof that these have distinguished themselves on this occasion with the greatest honour; following the example of the Generals of Divisions, who have given proofs of their skill in their good dispositions, and of their characteristic intrepidity.

God preserve your Excellency.

(Signed)

JUAN CARLOS DE AREIZAGA.  
*Head-quarters, Daimiel, Nov. 20,*  
1809.

*Proclamation of the Junta, dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Nov. 21, 1809.*

Spaniards!—Our enemies announce, as positively certain, a peace in Germany, and the circumstances which accompany this notice give it a character of truth which leaves little room for doubt. They already threaten us with the powerful reinforcements which they suppose to be marching to complete our ruin; already, probably elated with



with the favourable aspect which their affairs in the North have assumed, they insolently exhort us to submit to the clemency of the Conqueror, and tamely bow our necks to the yoke.

No, servants of Buonaparte! [the Address afterwards continues,] placed as we are by your baseness, between ignominy and death, what choice would you wish a brave nation to make, but to defend itself to the last extremity? Continue to rob, murder, and destroy, as you have done for these twenty months past; increase that incessantly eternal hatred and thirst for vengeance which we must ever feel towards you. Shall we fall at the feet of the crowned slave whom Buonaparte has sent us for a king, because he burns our temples, distributes our virgins and matrons among his odious satellites, and sends our youth as a tribute to the French Minotaur!

Think not, Spaniards, that the Junta addresses you thus to excite your valour by the arts of language.

What occasion is there for words, when things speak so plainly for themselves? Your houses are demolished, your temples polluted, your fields ravaged, your families dispersed, or hurried to the grave.

Shall we consent to the total destruction of our holy religion in which we were born, and which we have so solemnly sworn to preserve? Our country is laid waste, and we are insulted, and treated as a vile herd of cattle, which are bought and sold, and slaughtered when our master pleases. Remember, Spaniards, the vile and treacherous manner in which this Usurper tore from us our King.

He called himself his ally, his

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protector, his friend; he pretended to give him the kiss of peace, but his embraces are the folds of the serpent, which twine round the innocent victim, and drag him to his cavern. Such perfidy is unknown to civilized nations, and scarcely practised among the most barbarous. The Sovereign we idolize is condemned to groan in solitude, surrounded by guards and spies. Amidst his sufferings, he can only silently implore the valour of his beloved Spaniards for liberty or vengeance.

There can be no peace while these things subsist. That Spain may be free, is the universal wish of the nation. That Spain may be free, or that it may become an immense desert, one vast sepulchre, where the accumulated carcasses of French and Spaniards shall exhibit to future ages our glory and their ignominy. But this wretched fate is not to be feared by brave men. Victory, sooner or later, must be the reward of fortitude and constancy. What but these defended the small republics of Greece from the barbarous invasion of Xerxes? What protected the capitol when assailed by the Gauls? What preserved it from the arms of Hannibal? What in more modern times rescued the Swiss from German tyranny, and gave independence to Holland? What, in fine, inspires at present the Tyrolèse with such heroic resolution, that, though surrounded on every side by enemies, and abandoned by their protectors, they take refuge in their rocks, and on the summits of their mountains, and hurl defiance and defeat on the battalions of the conqueror of Dantzic. The God of armies, for whom we suffer, will give us success, and

H h

conduct



conduct us through all the dangers that surround us to the throne of independence.

Spaniards, the Junta announces this to you frankly, that you may not for a moment be ignorant of the danger which threatens your country; it announces it to you, with confidence that you will show yourselves worthy of the cause which you defend, and of the admiration of the universe.

[The Address goes on to exhort the Spanish nation to submit to every privation, and make every sacrifice to save the State.]

When the storm rages, the most valuable treasures must be thrown into the sea to save the vessel from sinking.

Perish the man whose selfishness can render him wanting in his duty, or induce him to conceal what is necessary to be distributed among his brethren, for the common defence! Perish a thousand times the wretch who can prefer his own interest to the delivery of his country! All such the state will severely punish. Our enemies omit no means which can be employed for our destruction, and shall we neglect any which can conduce to our preservation? There are provinces which have driven out the enemy from among them, and shall not those, who have not yet suffered from such a scourge, sacrifice every thing to preserve themselves from it. Our brave soldiers endure the rigours of winter, and the scorching heats of summer, and nobly encounter all the dangers of battle; and shall we, remaining quietly at our homes, forgetful of their incalculable fatigues, think only of preserving our wishes, and refuse to resign even the least of our luxurious enjoyments?

The victory must be ours, if we continue and conclude the great enterprise we have undertaken with the same enthusiasm with which we began it. The colossal mass of force and resistance which we must oppose to our enemy, must be composed of the forces of all, of the sacrifices of all; and then what will it import, that he pours upon us anew the legions with which he has been successful in Germany, or the swarm of conscripts he endeavours to drag from France? The experience we have obtained in two campaigns, and our very desperation, will consign these hordes of banditti to the same fate which the former have suffered. If some of the Monarchs of the North have consented to become the slaves of this new Tamerlane, and at the expence of ages of infamy have purchased a moment's respite till their turn shall come to be devoured, we are resolved to perish or triumph. The alliance we have contracted with the British nation continues and will continue. That nation has lavished for us its blood and its treasures, and is entitled to our gratitude, and that of future ages.

[The Address thus concludes]

Here was drawn, never to be sheathed, the sword of eternal hatred to the execrable tyrant; here was raised, never to be lowered, the standard of independence and justice. Hasten to it all ye who wish not to live under the abominable yoke, ye who cannot enter into a league with iniquity, and ye who are indignant at the cowardly desertion of deluded Princes, hasten to us. Here the valiant shall find opportunities of acquiring true honour; the wise and virtuous obtain respect, and the



the oppressed find an asylum—our cause is the same, the same be our danger, the same our reward. Come hither, and in despite of all the arts, and all the power of this inhuman despot, you shall witness how we will render dim his star, and be ourselves the creators of our own destiny.

(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OF  
LAODICEA, President.  
PEDRO DE RIVERO, Secretary.

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*Correspondence between Sir John Moore and Mr. Frere.*

It appears from the printed correspondence between Sir John Moore and Mr. Frere, that Mr. Frere used all his influence, and attempted to exercise his *authority* over Sir John Moore to make him advance with the army, when it was decidedly the general's opinion that nothing was left for him but to retreat. Mr. Frere talks of the ardent and determined spirit of the Spaniards, and of the desperate resistance which they were resolved to make, but never hints at a concert of operations, of any arrangement that had been taken for this effect, or of any means by which a system of general co-operation might be established. Mr. Frere has not even yet ceased to dream about counter revolutions in France!

"Every great effort (says he) on the part of France has been preceded by an interval of weakness, or internal disturbance; an advantage, therefore, which should be obtained at this moment would be of double importance, inasmuch as it would render a conscription for a third attempt upon Spain infinitely difficult."

And again—

"The covering Madrid is surely a great matter for effort in Spain, and much more in France."

The following is the letter alluded to the other night by Lord Auckland, which was sent by Mr Frere to Gen. Moore, by a *Frenchman*:—

*"Talavera de la Reyna, Dec. 3, 1808."*

"Sir,—In the event which I did not wish to presuppose, of your continuing in the determination already announced to me, of retiring with the army under your command, I have to request that the bearer of this, whose intelligence has been already referred to, may be previously examined before a council of war. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "J. H. FRERE."

In reply to this petulant, presumptuous letter, Sir John Moore makes the following observation—

"I have thought it my duty thus calmly to explain to you the reasons which have and do actuate my conduct, and I wish anxiously, as the King's Minister, to continue upon the most confidential footing with you; and I hope, as we have but one interest, the public welfare, though we may occasionally see it in different aspects, that this will not disturb the harmony that should subsist between us. Fully impressed as I am with these sentiments, I shall abstain from any remark upon the two letters from you delivered to me last night and this morning by——, or on the message which accompanied them."

And in the same letter, alluding to some remarks which Mr Frere had made upon his first retreat, Sir John observes—

"With respect to the determination which I made on the  
H h 2 evening



evening of the 28th, upon receiving from Mr. Stuart the account of Castano's defeat, I should, had you been with me, have communicated it to you, but should never have thought of asking your advice or opinion, as that determination was founded on circumstances with which you could not be acquainted; and was, besides, a question merely military, of which I should have thought myself the best judge."

How ministers could have the boldness to assert that this correspondence did not at all respect the march of the army, when they were in possession of the following letter we cannot possibly conceive:—

*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. J. H. Frere to Lieut. Gen. Sir John Moore, dated Truxillo, 9th Dec. 1808.*

"Sir,—After the representations which have been made to you from other quarters, I can hardly hope that a further remonstrance on my part can produce any effect, where high military rank and authority, and the influence of persons whom, I am told, you honour with your private esteem, have been found unavailing.

"The advantages which Mr. Stuart possesses in this respect will, I hope, enable him to urge you with the warmth of personal regard, what I may be allowed to state at least with impartiality and candour, towards a person with whom I am no otherwise acquainted than by the honour which he has done me by his correspondence; I mean the immense responsibility which you take upon yourself by adopting, upon a supposed military necessity, a measure which must be followed by the immediate, if not the final

ruin of our ally, and by the indelible disgrace to the country with whose resources you are intrusted.

"I am unwilling to enlarge upon a subject in which my feelings must either be stifled or expressed at the risk of offence, which, with such an interest at stake, I should feel unwilling to excite; but thus much I must say, that if the British army had been sent abroad for the express object of doing the utmost possible mischief to the cause of Spain, (with the single exception of not firing a shot against the Spanish troops,) they would, according to the measure now announced as about to be taken, have most completely fulfilled their purpose.

"That the defence of Gallicia should be abandoned, must appear incredible. I am, &c.

(Signed) "J. H. FRERE."

*Intercepted Letter from Mr. Champagny, Minister of Foreign affairs, to Buonaparte.*

PARIS, DEC. 11, 1808.

Sire,—The correspondence of this day does not furnish me with any letter to lay before your Majesty.

"M De Romanzoff has conversed with me upon the dispatches he received from St. Petersburg yesterday. The Emperor, his master, had the goodness to write to him, upon the affairs of his department, a letter of four pages, which places him altogether *au courant*. Before he received it he scarcely conceived himself to be minister of foreign affairs; for he was no longer informed of any thing. He had the kindness to give me an analysis of it,—it is as follows:

"The Emperor of Russia speaks  
of



of the success he has just obtained in Finland—yet he is but half satisfied with General Buxhöwden, and he means to replace him. The reply of the English government deprives him of almost all hope of a speedy peace—yet he thinks that it is of importance always to keep a door open for negotiation, and afterwards, whatever be the success of it, to go forward—he has given an example of this in his reply to Prince Kourakin, who had given him an account of the little success he had in demanding of the court of Vienna the acknowledgment of Joseph the First. M. De Romanzoff read me this letter of the emperor to Prince Kourakin—I think your majesty will be satisfied with it. The Emperor of Russia is astonished at the refusal of Austria, under the pretext on which it is founded. Austria wishes first to know the result of the conferences of Erfurth.

“ ‘It is by disobliging,’ says the Emperor, ‘that she pretends to merit complaisance? Why is she uneasy at what has been signed at Erfurth? Far from having wished to injure the interests of Austria, there was stipulated there the integrity of that Monarchy.’ (This assertion is *evidently a mistake* of the Emperor’s, who had not the Treaty before him, an error occasioned probably by the recollection of some conversations with your Majesty.) ‘Thus whilst I am occupied with her interests,’ continues the Emperor, ‘she replies by a refusal to accede to the demand I had made of her, and in seeming to seek my friendship, she evinces to me her distrust of my conduct at Erfurth.’—The emperor accuses Austria of contradictions in all her

conduct, and in the language of M. De Metternich, M. De Stadion, and M. Vincent, he says that the acknowledgment demanded of her was but the effect of the *management* which it was wished to shew her, in thus dispensing with the demand of a categorical declaration upon the prodigious increase of her military force. He does not see what is the object which she is pursuing; and after having observed, that when King Joseph shall be at Madrid, the refusal of Austria to acknowledge him will only be an act of ridicule, he declares, that if she has formed the senseless project of framing a new Coalition, by leaguering herself with England, Turkey, and the Spanish insurgents, he is in a condition to oppose it, and that, united with the Emperor Napoleon, he could easily break that new league, which would be to Austria the cause of disasters, if not of total ruin.

“ Such is the reply of the Emperor Alexander to Prince Kourakin; it was to be sent to the Russian Charge d’Affairs at Vienna, who has orders to communicate it to M. De Stadion. The Charge d’Affaires has lately written to M. Kourakin; it appears that this dispatch of the Emperor’s had not reached him, though it is dated the 8th November.

“ I could have wished that M. De Romanzoff would have left me a copy, but I soon perceived that he was desirous of presenting it himself to your Majesty, and that he was in hopes of your speedy return. That hope was too sweet to every Frenchman, as well as to M. De Romanzoff (who respects and admires your Majesty almost as much as a Frenchman), for me to



weaken the hope which I am fond of sharing with him—But if it cannot be soon realized, I shall renew to your Majesty the demand of repairing to you, if after the reply from England, my remaining here should appear useless.

“I had the satisfaction to announce to M. De Romanzoff, the arrival of your Majesty at St Martin, near Madrid, referring him for the details to the Bulletin which will appear to morrow, of the contents of which I am not yet informed.

“I am with respect, Sire,  
Your Majesty's most faithful,  
And devoted servant and subject,  
CHAMPAGNY.”

*At a General Court of Proprietors of the West-India Dock Company, held at their House in Bilitier-Square, on Friday the 6th of June, 1809, Thomas Hughan, Esq in the chair; the Chairman read to the Meeting a Report from a Committee of Directors, on the General Conduct of the Company's Concerns, to the end of the year 1808; which was ordered to be printed for the use of the proprietors*

REPORT.—*The committee of Review, in compliance with the Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 20th December last, directing that they should “Report to the Court the present state of business at the Docks, and such circumstances respecting the Company's Concerns during the last Season, as may appear to them to require observation,” present the following Report.*

The season just elapsed having been one of peculiar difficulty in the conduct of the Company's con-

cerns, and in which the efficacy and resources of the Establishment have been called into action, and put to the test, it is matter of singular gratification to your Committee to be enabled to state, that the exertions of your officers and servants have been successful in the discharge of their duty; and that the business of the year, in all its various departments, although impeded by circumstances embarrassing and unprecedented, has been completed at a period unusually early. To the details which are necessarily connected with this (the more immediate) object of your Committee, they premise a few remarks, founded upon those facts and incontrovertible principles to which your Establishment owes both its origin and its utility.

However unwilling some persons may be to awaken the recollection, yet it cannot be generally forgotten, what were the excessive delays, increasing difficulties, and glaring abuses, which not many years ago obstructed, in an especial manner, the West-India Trade at this port, and called aloud for a remedy. The records exist which prove the enormity of the evil, progressively affecting the credit of the port, the safe collection of the revenue, and the property of individuals connected with the trade, in times otherwise prosperous, and seriously contributing to degrade and corrupt the morals of the people. To these causes your Establishment owes its origin; an effectual reform could only be sought in a great and costly effort. The individuals who formed and who composed the Company, undertook, at very considerable risk, to make the effort requisite for a purpose so desirable.

The obstacles that must occur in combating



combating numerous and powerful classes of opponents determined by prejudice, or stimulated by interest, could only be surmounted by that union of zeal, perseverance, and ability, which were on this occasion combined, and being sanctioned by a provident policy in the legislature, (fortunately for the commercial prosperity of London,) proved successful. These opponents although silenced were not reconciled. To the origin and character of the Establishment itself, as opposed to individual and petty exactions, may be traced the source of much of that spirit of discontent and hostility which it has since encountered, and which has pursued its object, by misrepresentations, most gross, and yet too frequently credited; but it is a rigid enquiry into their conduct, and an impartial investigation of their principles and proceedings, that will furnish to the Company the surest means of vindicating themselves, and demonstrating, that they have, in all liberal construction, accomplished the good purposes of the undertaking, and fulfilled their engagements to the public.

By the general view of its merits and demerits, and not by its adaptation to any one particular occurrence, ought every public Establishment in fairness to be tried; but your Committee are confident that the Company need not shrink from a more minute scrutiny, and enquiry, how far its provisions and regulations are already compatible with the separate and distinct interests of different bodies connected with the West-India trade; although they may and will on the test of experiment, and by suggestions of those most interested, be ultimately still farther perfected.

The security afforded to property, and the prevention of frauds, are purposes which your institution is universally admitted to have attained, and in these objects, the interests of the public revenue of the importers and proprietors of goods, and of the ship owners, are all intimately blended, and most essentially promoted; and yet these topics, of the highest importance to the state, and to individuals, (when clamour is to be excited against your system), are seldom adverted to, and although it would be no difficult task to prove that the duty saved to the revenue, and the property preserved to individuals, by these means, amounts annually to many hundred thousand pounds, yet your Committee abstain from a superfluous illustration of a fact so generally acknowledged, and proceed to details which are more connected with some late discussions concerning the conduct of your Establishment.

If the Warehousing System be productive of great practical benefit both to internal and foreign commerce, it must not be overlooked, that so far as the West India trade is concerned, it could not have been carried into effect, without some Establishment equivalent to that which thus originated. It is well known that during many years of his administration, the advantages that might result from that system both to the revenue and to the trade, had presented themselves to the comprehensive mind of that able minister, the late Mr. Pitt, and that he only suspended its adoption, until some adequate improvement should be made in the port of London, under which it might be safely carried in-



to effect. Your Establishment had hardly begun its operation before the provisions of that system were enacted by the legislature, the advantages of which, great as they are, have been necessarily attended by some additional delay and embarrassment to business, which the Company has endeavoured to meet with promptitude, and with the requisite additions to their Establishment.

The benefits accruing to the West-India body generally, and the degree of accommodation and dispatch afforded by the Company, your Committee conceive will be best illustrated by a few concise statements, as they are desirous that on disputed points an appeal may be made solely to the evidence of facts. They will here premise, that whatever advantages it shall appear have been obtained for the trade, are secured to it without any additional expence being incurred; the Company on its formation having undertaken for the term of their charter, to provide all the accommodation which the Dock System affords, and to perform all the services and labour necessary to ships and goods at importation, for the charges then current at the port, although such charges had been previously and almost annually advancing.

In order to shew how far the means and resources of the Company have been properly applied, and the dispatch given to ships, your Committee will first call the attention of the Court to an account, shewing the number of ships employed in the West-India trade which have been discharged in the Docks in the last six years, with the dates at which the business of

each season appears to have been respectively completed.

Year.	No. of Ships.	Finished Landing.
1803.....	363.....	14 Jan. 1804
1804.....	354.....	29 Dec. 1804
1805.....	421.....	22 Jan. 1806
1806.....	477.....	2 Feb. 1807
1807.....	503.....	24 Dec. 1807
1808.....	598.....	593 completed 3 Dec. 1808

by which it will appear, that such has been the increase of the West-India trade, that 95 ships have been unloaded this season in addition to the greatest number ever before received, and 174 ships more than the average number of the preceding five years. In the period between the beginning of July and the beginning of December, a space of five months, when circumstances of the greatest difficulty occurred, upwards of 460 ships were unloaded, exclusive of smaller vessels and craft, with cargoes consisting of 159,804 hhds. and trs. of Sugar.—26,917 puns. and hhds., Rum.—31,675 hhds. and trs., 125,480 bags, Coffee.—10,855 bales, 487 pockets, &c. Cotton.—35 casks, 2,732 bags, Pimento.—351 casks, 2,411 bags, Ginger.—822 casks, 7,223 bags, Cocoa.—1,797 casks, Wine. Making a total of 11,342 bales, 137,851 bags, 221,401 casks, and from the 10th Oct. to the 28th Nov. 150 ships were entirely unloaded at the quays. This being the precise period when it was stated to the lords of the treasury, that owing to the negligence of the directors, only 8 or 9 ships were at that time unloaded weekly, and proceeding on that calculation, that 108 ships then in the docks would necessarily be delayed some months, (we must presume not less than three), and on such, and other equally unfounded pretexts,



pretexts, was grounded an application for an infringement of the Company's privileges. Whereas the fact is, that these 108 ships, with the addition of others subsequently admitted, were unloaded in the month of November, such only excepted as were delayed by causes not dependant on the Company.

The general state of the business performed by the Company during the last year will stand thus:—598 ships have unloaded, and 106 smaller vessels and craft;—of the above number of 598 ships, 593 were completed upon the 3d Dec. 1808.

Thus so early as the close of the month of November, the great body of shipping in the West-India trade were completely cleared of their cargoes; an instance of dispatch singular and unexampled, and evidently proving the superiority of your Establishment, particularly under the embarrassing circumstances of an extraordinary accumulation of produce on hand, occasioned by an almost total stagnation of export: if these advantages be contrasted with the delays, impediments, losses, and abuses, which must have arisen under the former system, their value will be incalculable.

During the utmost pressure, and under peculiar circumstances of the season, the Company did undertake to provide at his own expence, and beyond its exclusive means, an extraordinary provision of warehouse room, but it did not become necessary to resort to it, beyond an accommodation for 5747 casks and 4137 boxes, and 511 barrels of prize or foreign sugar, and thus may the dispatch given to the shipping in such a season, afford the best proof

of the adequacy of the Company's resources to the general exigencies of the trade; but it may be proper to add the following statement of the quantity of goods actually lodged within your warehouses at one time, exclusive of the articles on the quays;—102,647 hhds. and trs., 11,612 chests and brls. of Sugar.—14,681 puns. and hhds. of Rum.—38,239 hhds. and trs., 190,403 bags, Coffee.—1,411 bales, 164 pockets, &c., Cotton.—24 casks, 3,168 bags Pimento.—201 casks, 1,006 bags, Ginger.—1,100 casks, 13,257 bags, Cocoa.—1,786 casks, Wine.—Making a total of 11,612 chests, &c. 1,575 bales, 207,839 bags, 158,678 casks. Let this statement be compared with all the accommodation existing at the port, for the housing of West-India produce, previous to the formation of the docks, which according to the best computation in respect to the article of Sugar only, was not capable of containing beyond one third of the quantity, which has been actually deposited in your warehouses.

The system of providing distinctly for the shipping of goods to the West-Indies, and the security afforded thereby both to the ships and goods, belongs peculiarly to your Establishment; and, to a system so recent and dependant upon corresponding regulations of the revenue boards, it cannot reasonably be reproached that it is yet susceptible of improvement; sufficient however has appeared to shew that this part of your Establishment, is one, which must eventually prove of essential benefit to the West-India trade of the port.

The regulations of the Company have all been framed in strict consistency with its solid and permanent interests,



interests, by a constant and primary regard to the security of property, the interests of the revenue, and the accommodation of the trade, and not in any case directed by narrow views of present profit, in contradistinction to those more essential objects.

With the laws and regulations of the revenue departments it is necessary that the Company should co-operate, and sometimes it has been accused of disappointments, and delays, originating solely in that connection. But in respect to that part of the system, over which your Directors have controul, they are ready, at all times, to adopt suggestions for improvement, whenever they shall be found upon attentive consideration to be compatible with the great objects of the institution.

The principles by which the Court of Directors have uniformly governed their conduct, have been those of sound discretion in the application of the funds of the Company, a liberal construction, and performance, of its engagements with the public, and a scrupulous impartiality in the administration of business.

How far these objects have been faithfully pursued, and successfully accompanied, may best be evinced: as to the first by the prosperous state of your finances; as to the second by the details furnished by, and the facts connected with this report; and, as to the last, it may fairly be demanded whether one single instance of deviation can be produced.

*vessels in the Mediterranean, to the hon. W. W. Pole; dated on board the Ocean, off Toulon, the 19th of October, 1808.*

Sir,—I inclose a letter which I have just received from the right hon. lord Cochrane, captain of the *Imperieuse*, stating the services which he has been employed in on the coast of Languedoc. Nothing can exceed the activity and zeal with which his lordship pursues the enemy. The success which attends his enterprizes clearly indicates with what skill and ability they are conducted; besides keeping the coast in constant alarm, causing a total suspension of the trade, and harassing a body of troops employed in opposing him, he has, probably, prevented those troops which were intended for Figueras from advancing into Spain, by giving them employment in the defence of their own coasts.—On the coast towards Genoa, the enemy has been equally annoyed by the *Kent* and *Wizard*. Those ships have had that station some time to prevent the French ships sailing from Genoa, and have almost entirely stopped the only trade the enemy had, which is in very small vessels:—during their cruize there they have taken and destroyed twenty-three of those coasters.—I enclose the letter of captain Rogers, giving an account of the attack made at Noli, and the capture of the vessels in the road.

I have the honour to be, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

*Imperieuse, Gulf of Lyons, Sept. 28.*

My lord,—With varying opposition, but with unvaried success, the newly-constructed semaphoric telegraphs, which are of the utmost consequence to the safety of the numerous convoys that pass along the

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*Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, Commander in chief of his majesty's ships and*



the coast of France, at Bourdique, La Pinede, St. Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Foy, have been blown up and completely demolished, together with their telegraph-houses, fourteen barracks of the gens d'armes, or Douanes, one battery, and the strong tower upon the lake of Frontignan.—Mr. Mapleton, first lieutenant, had command of these expeditions; lieutenant Johnson had charge of the field pieces, and lieutenant Hore of the royal marines. To them and to Mr. Gilbert, assistant-surgeon; Mr. Burney, gunner; Messrs. Stewart and Stovin, midshipmen, is due whatever credit may arise from such mischief, and for having with so small a force drawn about two thousand troops from the important fortress of Figueras in Spain to the defence of their own coasts.—The conduct of lieutenants Mapleton, Johnson and Hore, deserves my best praise, as well as that of the other officers, royal marines, and seamen. I have, &c.

COCHRANE.

Imperieuse, None killed; none wounded; one singed blowing up a battery.—French, One commanding officer of troops killed; how many others unknown.

*H. M. S. Kent, off Genoa, August 2.*

Sir,—I beg leave to acquaint you, that yesterday, running along the coast from Genoa towards Cape del Melle, we discovered a convoy of ten sail of coasters deeply laden, under the protection of a gun-boat, at anchor close to the breach abreast of the town of Noli; and as there appeared a fair prospect of bringing them out by a prompt attack before the enemy had time to collect his force, I instantly determined to send in the boats of the Kent and

Wizard; and as there was but little wind, I directed captain Ferris, of the Wizard, to tow in and cover the boats, which immediately put off, and, by great exertion, soon towed her close to the vessels, when it was found impossible to bring them out without landing, most of them being fastened to the shore by ropes from their keels and masts. The boats therefore pulled to the beach with great resolution, exposed to the fire of two guns in the bow of the gun-boat, two field-pieces placed in a grove which flanked the beach, a heavy gun in front of the town, and a continued fire of musketry from the houses; but these were no check to the ardour and intrepidity of British seamen and marines, who leaped from the boats, and rushed upon the enemy with a fearless zeal that was not to be resisted. The gun in front of the town was soon taken and spiked by lieutenant Chasman, second of the Kent, who commanded the seamen, and lieutenant Hanlon the royal marines; and the enemy, who had drawn up a considerable force of regular troops in the grove to defend the two field-pieces, was dislodged by captain Rea, who commanded the royal marines, and lieutenant Grant of that corps, who took possession of the field-pieces, and brought them off. In the meantime, lieutenants Lindsay and Moresby of the Kent, and lieutenant Bisset of the Wizard, who had equally distinguished themselves in driving the enemy from the beach, were actively employed in taking possession of the gun-boat, and freeing the vessels from their fasts to the shore; and I had soon the satisfaction to see our people embark, and the whole of the vessels coming out



out under the protecting fire of the Wizard, which, by the judicious conduct of capt. Ferris, contributed very essentially to keep the enemy in check, both in the advance and retreat of the boats.—I should have pleasure in noticing the midshipmen and others who were conspicuous in this little enterprize; but I fear that I have already given a longer detail than it may be thought worthy of, and shall therefore only beg leave to add, that one seaman killed, and one badly wounded (since dead), both of the Kent, is all the loss we sustained. The enemy left many dead on the ground.—The gun boat was a national vessel, called La Vigilante, commanded by an enseigne de vaisseau, with a complement of forty-five men.

THOMAS ROGERS.

P. S. Since writing the above, the boats of the Kent and Wizard have brought out, without mischief, from under the guns of a fort near Leghorn, where they had taken shelter, three laden vessels, and burnt a fourth, which was aground and could not be got off.

#### *Revolution at Buenos Ayres.*—

We have long expected that Liniers was exerting himself to the utmost in favour of the family of Buonaparte and we now learn, by letters from Rio Janiero, of the late date of February 6, that a Revolution took place on the 1st January, in which Liniers triumphed, and is now completely master as Viceroy of the city. It seems that the marriage of his daughter with a young man of the name of Perichon, which was contrary to law, disgusted the people generally, who were, besides, very desirous to elect a Junta, in

imitation of Seville, &c. The Cabildo met, and the usual elections took place on the 1st of January; after which, previous depositions having been made by arming, &c. on both sides, to decide the matter by force, in case of necessity, a negotiation took place between the Cabildo and Liniers, regarding his laying down the sovereign authority. At length the heads of that body went to the Fueste to treat personally with the viceroy, when up went the drawbridge, and they were quickly marched through the Puerto del Socorro to the water side, put on board a schooner, and have been sent off, nobody knows where; but it is supposed that the voyage was not a long one, since it is known there were very few provisions on board. The names of those who thus put themselves into the trap are—Alzaga, Vilanueva, Sta. Coloma, Varela, and another.

As a proof that this revolution is altogether in favour of France, we only need state, that the above mentioned Perichon is a Frenchman by birth, and is the person who was charged by Liniers with dispatches for Buonaparte, giving an account of his defence of Buenos Ayres against the British under gen. Whitelock, and who, on his return from France thro' Spain, on his way back to South America, was, in May or June of last year, apprehended in Andalusia, by order of the Junta of Seville, and confined in Cadiz, from whence it would appear he effected his escape.

The event which has thus taken place, though unfortunate for the patriotic cause of Spain, has removed every difficulty which obstructed the course of operations that it might behove the government of this



this country to pursue, in concert with the prince of the Brazils.— Monte Video still holds out against Liniers, and must be prevented from falling under his authority, or the whole of Spanish America may be lost.

It is to be apprehended, that the French squadron which sailed some time since from L'Orient, may have proceeded to the Rio de la Plata.

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*REPORT from the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Patronage of the East India Company.—Ordered to be printed, 23d March, 1809.*

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices, in regard to the appointment and nomination of writers or cadets in the service of the East India Company; or any agreement, negociation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale thereof; and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the House, together with their observations thereupon; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and their proceedings from time to time, to the House—began their investigation by examining into a case brought before them by George Woodford Thellusson, esq. a member of this House, in which his patronage and confidence appear to have been grossly abused.

The whole evidence being given at length in the appendix, your committee content themselves with inserting in this place, a short abstract only of this, and every other transaction; giving the names of the persons appointed, of those by whom they were recommended, and by

whom their nominations were signed, together with the names of the intermediate agents in any of the negociations where money was paid or received.

Those appointments which have been completed in consequence of any such bargains, and upon which satisfactory evidence has been produced, will be placed first; a second class will be found of nominations which appear to have taken effect, but with regard to which, from the death of some of the parties, or from deficiency of proof in other particulars, your committee are unable to ascertain the names of the persons who were sent out to India. It is a satisfaction to your committee, throughout the whole evidence, to remark nothing which traces any one of these corrupt or improper bargains to any Director, or induces a reasonable suspicion that it was done with the privity or connivance of any member of that court. Several negociations which never took effect, will be found alluded to, or detailed in parts of the evidence; which it was thought proper not to reject under the comprehensive directions "that your committee should enquire into any agreement, negociation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale of such nomination;"—and when such information was received, they deemed it inexpedient to withhold it from this House, though they are fully aware that their desire of opening every channel of enquiry has led to an extent of examination, and to a mass of evidence, from which much might be retrenched without detriment, if it had been easy to establish a satisfactory principle of omission, or abridgment, which might have left nothing wholly irrelevant or trifling, while  
it



it comprehended whatever might be interesting either to this house, or to the East India Company.

*Writers.*—Mr. Ed. Js. Smith was nominated a writer to Bengal in the season 1806-7, by Mr. G. W. Thellusson; the appointment was given to his first cousin, Mr. Emperor J. A. Woodford, who sold the appointment for 3,500*l.* through the agency of Mr. Tahourdin, solicitor, who received 100*l.* out of that sum.—The other persons concerned in this negociation were Mr. Wimbourn and Mr. Laing.

Mr. Fry Magniac was nominated writer to Bengal in the year 1807-8, by Mr. G. W. Thellusson; this appointment was also given to the same Mr. Woodford, and sold through the agency of Mr. Tahourdin. Mr. Beale was the purchaser, and the sum paid by him was 3,500 guineas, of which Mr. Woodford received 3,000*l.* Mr. Tahourdin 150*l.*; the remainder was divided between Mr. Donovan and Mr. Garrat.

Mr. Henry Gardiner was nominated a writer to Madras by Mr. G. W. Thellusson, in the season 1807-8. This appointment was likewise given to Mr. Woodford, and 3,000*l.* was received for it from Mrs. Gardiner, by Mr. Tahourdin for his own use, but upon an undertaking that he is to procure the next presentation of a living of the value of 300*l.* per annum for a friend of Mr. Woodford's. Mr. Boase, a partner in the house of Messrs. Ransom and Co. was privy to the bargain between Mr. Tahourdin and Mrs. Gardiner. Mr. Green-slade received an appointment for Ceylon in the way of exchange for this writership, which is the occasion of his name appearing in the transaction.

*Cadets.*—Mr. Henry Stoughton was appointed a cadet to Madras, January 1808, by George Abercrombie Robinson, esqr. by the recommendation of Mr. Morland, who gave the appointment to Mr. Jones for a relation of his. Mr. Jones, through the agency of John Annesley Shée, sold it to Mr. Stoughton, father to the person appointed, from whom Shée received 500 guineas: he paid 180*l.* to Mr. Jones, and received of him an undertaking to pay 320*l.* upon his procuring for Mr. Jones a Woolwich cadetship. This appointment has been vacated by the Court of Directors, in consequence of their having discovered the means through which it was obtained.

Mr. Thomas Kelly was appointed a cadet to Bombay in April, 1808, by sir Theophilus Metcalfe, bart. at the recommendation of Mrs. Scott. It was afterwards exchanged with Mr. Cotton, at his request, for a Madras cadetship. Wm. Scott, tailor, the husband of Mrs. Scott, sold this appointment to Mr. Kelly, through the agency of David Brown, who received for it 150*l.*: Brown was paid 30*l.* or 40*l.* and a Mr. Southcomb, who introduced some of the parties to each other, received 10 guineas.

Mr. George Barker was appointed cadet for the Bengal Infantry in December, 1808, by Robert Thornton, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Mee. Mr. Mee sold this appointment for 200 guineas, through the agency of John Annesley Shée, who received 60*l.*

Mr. George Teulon was appointed to an Infantry cadetship to Bengal in 1808, by Edward Parry, esq. in exchange for a Madras appointment given to capt. Sealy by Jacob Bosanquet,



Bosanquet, esq. Captain Matthew sold this appointment for 120*l.* to captain Holmes for a friend of his; Annesley M'Kercher Shee was employed as agent for captain Matthew, who paid him 30*l.* and capt. Holmes paid him 10*l.*

Mr. J. S. Williams was appointed to a Bengal cadetship by Mr. Cotton in 1808, in exchange for a Madras cadetship of Mr. Manship's.— This appointment was procured by Mr. Abercrombie, who was assisted with the loan of a sum of money by captain Williams, the cadet's father. Mrs. Eliz. Morrison and A. M'K. Shee, were the agents employed.

Mr. Benjamin Pratt was appointed a cadet to Madras 7th February, 1806, by Sweney Tone, esq. at the recommendation of captain Kennard Smith, who exchanged it with R. C. Plowden, esq. for a nomination of the next season. Mr. B. Pratt was recommended to Mr. Plowden by sir Nicholas Nugent. This appointment was purchased by Mr. H. Foster, through sir Nich. Nugent, for the sum of 150*l.* A. M'K. Shee acted as agent for Mr. Foster, and received 30*l.* or 40*l.* The original appointment was to Bengal, and it was exchanged for Madras.

Mr. John Power was appointed a cadet to Madras in 1804 or 1805, by lord viscount Castlereagh, at the recommendation of lord Longueville, through the earl of Westmoreland. Mr. Power paid 200*l.* for this appointment to M. S. Salt. A. M'K. Shee was the agent for both parties, and received 50*l.* from Mr. Power.

Mr. Brathwaite Christie was appointed a cadet to Madras 15th July, 1807, by James Reid, esq. at the recommendation of his royal highness the duke of Clarence.—

Mr. Page, navy agent in Great Russell-street, paid the sum of 20*l.* for this appointment to A. M'K. Shee, who paid 150*l.* to the rev. Mr. Lloyd, chaplain to his royal highness the duke of Clarence, for procuring the same.

Mr. Thomas Maw was appointed a cadet to Bengal in July, 1807, by Robert Thornton, esq. at the recommendation of the rev. Nicholas Cōrsellis, for Miss Elizabeth Spinluff. Miss Spinluff sold this appointment to Mr. Hewitt, a relation of Mr. Maw, through the agency of Mrs. Morrison and A. M'K. Shee, and received 70*l.* for it. Mrs. Morrison thinks the sum paid was 150*l.* or 180*l.* A. M'K. Shee received 30*l.*

Mr. Arthur Denny was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 18th February, 1806, by G. W. Thelluson, esq. at the recommendation of the countess dowager of Westmoreland, and Mr. George. This appointment was sold by Mr. George.— Mr. Anth. Stoaghton, uncle of the person appointed, paid to J. A. Shee, whom he employed to procure it, the sum of 250 guineas.— David Brown was agent for Mr. George.

Mr. Henry Keating was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 5th June, 1805, by John Manship, esq. at the recommendation of G. W. Thellusson, esq. in return for a Bombay nomination of the season of 1804, given to Mr. Manship.— The uncle of Mr. Henry Keating purchased this appointment of Mr. J. Henderson, ship-broker, for 250*l.* or guineas. J. A. Shee received of Mr. Henderson about 45*l.* for his agency.

Mr. George Boys was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 26th March,



March, 1806, (of the season 1005) by Charles Mills, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. (now sir W.) Fraser. This appointment was given by sir W. Fraser to Mr Thomas Cusac, who sold it to Messrs. Barber and Sons, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, and received of them the sum of 150*l*. They were employed as agents for Mr. Boy's father, who paid for it the sum of 300 guineas. 100*l*. was divided between Mr. Barber and Mr. John Henderson. J. A. Shee was agent for Mr. Cusac.

Mr. W. Collett was appointed a cadet for the Bombay Infantry by the India Board, on the 3d of July, 1805. This appointment was in the nomination of lord Castlereagh, who, at the recommendation of the right honourable John Sullivan, gave it to Richard Codman Etches, for a relation of his, on account of services performed by Mr. Etches for the government. Mr. Etches sold it to Mr. Chaplin, an attorney, for the sum of 250*l*. J. A. Shee was agent for Mr. Pasmore, an attorney, who received the money for Mr. Etches.

Mr. John Manson was appointed cadet for Bengal the 26th February 1808, by the India Board, at the recommendation of Edward Cooke, esq. Mr. C. Etches procured this appointment through Mr. Cooke, for a relation of his, on account of services performed by Mr. Etches for the government. Thomas Watson was employed as agent to sell the same, as mentioned in the next appointment.

Mr. Robert Manson was appointed cadet for Bengal, February, 1808. by G. W. Thellusson, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Herbert. Thomas Watson sold this appointment, and received the sum

of 500 guineas of Messrs. Anderson, of Philpot-lane, for this and Mr. John Manson's appointment, who purchased the two for a friend of theirs, for his two nephews. A. M'K. Shee received 35*l*. of Watson, and lady Leigh received from Watson about 200*l*. for the latter appointment.

Mr. Thomas Casey was appointed a cadet by W. Devaynes, esq. on the 9th of July, 1806, at the recommendation of Mr. Herbert, now abroad as purser of the Euphrates extra ship. Mr. Herbert sold this appointment to Messrs. Henry Houghton and Co. of King's Arms Yard, correspondents of Mr. Casey's relations, who lived in Ireland, for the sum of 250 guineas; Mr John Henderson was agent for Mr. Herbert, and received 50 guineas.

Mr. Thomas Locke was appointed a cadet for Madras on the 3d February, 1807, by John Bebb, esq. at the recommendation of James Pattison, esq. in exchange for one of Mr. Pattison's Bombay nominations. This appointment was purchased by the rev. D. Locke of Farnham, for his nephew, of Thomas Watson, who sold it for lady Lumm, and paid her 200*l*.

Mr. Samuel Lewis was appointed a cadet in 1800, by Sweney Toone, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Evans. This appointment was passed from Mr. Evans to Mr. Sander-son: A. M'K. Shee seems to have procured it of Mr. Wright, and received 300 guineas from the cadet's father. Mr. Sam. Lewis being a mulatto, and thereby disqualified, procured a young man of the name of Phillips to personate himself and pass the previous examinations, for which he paid him 20 guineas.

A cadetship to Madras appears to



to have been purchased for a person of the name of Brown, in 1804 or 1805, which was sold by Mr. Herbert for 250 guineas; but your committee could receive no satisfactory information by whom the party was nominated, nor his christian name. Henderson and Shee were employed as agents, and received part of the above sum.

A cadetship in the nomination of J. Manship, esq. given by him to Mrs. Welch, appear to have been sold; but the parties to that transaction, who have been examined, state, that they are unable to recollect the name of the person appointed. The name of Mrs. Welch does not appear as recommending to any of Mr. Manship's cadetships in 1805 or 6.

Another, in the nomination of sir Lionel Darell, appears to have been given to and sold by the rev. Thomas Lloyd; but Mr. Lloyd's name does not appear as recommending any of the cadets nominated by sir L. Darell in 1801 and the following year.

It appears in evidence, that some other nominations of this description have been purchased: but your committee have not been able to discover and bring before them some of the persons who appear to have been parties to these transactions; particularly sir Nich. Nugent, Mr. W. Lewen Tugwell Robins, Mr. Jos. Home, cap. Matthew and cap. Holmes. A further examination into some other bargains, is precluded by the death of lady Lumm, lady Leigh, and cap. Sealy.

The attention both of the legislature and of the East India company has been attracted at various periods to abuses, which were supposed to

exist in the disposal of their patronage; in consequence of which, at the time when their charter was renewed, an oath was framed, to be taken by each director within ten days after his election, containing, among other engagements, the following: "I do swear, that I will not directly nor indirectly accept or take any perquisite, emolument, fee, present or reward, upon any account whatsoever, or any promise or engagement for any perquisite, emolument, fee, present or reward whatsoever, for or in respect of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the gift or appointment of the said company, or of me as a director thereof, or for or on account of stationing or appointing the voyage or voyages of any ship or ships in the said company's employ, or for or on account of or any ways relating to any other business or affairs of the said company." 33 Geo. 3. c. 52. s. 160.—In the Bye-laws of the East India company, c. 6. sect. 5. a penalty is imposed upon every director taking any reward on account of any appointment, in double the amount of such reward, two thirds of which to the company and one third to the informer; and such director is rendered ipso facto incapable of holding any place whatever under the company.

The form of Declaration on every writer's Petition, is, "I recommend this Petition, and do most solemnly declare that I have given this nomination to and that I neither have received myself, nor am to receive, nor has any other person, to the best of my knowledge or belief, received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary consideration,



deration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account." The form of Certificate required to be signed by the nearest of kin to each Cadet, contains the following declaration; "I do further declare, that I received the said appointment for my son

gratuitously, and that no money or other valuable consideration has been or is to be paid, either directly or indirectly, for the same; and that I will not pay or cause to be paid, either by myself, by my son, or by the hands of any other person, any pecuniary or valuable consideration whatsoever, to any person or persons who have interested themselves in procuring the said nomination for my son from the Director above-mentioned."

The printed preparatory Instructions, which are circulated by the East India Company for the use of those who may be nominated cadets, begin with the following resolution: "That any person who shall in future be nominated to a situation, either civil or military, in the service of this company, and who shall have obtained such nomination either directly or indirectly by purchase, or agreement to purchase through the medium of an agent or other person, shall be rejected; and the person so nominated shall be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatsoever in the company's service: and in the event of any person having obtained an appointment in the manner before stated, and proceeded to India previous to its being discovered, such person shall be dismissed the company's service and ordered back to England, and shall also be rendered incapable of holding any

situation whatsoever in the company's service." It is to be observed, that abuses in the disposal of cadetships are better guarded against than in that of writerships, since the present form of certificate has been applied to them; for in the writerships the director himself only declares, that to the best of his knowledge or belief no pecuniary consideration has been or is to be received; but with regard to every cadet, the parent or next of kin makes a similar declaration for himself. The cases which are exhibited in this report demonstrate that such declarations are not of sufficient force to prevent a very extensive traffic in those nominations, which are apparently the best secured by a positive denial of all undue practices. An enquiry was set on foot by the court of directors in 1798 upon the allegation and suspicion of abuses in the nominations of writers; the origin, progress and failure of which it may be proper to give in some detail.—25 April 1798: A committee of the directors was appointed to investigate into the truth of the alleged practice of the sale of patronage, and to consider of such means as may appear likely to prevent the same in future, if such practices have occurred. 9th July: each director's nomination of writers was laid before the committee, who resolved that each member of the committee should state in writing the names of the parties to whom he has given the nomination, together with the reasons which induced him to give the same: and that the several parties who have received such nominations for their sons, &c. be required to produce satisfactory information to the committee upon oath,



oath, or in such manner as the committee shall deem most expedient, that neither they nor any person on their account, or with their privity or knowledge, have given or promised to give any consideration on account of such nomination, either to the director from whom they obtained the same, or to any person on his behalf: and it was agreed to recommend to the court to direct each individual member of the court to do the same. 1st August 1798: The court approved this report, and (15th August) each director in office, as well as those out of by rotation (except Mr. Devaynes) gave explanations in writing:—28th Feb. 1799: It was resolved, that every appointment made in consequence of corrupt practices be null and void, unless the parties, to whom the appointment is given, shall, upon examination before the committee, make a fair and candid disclosure of all the circumstances attending the same. It was likewise resolved, that each director should in future, on the petition of the writer, whom he nominates, “declare upon his honour to whom he has given the appointment, and that he neither has received himself, nor is he to receive, nor has any other person to the best of his knowledge or belief received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary consideration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account.” The direction being changed in April; on the 14th of August 1799, a new committee to investigate the truth of the sale of patronage, &c. was appointed. 17 Jan. 1800: The draft of a letter proposed to be addressed to the parents, &c. of persons appointed writers since

1793, requesting them to declare whether the appointments were given without any pecuniary or other consideration, was considered by the committee; when a discussion arose, whether it should be on oath; when it was adjourned till the 21st of Jan.: and it being then suggested whether it would be proper for the Committee to proceed in their inquiry, it was decided in the affirmative.

The Committee then proceeded to consider the drafts of the letter to the parents, &c. a draft of a Report to the Court stating their reasons for recommending this mode of investigation, as also the form of a declaration for the persons who have received such appointments. The consideration was adjourned to the 24th of Jan.; when a discussion ensuing thereon, and on the necessity and expediency of the mode of public investigation therein proposed; it was agreed to postpone the said Report, and to proceed to act agreeably to the authority and instructions already received from the court. The Committee resolved, that in their opinion the parties to whom each Director had given nominations, should be called upon to state on what grounds they have received the same, in every case that the Committee may deem it expedient so to do.

The Committee then examined, viva voce, its different members, as a preliminary to the proposed measure; each member declared upon his honour that what he had stated in regard to his appointments was strictly true, and expressed his readiness to confirm the same by his oath.

28th Jan. 1800: The Committee met to consider a draft of a Report



port to the court, communicating their proceedings, and proposing further measures for the court's adoption, as also a draft of a letter referred to in the said report.

31st Jan.: The report of this day's date, with the letters to the parents, &c. and the declaration to be made by them, was approved.

5th Feb.: The court, after considerable discussion of the above, confirm the same; but resolve that the consideration of what is further to be done on the said report be adjourned to the 11th of Feb.: when it is resolved, that the committee of patronage be instructed to proceed in the examination of the other members of the court, as they did with themselves. It was then moved, that the declaration proposed in the report be upon oath: on this, the motion of adjournment was carried.

25th Feb.: A report signed by 15 directors, approves the declaration, and recommends that the several persons to whom the same is sent, be requested to confirm such declaration upon oath.

Another report on the same day, signed by 12 directors, recommends that no further proceedings be had in this business till the 1st of May. Both the above reports are approved by the court.

26th Feb., 1800: The right Honourable Henry Dundas addressed the court, acknowledging the receipt of their minute; and stating, that he feels it a duty that he owes both to himself and the court, to omit no means in his power for ascertaining whether any person whom he has obliged through the favour of the court, has presumed to abuse his kindness in so sordid and unwarrantable a manner.

Sir Francis Baring dissents from the resolutions to call for the declaration on oath.

The committee of patronage ceasing with the direction in April; on 18th June 1800, the court took into consideration the propriety of re-appointing the said committee.

It being moved, "That a committee of patronage be re-appointed;" an amendment was moved, to leave out all the words after the word "that," and to insert in their room the following, "it does not appear to this court, that any circumstance has been stated to the court, by the committee lately appointed for an inquiry into the disposal of patronage, that can induce or would justify the court in adopting the illegal and novel administration of extra-judicial oaths to a variety of persons, not directly connected with the East India company or the management of its affairs, and which, though it would tend to throw a suspicion upon the court at large, which no circumstances that have hitherto come to the knowledge of the court can induce them to suppose the members thereof merit, would not, they conceive, be an effectual mode of bringing to light any such practices, even if such in any partial instance should have existed."

On the question for the amendment being put, the votes for, and against, were equal; when the lot decided for the amendment.

25th June: The chairman, deputy chairman, and eight other directors, dissent from the resolution not to re-appoint the committee of patronage.

24th Sept. A motion was made in the court of proprietors, that the above proceedings be read; they were



were read accordingly, and notice given by the mover, of his intention of bringing the subject forward at a future court.

20th Jan. 1801. It was "moved, That it is the opinion of this court, that the inquiry into the alleged abuse of patronage, ought to be continued."

It was moved to amend the said motion, by adding thereto the following words, "to investigate any charge that may be made of corrupt practices against any one or more of the court of directors." The above amendment passed in the negative;—when a ballot was demanded on the original question; it was, 3d Feb. 1810, lost by a majority of 139; 411 voting for the question: against it, 550.

The following opinion of counsel was given to the court of directors, previous to the ballot being taken; viz.

"Case for the East India company:

"Whether the court of directors, or any committee of the said court, whether considered as a committee of that court, or as a committee of proprietors, be legally authorized to call for the examination of such persons upon oath, as recommended by the court of directors in their resolution of the 25 Feb. 1800; or whether in their opinion any magistrate would be justified in administering the oath so recommended; and generally to advise concerning the legality and effect of such proceedings.

"We are of opinion, that neither the court of directors, nor any committee of the said court, or committee of proprietors, have any legal authority to require or receive examinations of persons upon oath,

as recommended by the resolution of the court of directors of the 25th Feb., 1810; and that no magistrate will be justified in administering such oaths.

"We therefore think the proposed proceedings would be contrary to law." (Signed)

J. MITFORD,  
W. GRANT,  
J. MANSFIELD,  
T. ERSKINE,  
G. ROUS.

If this house should in its wisdom adopt any legislative measures for the purpose of preventing all traffic in the disposal of offices under government, it will, in the opinion of your committee, be proper to extend the same protection to patronage held under the East India company; but they see no reason to recommend any special or separate provisions as applicable to their case, judging that the East India company has within its own power the most effectual means for accomplishing that end.

It can never be advisable, without absolute necessity, to add new offences to the long catalogue already enumerated in the penal statutes; nor is it wise to diminish the sanctity of oaths by resorting to them upon all occasions. Where solemn declarations have been habitually disregarded, little reliance can be placed upon the sanction of any other species of asseveration. Instances occur but too frequently, where an oath comes to be considered merely as part of the official form by which an appointment is conferred; and the human mind, fertile in self-deception, accommodates itself with wonderful facility to overcoming all scruples, or applies a perverse ingenuity to evad-



ing all restrictions which stand in the way of present interest. Little fear of detection is entertained, when transactions are in their nature private and confidential; and the appellation of honour, most improperly applied to negotiations of this clandestine kind, attaches, by a singular perverseness, a stronger degree of obligation to the performance of such engagements, upon the very ground that they are illegal.

With a view to prevent all dealings in patronage, the obvious and natural mode will be to take away all inducement to traffic in it; and this can only be attained by making the hazard of such speculations greater than the temptation.

The regulations of the company are founded upon this true and efficacious principle. But examples have hitherto been wanting to demonstrate the determination of the court of directors to enforce their orders; no instance of purchasing or procuring by undue means an appointment in the civil or military service of the East India company, after such appointment had actually taken place, and since the court's Resolution of 28th of Feb., 1799, having been so far established, as to enable the court to dismiss the party appointed.

The immediate consequence of the information contained in this report, must be, that a certain number of persons in the service of the company will be instantly deprived of their employments, recalled from India, and declared incapable of again receiving any appointment under the company. The money improperly given for procuring these situations, will be absolutely lost, without any possibility

of recovery; and those who have either imprudently or corruptly been concerned in obtaining what they conceived to be benefits for their relatives or friends, will find that they have done the greatest injury to those whom they desired to serve, by inducing them to dedicate some of the best years of their lives to an employment, which the original defects, and corrupt practices through which it was obtained, must disqualify them from prosecuting.

Hard as some of these cases must be, and innocent and ignorant as many of the young men nominated under these circumstances probably are, of the undue means by which their appointments were acquired, your committee are of opinion, that nothing but a strict adherence to the rule laid down by the court of directors, can put a stop to the continuance of these abuses, and prevent the chance of their recurring.

In 1779, when, in the course of the investigation already mentioned, indemnity was offered to all those who would make a fair and candid disclosure of all the circumstances through which their situations had been procured, though information was gained with regard to facts, no example could be made, in consequence of such disclosure, of those who were found offending; and it may be doubted whether such practices have been less prevalent since that inquiry, than before. The deficiency of their power to compel persons to answer, precluded the court of directors from discovering, if they punished, or from punishing if they discovered, the traffic which was the subject of complaint.



The oath taken by the directors seems as effectual as any thing which can be devised for the purpose of guarding against corruption, so far as the directors themselves are immediately concerned; and your committee have already remarked, that no one case of corruption or abuse, which has been before them, affects any member of that court. It is, in the passing through several hands, which happens frequently with regard to the more numerous and less valuable appointments of cadets, that opportunities for this sort of negotiation are presented, which, without a greater degree of vigilance and strictness on the part of each director, at the time of making such nomination, it will be impracticable to prevent in future.

Your committee may perhaps be exceeding the limits of their province, in the further considerations to which this subject leads; but as they decline recommending any special legislative enactment, their view of the proper remedy for these abuses may be incomplete, unless they proceed to suggest some other observations.

The unpleasant duty of increased vigilance is not likely to be performed without some incitement of benefit or disadvantage, attendant upon the exercise, or neglect of it; and it is equally conformable to experience to presume, that patronage will continue to be abused, so long as no inconvenience is felt by the person primarily giving, or by the person ultimately receiving it.

Where strict examination is a duty, any species of negligence cannot be wholly blameless; and it appears not unreasonable to curtail in some degree, the patronage of those,

who have either not been sufficiently watchful in the disposal of it, or whose diligence has been unsuccessful in preventing the abuses which are complained of. As an additional check against those who are inclined to purchase such appointments, it may be expedient that a bond should be given by the parent, guardian, or friend of every person receiving a nomination, containing a penalty to be paid to the East India company, upon proof being made at any subsequent period, that any valuable consideration was given for such appointment; that species of proof being deemed sufficient to levy the penalty, upon which the court of directors may think themselves authorized to vacate the appointment.

The practices which are developed in the present report, and other transactions which this house has recently had under its cognizance, are sufficient to demonstrate, that patronage of various descriptions has, in several instances, become an article of traffic; that an opinion of the generality of such practices has been prevalent to a still greater extent; and that fraudulent agents have availed themselves of this belief, to the injury of the credulous and unwary, and to the discredit of those in whose hands the disposition of offices is lodged. It will depend upon the steps which may be taken in consequence of these inquiries, whether such abuses shall receive a permanent check, or a virtual encouragement.

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*Attack on Martinique.*—Intelligence has been received by the *Ilam*, arrived at Liverpool from Barbadoes, which she left on the



14th of February, of an attack having been made by our troops on the island of Martinique; the whole of which, with the exception of Fort Bourbon, which was expected to surrender in a few days, was in our possession.

The details of the attack are given at considerable length in the *Barbadoes Mercury*, from which we extract the substance of the narrative.

The expedition arrived off Martinique on Sunday, the 29th of January. On the morning of the 30th they separated in two divisions, the *Acasta* hoisting a broad pendant, and, leading that with the division of the army under the commander in chief, and Sir George Prevost, intended to effect a landing in Bay Robert, while the admiral, Sir A. Cochrane, proceeded with that under Major General Maitland round Maran, and entered the bay of St. Luce.

The commander in chief immediately issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to submit immediately to his majesty's forces, holding out on the one hand the advantages they would derive from quiet submission, and on the other, the calamity that would arise from a fruitless resistance.

In the afternoon of the 30th, the division under the immediate command of Lieutenant-general Beckwith, effected a landing at Bay Robert; Sir G. Prevost, and Brigadier-gen. Houghton, with the first brigade, landed first, and advanced the same evening some distance into the country. This brigade consisted of the 7th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Peckenham, 23d under Lieutenant-colonel Ellis, and five companies of the 1st West India regiment, under Lieutenant-col-

onel Tolley. The second brigade led by Lieutenant-general Beckwith, having under him Brigadier-general Colville, consisted of the 8th regiment under Major Maxwell, the 13th under Lieutenant-col. Keane, and four companies of the 1st West India regiment, under Major Clifton. The reserve commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Blackwell, consisted of the 3d battalion 60th regiment, under Major Markey, the flank companies of the 25th regiment, the 4th battalion of the 60th, and the 4th West India regiment. Trinity surrendered on the 31st.

The second division, under the command of Major-general Maitland, also landed on the 30th at St. Luce. The first brigade, led by Major-general Maitland, having under him Lieutenant-colonel Barnes, consisted of the 63d regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Fairtlough, and York rangers, under Major Henderson. The second brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Riall, consisted of the flank companies of the 15th and 46th regiments, under Major Payne, the 15th regiment, under Major Davidson, York L. I. Volunteers, under Lieutenant-colonel Streicher, and 8th W. I. regiment, under Lieut.-col. Prevost. The reserve, commanded by Lieut.-colonel M'Nair, consisted of the 90th regiment, under Major Wright, and 31st West India, under Major Allen.

The fort of Cape Solomon was taken possession of, and positions were taken for the purpose of attacking with effect Pigeon Island, which held out till the 4th of February, and then surrendered at discretion, nearly sixty men on the part of the enemy having been killed and wounded during the bombardment.



bardment. Five officers and 130 privates of the garrison, surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent on board the *Rompee*.

In the mean time Major-general Maitland, with the main body of his division, advanced to Lamentin. Lieut.-general Beckwith and sir G. Prevost, proceeded towards Bruno and Sourrier, having frequent skirmishes with the enemy on their march. On the 2d of February they had a more general action with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Sourrier, a height which affords a commanding situation for attacking Fort Bourbon. The possession of this height was obstinately contested by the enemy for several hours. They repeatedly charged our troops, who, as often received them on the point of the bayonet. The enemy were at length driven from their position, and our troops obtained possession of the heights.

The whole of the details of this affair had not reached Barbadoes at the last date of these papers (the 11th ult.) our loss is, however, stated at 72 men killed and 240 wounded.—Amongst the officers are, Capt. Taylor of the 7th, Major Maxwell of the 8th, and Captain Sinclair of the 25th, killed; and Lieut.-Col. Peckenham of the 7th, Majors Campbell and Turner of the royal West India rangers, and Captain Gladstones of the 3d West India regiment, wounded. Lieut.-general Beckwith, who led the attack, had a narrow escape, a soldier being killed by his side. The loss of the enemy is stated at about 300 men.

After this action the enemy concentrated the whole of his force in Fort Bourbon. Major-gen. Maitland with his division moved from

Lamentin, round the Cul de sac de Cohee, to point Negro; and Major Henderson, with his party, proceeded by water across Fort Royal Bay down to Cass Naviere, and took a position on the heights above it.

At the date of the last accounts from Martinique (the 6th ult.), preparations were making for an attack upon the works of Fort Bourbon, which were expected to be completed in eight or ten days.

The inhabitants of the island were at least neutral, if not friendly to our reduction of it. They had not in any instance annoyed our troops, and towards the squadron had shown great hospitality, having repeatedly supplied them with fruit, vegetables, &c.

An offer to surrender had been, it was said, sent by the inhabitants of St. Pierre's, but its immediate possession was considered of no consequence, as it must follow the fate of Fort Bourbon.

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*Respecting the insurrection in the Tyrol in favour of Austria, we give an official report published by the Emperor Francis while at Scarding on the 17th ult. from Colonel Taxis, who had been sent into the Tyrol with a small Austrian corps to assist the operations of the inhabitants.*

Sire, *Inspruck, April 15.*

I feel it a duty incumbent upon me to make known to your imperial majesty the testimonies of bravery and fidelity which the former subjects of your majesty have displayed, in proof of their attachment to your august house. The brave Tyroleans, driven to despair by the extinction



tion of their constitution, which had been preserved entire and inviolate under the dominion of your majesty and that of your august ancestor, took up arms on the 10th inst., attacked the Bavarian troops at Stergingen, at Inspruck, at Hall, and at the convent of St. Charles; and after having killed or wounded more than 500 of the enemy, compelled them to surrender and capitulate. On the 12th a body of 300 men, composed of French and Bavarian troops, presenting themselves before Wildau, near Inspruck, sustained a similar defeat to that of the former; and a reinforcement of French troops which came up on the 13th did not meet with a better fate.

As prisoners are continually coming in, I am not as yet enabled to ascertain the number of them with precision; but there have already been brought in, and sent on their way to Saltsburgh, the French general Bisson, several officers of the staff, from 3000 to 4000 men of different descriptions, artillery, cavalry, light infantry, &c. and likewise the Bavarian general, Kunkel, col. Ditford, two lieut.-colonels, two majors, about 20 officers, and above 12,000 Bavarian troops. A considerable number of prisoners are brought in every other moment, who have been dispersed in the different attacks.

The report then continues to speak in the highest terms of the bravery displayed by the Tyrolese in a variety of desultory engagements; in all of which the enemy were routed, and their cannon, baggage, &c. seized by the victors. On the 19th. lieut.-gen. Jellachich advanced towards the Tyrol, across the mountains of the Saltsburgh

territory, with a small detachment; but though a double march was made every day, he arrived only in time to admire the victory of the brave Tyroleans, who, armed with every sort of weapon they could lay hold of, were pressing forwards towards Inspruck, to encounter a fresh column of the enemy which was said to be approaching. The march of the Austrian detachment resembled a triumph; they were every where greeted by the acclamations of the people, and the sound of bells mingled with discharges of artillery and musketry. An innkeeper at Hall organized the insurrection of the country, and directed three attacks, in which the Tyroleans lost only 26 men. Twenty thousand florins of the public money were seized at Imbst. The Bavarian authorities have been replaced by a provisional police.

Private letters from the French head quarters of the 6th inst. announce, that, on that day an Austrian officer of the staff had arrived with a messenger, bearing a letter written by the emperor Francis to the Emperor Napoleon; in which the emperor of Austria implored an armistice and peace of his majesty in the most humble expressions. The short time of the stay of the parlementaires in the head quarters of his majesty, induced an opinion that the answer was unfavourable; the more so as the army continues advancing.

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*Articles from the American Papers relative to the Restoration of Intercourse with America.*

*New York, April 21.*  
 Notice.—The Federal Republic  
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can Committee, of the city of New York, recommend to all ship owners and masters of vessels to display their colours on Monday next, in honour of the triumph of Federal Policy, in the restoration of intercourse between the United States and Great Britain.

The persons having charge of the bells in the different churches, are requested to cause them to be rung from twelve to one o'clock in the same day.

And it is ordered that a committee wait on the commandant of artillery, and request that he will cause a Federal Salute to be fired at sun-rise, noon, and, sun-set, on the same glorious occasion.

*Committee-Room Saturday, Evening, April 22.*

#### GENERAL MEETING.

*Triumph of Federal Policy—No Embargo—No French party—A return of Peace, Prosperity and Commerce.*

All true friends of their country—all who are disciples of Washington, and disposed to support the Federal Ticket at the ensuing election, are requested to meet this day, at twelve o'clock, at the Circus, to consider the present state of our national affairs, and to support that system of Federal Politics which has at last compelled the administration to abandon a fruitless and self-destructive embargo, and take the first step towards a settlement of our affairs with Great Britain, by accepting terms offered sixteen months ago; thus putting our differences with that nation in a train of being fairly and honourably adjusted, instead of French threats and confiscations abroad, and French influence at home.

*April 24.*

Yesterday, agreeably to notice, our citizens evinced public testimonies of their joy on the prospect of a restoration of commercial intercourse with England. The day was ushered in *by a grand Federal Salute*, which was repeated at noon, and at sun-set. The shipping in harbour *were decorated with their flags at mast-head during the day.* The American Eagle, roused from despondency, once more soared among the stars, floating with fond complacency over resuscitated commerce, and expanding his pinions in triumph at her restoration. The *ringing of bells* and the *thunder of cannon* spoke the feelings of freedom, and proclaimed to the skies, the virtuous enthusiasm of political friendship. Mutual felicitations were exchanged among our patriotic citizens, and the joys of the heart lighted up a smile on every countenance.

At twelve o'clock a very numerous and respectable assembly of Federal Republicans met at the Circus. So large and so animated an assemblage of electors was never before witnessed in this country. Though the place will contain upwards of four thousand, it could not admit the whole who attended.

The city, in the evening, was *splendidly and fancifully illuminated*:—while the chiming of the bells and *sounds of joy* in the streets which swelled on the breath of eve, filled every *virtuous* bosom with sensations of delight.

What are the reflections which present themselves to the mind from a survey and recapitulation of this scene?

A natural association of ideas  
pourtrays.



pourtrays a people, who, after having long groaned under despotic restrictions, severe bondage and oppressive laws, are suddenly emancipated by the firmness and virtue of inflexible patriots. To them do we owe these testimonies of gratitude and joy. And who are they? The Federalists of the Eastern States, who made a noble stand against an unconstitutional unjust oppression, and drove its authors from the iniquitous ground they had taken.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
Admiralty Office, April 21.*

Sir Harry Neale, Bart. first captain to Admiral Lord Gambier, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Channel Soundings, &c. arrived here this morning with a dispatch from his lordship to the Hon. William Wellesley Pole, of which the following is a copy:

*Caledonia, at Anchor in Basque Roads, April 14, 1809.*

Sir—The Almighty's favour to his majesty and the nation has been strongly marked in the success he has been pleased to give to the operations of his majesty's fleet under my command; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that the four ships of the enemy named in the margin\* have been destroyed at their anchorage; and several others, from getting on shore, if not rendered altogether unserviceable, are at least disabled for a considerable time.

The arrangement of the fire ves-

sels, placed under the direction of the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, were made as fully as the state of the weather would admit, according to his lordship's plan on the evening of the 11th instant. and at eight o'clock on the same night, they proceeded to the attack, under a favourable strong wind from the northward, and flood-tide, (preceded by some vessels filled with powder and shells, as proposed by his lordship, with a view to explosion,) and led on in the most undaunted and determined manner by Captain Wooldridge, in the Mediator fire-ship, the others following in succession; but owing to the darkness of the night, several mistook their course, and failed.

On their approach to the enemy's ships, it was discovered that a boom was placed in front of their line for a defence. This, however, the weight of the Mediator soon broke, and the usual intrepidity and bravery of British seaman overcame all difficulties. Advancing under a heavy fire from the forts in the Isle of Aix, as well as from the enemy's ships, most of which cut or split their cables, and from the confined anchorage, got on shore, and thus avoided taking fire.

At day light the following morning, Lord Cochrane communicated to me by telegraph, that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed. I immediately made the signal for the fleet to unmoor and weigh, intending to proceed with it to effect their destruction. The wind, however, being fresh from the northward, and the floodtide running, rendered

\* Ville de Varsovie, of 80 guns; Tornerre, of 74 guns; Aquilon, of 74 guns; and Calcutta, of 56 guns.



it too hazardous to run into Aix Roads (from its shallow waters), I therefore anchored again at the distance of about three miles from the forts on the island.

As the tide suited, the enemy evinced great activity in endeavouring to warp their ships (which had grounded) into deep water, and succeeded in getting all but five of the line towards the entrance of the Charente before it became practicable to attack them.

I gave orders to Capt. Bligh, of the *Valiant*, to proceed with that ship, the *Revenge*, frigates, bombs, and small vessels, named in the margin †, to anchor near the Boyrat Shoal, in readiness for the attack. At twenty minutes past two P. M. Lord Cochrane advanced in the *Imperieuse*, with his accustomed gallantry and spirit, and opened a well directed fire upon the *Calcutta*, which struck her colours to the *Imperieuse*; the ships and vessels above mentioned soon after joined in the attack upon the *Ville de Varsovie* and *Aquilon*, and obliged them, before five o'clock, after sustaining a heavy cannonade, to strike their colours, when they were taken possession of by the boats of the advanced squadron. As soon as the prisoners were removed, they were set on fire, as was also the *Tonnerre*, a short time after by the enemy.

I afterwards detached Rear-Admiral the Hon. Robert Stopford, in the *Cæsar*, with the *Thesus*, three additional fireships (which were hastily prepared in the course of the day) and all the boats of the fleet, with Mr. Congreve's rockets, to conduct the further operations

of the night against any of the ships which lay exposed to an attack. On the morning of the 13th, the Rear-Admiral reported to me, that as the *Cæsar* and other line of battle ships had grounded, and were in a dangerous situation, he thought it advisable to order them all out, particularly as the remaining part of the service could be performed by frigates and small vessels only: and I was happy to find that they were extricated from their perilous situation.

Captain Bligh has since informed me, that it was found impracticable to destroy the three-decked ship, and the others which were lying near the entrance of the Charente, as the former, being the outer one, was protected by three lines of boats placed in advance from her.

This ship and all the others, except four of the line and a frigate, have now moved up the river Charente. If any further attempt to destroy them is practicable, I shall not fail to use every means in my power to accomplish it.

I have great satisfaction in stating to their lordships how much I feel obliged to the zealous co-operations of Rear-Admiral Stopford, under whose arrangement the boats of the fleet were placed; and I must also express to their lordships the high sense I have of the assistance I received from the abilities and unremitting attention of Sir Harry Neale, Bart. the captain of the fleet, as well as of the animated exertions of the captains, officers, seamen, and marines under my command, and their forwardness to volunteer upon any service that might be allotted to them; particularly the zeal and

\* Indefatigable, Aigle, Emerald, Pallas, Beagle, *Ætna* bomb, Insolent gun-brig, *Conflict*, *Encounter*, *Fervent*, and *Growler*.



activity shewn by captains of line of battle ships in preparing the fire-vessels.

[Lord Gambier then speaks in terms of high commendation of the gallantry of lord Cochrane—of capt. Godfrey of the *Ætna*, who bombarded the enemy's ships on the 12th and 13th.—and of the services of Mr. Congreve in the management of his rockets, which were placed in the fire-ships with effect. He also notices the handsome and earnest manner in which rear-admiral Stopford and sir H. Neale volunteered their services to lead the fire-ships previously to the arrival of lord Cochrane.]

I send herewith a return of the killed, wounded and missing, of the fleet, which I am happy to observe, is comparatively small. I have not yet received the returns of the number of prisoners taken, but I conceive they amount to between four and five hundred.

I have charged sir Harry Neale with this dispatch (by the *Imperieuse*) and I beg leave to refer their lordships to him, as also to lord Cochrane, for any further particulars of which they may wish to be informed. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

GAMBIER.

15th April.

P. S. This morning three of the enemy's line of battle ships are observed to be still on shore under Fouras, and one of them is in a dangerous situation. One of their frigates (*L'Indienne*) also on shore, has fallen over, and they are now dismantling her. As the tides will take off in a day or two, there is every probability that she will be destroyed.

Since writing the foregoing, I

have learned that the honourable lieutenant-colonel Cochrane, (lord Cochrane's brother) and lieutenant Bissett, of the navy, were volunteers in the *Imperieuse*, and rendered themselves extremely useful; the former by commanding some of her guns on the main deck, and the latter in conducting one of the explosion vessels.

*Names of the ships in Aix Roads, previous to the attack on the 11th April, 1809.*

*L'Océan*, 120 guns, vice-admiral Allemande, captain Roland.—Repaired in 1806; on shore under Fouras.

*Foudroyant*, 80 guns, rear-admiral Gourdon, captain Henri.—Five years old; on shore under Fouras.

*Cassard*, 74 guns, captain Faure, commodore.—Three years old; on shore under Fouras.

*Tourville*, 74 guns, captain La Caille.—Old; on shore in the river.

*Regulus*, 74 guns, captain Lucas.—Five years old; on shore under Madame.

*Patriote*, 74 guns, captain Mahec.—Repaired in 1803.

*Jemappe*, 74 guns, capt. Fouvan.—On shore under Madame.

*Tourerre*, 74 guns, captain Clement de la Roucierre.—Nine months old, never at sea.

*Aquilon*, 74 guns, captain Maingon.—Old.—*Ville de Varsovie*, 80 guns, captain ——. *Calcutta*, 56 guns, captain La Tonie.—Loaded with flour and military stores.

*Frigates*.—*Indienne*, capt. Proteau.—On shore near Isle d'Euet, on her beam ends.—*Elbe*, captain Perengier.—*Pallas*, captain Le Bigot.—*Hortense* captain Allgand.

N. B. One of the three last frigates on shore under Isle Madame.

*Return*



*Return of officers, seamen and marines, killed, wounded and missing.*

Two officers, 8 men killed; 9 officers, 26 men wounded, a man missing. Total 46.

GAMBIER.

*A Letter from a Lieutenant of Marines in Basque Roads.*

“Our fire-ships arrived the 10th instant, and were sent in the next night, each ship conducted by a lieutenant and five men; the ships were 16 in number, and some very heavy ships; when they got in, the French ships cut and slipped, and nine sail of the line got on shore on the isle of Aix, and the next morning we discovered them; the fire ships having done little good, the small craft and frigates were ordered in to attempt to destroy them.—The place where they lay was like their being in Portsmouth harbour, under the fire of two batteries, each of which had three tier of guns of 29 each, all heavy metal: the navigation to get at them was very difficult, in some places there being only four fathoms water. Just as we were sitting down to dinner on board the *Revenge*, our signal was made to go in and assist the gun and mortar vessels; our ship was clear for action in fifteen minutes, and in half an hour we were along side of three sail of the line, when we opened a dreadful cannonade on them, which continued for an hour and a quarter, when the *Warsaw*, a fine 80 gun ship, and the *Aquilon*, struck to us; we were now in a very critical state ourselves, being in only five fathoms water, which was ebbing very fast; the batteries on shore having got our length, struck us almost every shot for the last quarter of an hour; luckily a breeze

springing up we got off into deeper water and out of reach of their guns, when we anchored again, and sent our boats and took out the prisoners, and set them on fire about seven P.M. At nine they were all in flames, and at two in the morning they blew up with a tremendous explosion; the French set fire to the *Tonniere*, and the *Imperieuse* to the *Calcutta*; three other ships of the line are on shore very much mauled by the frigates and bomb-ships, some of them are on their beam-ends, and but little chance of their getting off again. The capt. of the *Warsaw* is on board our ship: he says, they were bound out to relieve *Martinique* with troops and provisions. I went on board his ship after she struck, and the decks were strewn with dead and wounded; a most dreadful slaughter. We also lost several killed and wounded, and our ship is much cut up in sails and rigging, which makes it probable that we shall be sent in to refit.”

The singular coincidence of favourable occurrences which led to the destruction of the ships in the Basque Roads is unknown to the British public, and deserves notice. The trite adage, that “fortune favours the brave,” was never more fully verified than in the present instance; and the reason for the maxim, though obvious, is in fact founded in nature: for the brave, the energetic, the active, (such as are British seamen) are always in a state of readiness and preparation to take advantage of any desirable turn of fortune that may offer, and may so far be said to be “favoured by fortune.” We have been given to understand, then, and from as good information as can be had in such a case, that it was at first the  
inten-



intention of the enemy's fleet to attack the little squadron which was stationed off Rochefort harbour, when a signal was made from the French shore, without specifying the number, of another enemy's fleet.

This induced admiral Willaumez rather to seek for safety than attempt conquest, and to desist from the pursuit of that little squadron, which when, after his entrance into the harbour, he had discovered to be joined by only three ships, he would have undoubtedly attacked with his eleven, had he not been prevented by the dread of being intercepted by lord Gambier's fleet. After this we became the assailants, and were again favoured by great good luck; for if the Mediator, contrary to the plan prescribed at home, had not been fitted up as a fire-ship, the boom could not have been broken by fire-ships of the usual weight, and two other booms would have been shortly placed.—Nor is this all; it appears, that owing to some derangement of the other vessels, the brave lord Cochrane hailed captain Woolridge, of the Mediator, to slacken sail, but was luckily unheard; for if the *impetus* of that vessel had been checked, the boom could not have broken.

All these fortunate occurrences were necessary to produce the happy result. Admiral Willaumez is, we understand, ordered to Paris to be tried for his conduct.

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#### REPORT relating to the Dutch Commissioners.

Your committee, having derived from the minutes of evidence and proceedings of the committees on Public Expenditure of the preceding sessions referred to them by

the House, some material information respecting the establishment and the transactions of the commissioners for the sale, management and disposal of Dutch property, captured or detained on the occasion of the commencement of hostilities with Holland, in consequence of its invasion by the French, have pursued the investigation of that subject, and proceed to report upon it.

The commissioners, who were five in number, were appointed in 1795, under the authority of the 21st clause of the 35th Geo. 3. ch. 80; and their commission, after reciting in the words of the act, that "the cargoes of Dutch ships, detained or brought in, might perish; or be greatly injured if some provision was not made respecting the same, authorizes the commissioners to take such ships and cargoes under their care, and to manage, sell, and dispose of the same according to such instructions as they should from time to time receive from the king in council."

The lords of the Privy Council in their instructions, dated 13th June, 1795, direct the commissioners generally as to the conduct of their transactions, and require them to keep minutes of all their proceedings, and to "keep accounts in such form as the lords commissioners of the treasury shall direct or approve." No instructions appear to have proceeded from the board of treasury; and the commissioners represent themselves to have undertaken their office, without having come to any understanding with any branch of the government respecting the manner of deriving their compensation for their services, or the amount of it.

They



They state, that they were charged with the investigation of numerous claims to British and neutral property found in the detained and captured vessels, and, in many cases acted in a judicial character, in this respect; that they received a separate and special commission to take the management of sundry Dutch vessels brought into Ireland; that they had to make arrangements with the East India Company, respecting cargoes directed to be sold by the Company at their own sales; that they had to adjust many complicated accounts with their agents at the outports, and to settle the wages of the officers and crews, both of the vessels of which the cargoes were sold by the East India Company, and of those which were intrusted altogether to their own management, and that they found the duties of their office to be for some time extremely difficult and laborious. They observe, however, that their sales ceased, and their transactions were nearly brought to a close in July, 1799, but that the final adjustment of them had been protracted partly by "small sales of remnants not completed till November, 1801," partly by some "property claimed in the Court of Admiralty not adjudged till July, 1803," partly by "unsettled accounts with the executor of the late king's proctor, of which the balance was not paid till January last," but chiefly by an important lawsuit commenced in 1797, which brought into question property to the amount of about 180,000*l*. The suit has within these few months terminated in their favour, and the commissioners now expect that in the course of the ensuing summer they shall close their transactions, and

deliver in their accounts to government.

It appears by a paper dated 29th April, 1808, that the gross amount of the produce of the ships and of the ships and cargoes sold (of which cargoes your committee perceive that much the larger part was sold by the East India Company) was

	£1,937,064
The charges were	£631,239
Commission charged	88,164
Restitutions to claimants	69,988
Grants to captors	117,746
	<hr/> 907,137

Leaving a net amount of	1,029,927
From which was further to be deducted on account of loss on ships in debt (that is, on ships the charges on which exceeded the proceeds)	52,657
Leaving at that time the estimated net sum of	<hr/> £977,269

The chief part of the balance now in hand is invested in government or other securities, which run at interest. The sum of 900,000*l*. has been paid at sundry periods to government, and having been carried to the account of the Consolidated Fund, has been applied to the purposes prescribed by parliament.

Your committee now proceed to offer some observations on a variety of points to which their attention has been called, referring to the Appendix for a more detailed account of some of the circumstances which they shall notice. It has been already mentioned, that no agreement in respect to the mode or amount of remuneration was made at the time when the commissioners were appointed. The difficulty of ascertaining before hand the degree of trouble to be incurred, and the nature of the duties to be performed,



ed, may form, in some cases, a sufficient motive for suspending the determination of both the amount and manner of an allowance. But no circumstances have appeared which furnish a justification of the delay of no less than 14 years, which in this instance has taken place. It belonged to the government, after the lapse of a moderate period, to take up the consideration of the remuneration due to the commissioners, with a view to its being submitted to parliament; and when the subject had manifestly escaped attention, the commissioners ought to have given notice of the omission. But they have to this day held no communication with any branch of the government on this question. Under these circumstances they had, in the judgment of your committee, no right to appropriate any sums to themselves as compensation; indeed the terms of their commission, already quoted, direct them to dispose of the Dutch property intrusted to them only *"according to such instructions as they should receive from the king in council,"* and the instructions accordingly given, since they merely authorize allowances to crews in payment of wages, do not appear to your committee in any degree to sanction such application of their funds. The 26th clause of 35 Geo. 3, authorizes the payment of *"the expences of the sales out of the proceeds,"* but the term *"expences"* cannot, in the judgment of your committee, be construed to include the payment of remuneration to the commissioners, since neither the mode nor the amount of it had been sanctioned by the government.

It appears, however, that the

commissioners, at a very early period, proceeded both to determine in the first instance for themselves the rate of compensation due, and also actually to apply it to their own use, intending to make mention of this point only on the final settlement of their affairs, though they have from time to time had to communicate with the secretary of the treasury on other matters, and have transmitted to the lords of the Privy Council some general statements. The compensation which they have taken has been a commission of 5 per cent. on the gross produce of the sales, a subject on which your committee will offer some further remarks toward the conclusion of this report. It has been charged on the principle of a mercantile transaction; but it is here observable, that they have deviated from the custom of merchants, by taking large sums for commission before they had either received or paid over the whole net proceeds of the cargoes, on the gross produce of which the commission was charged, and also before they had rendered up their accounts.

Your committee deem it necessary to animadvert on the length of time which has been suffered to elapse without rendering any regular accounts, and without their being called for by the government.

The chief object of examination in such cases is the detection and rectification of errors, and the recovery of sums improperly withheld from the public; but when any considerable period has passed, the elucidation of accounts is rendered difficult, as your committee have experienced in the course of the present investigation, and the recovery of money becomes a measure of

of



of harshness. The commissioner, on whom the financial department is said to have devolved, is lately dead: and the want of recollection observable in many parts of the annexed evidence, is a further exemplification of the inconvenience resulting from the long delay which has taken place.

Your committee called for a copy of such statements of the transactions of the commissioners as had from time to time been delivered by them to the board of treasury.—The chief paper furnished in return is dated 20th July, 1796, being the copy of a report presented to the privy council, which was evidently furnished rather with a view of shewing the sum then deemed likely to accrue from the sale of Dutch property, than of submitting the transactions of the commissioners to examination. It is observable, that although in this report, which is in a great measure an estimate, the total amount of the charges incurred is given, and several particulars composing them are specified, no mention of commission is made, though it was undoubtedly an item at that time sufficiently large to have been included in the enumeration; for under this head, the sum of 25,000*l.* had been then divided. This omission might lead to a supposition, that no commission had been taken.

In the case of successive sales of a similar kind made by merchants acting as factors, it is the custom to make up separate account-sales of the several cargoes, until the delivery of which the charge of commission is delayed, and also to render an annual account current, detailing all the receipts and payments of the year. If the transactions of the

commissioners are to be considered as of a mercantile nature, the public ought not to be without the benefit of those checks upon the conduct of their agents which have been generally established among merchants.

The act authorising the appointment of the commissioners, contains a clause “requiring” that they shall “cause the proceeds of their sales,” after “payment of the duties and expences,” to be paid “into the Bank of England, there to remain subject to such orders as his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, may from time to time think fit to give thereupon,” or as the Court of Admiralty may think fit to give in the case of sales made under the authority of that court. Your committee expected that the cash of the commissioners would, in pursuance of this clause, have been kept solely at the Bank, but they find that it was during the first year lodged only with a private banker, and that five private bankers have been occasionally employed, each of the commissioners having recommended that a temporary account should be opened with the banker with whom he was individually connected. The clause does not appear to have escaped the attention of the commissioners; but it is stated in the evidence, that they understood it to apply, not to all the proceeds of their sales as they arose, but to the surplus of the proceeds above the sums expected by them to be wanted for charges and current payments. They have retained a large balance of cash for these purposes, and they represent that they were obliged to do this, because otherwise an order of his majesty in council for a supply of cash, would from



time to time have been necessary, the money paid into the bank under the direction of the act being no longer subject to the call of the commissioners. They further state, that being authorized by the 23d clause of the 35 Geo. 3, c. 80 to restore all goods which should be proved to belong to neutrals, and having sold most of such goods before the decision of the claims, they deemed it necessary to retain cash sufficient for this purpose.

Your committee nevertheless cannot approve of the construction which the commissioners have given to the law. Their payments into the bank appear to have been large payments made with a view to their immediate transfer from thence into the exchequer; but the terms used in the act are, that the proceeds, after payment of the duty and expences of sale, were to be paid into the bank, "and remain there;" an expression which implies, that the cash was not merely to pass through the bank in its way to the exchequer, but was to be lodged in the bank as a place of safe custody, in order to await the direction of the privy council. The legislature, however, seems not to have anticipated the circumstance of certain sums being necessary to be withdrawn from the amount of the proceeds in hand, with a view both to the payment of charges and to the restitutions of property due to neutrals; and, by not providing very specifically or conveniently for these objects, it has afforded some countenance to that interpretation of the law which has taken place.

Your committee think, that the difficulty which opposed the adoption of a strict construction of the act, has been much overstated by

the commissioners. At the commencement of their transactions, having no money in hand for current payments, they obtained an order of council, directing 20,000*l.* to be advanced to them in order to supply their immediate occasions, which sum was to be replaced by the subsequent proceeds of sales.— They might afterwards have obtained successive orders of council for similar purposes, as well as for the satisfaction of claimants, without any great inconvenience; and in this case the lords of the privy council would have had the opportunity of exercising their judgment as to the amount of the money proper to be placed at the disposal of the commissioners. A less objectionable mode of proceeding, though not conformable to the act, would have been to keep two accounts with the bank; the one, an account of money paid in under the act, and consequently subject only to the orders of the king in council; the other a separate account, subject to the controul of the commissioners. This expedient was resorted to after the first twelve months, but there was still no relinquishment of the practice of keeping a large balance with private bankers. On the supposition of any uncertainty as to the construction of the act, the subject ought to have been distinctly submitted to the lords of the privy council in pursuance of their instructions, which had directed an application to themselves "in all cases of doubt or difficulty."

Your committee are further of opinion, that if the act had been silent on this topic, the commissioners ought to have lodged their cash in the Bank of England, and with a view to future cases they think that



it may be useful to suggest the general reasons :

First, the public have an interest in thus preferring the bank, which is nearly similar to that which the commissioners may individually be supposed to have had in favouring their respective bankers. Indeed, since the Report on the Bank of England, made by the former committee on Public Expenditure, in which the average amount of the government balances in the bank was stated, that corporation has consented to make some compensation for benefit of this kind, by affording to the public the loan of a considerable sum without interest. A general intention of employing the Bank of England as the banker of the public, was then professed; and there can be no doubt that every preference shewn to the bank ought now to be considered as contributing to the liberal fulfilment of the general conditions of that arrangement, and even though not repaid by a specific compensation, as producing some corresponding advantages.

The more safe custody of the public money entrusted to the commissioners, is another motive for lodging it in the bank. Your committee conceive, that in the case of any loss arising out of the confidence which the commissioners have placed in private banks (an event, in the present high state of credit, admitted to be extremely improbable) the commissioners would have been personally responsible.

There is a third reason for this preference of the Bank of England, which is not less important. The bank makes no allowance of interest, and shews no species of favour to the individual who places in it a

considerable balance of cash. The public accountants, who keep cash in the bank, are therefore under no temptation to render their balances unnecessarily large, and are likely not to fail in the punctuality of their payments into the exchequer.

Your committee have next to notice the too great magnitude of the balances of cash which appear in the cash-book of the commissioners, especially during a large part of the two first years, a subject not unconnected with the preceding observations.

The paper in the appendix shews the balance to have been, at the end of October, 1795, about 100,000*l.* and to have gradually risen by the end of April, 1796, to above 200,000*l.* between which period and the end of May, 1797, it fell to about 160,000*l.* It fluctuated between about 80 and 120,000*l.* during the next four years, and between 50 and 70,000*l.* during almost the whole succeeding period.

Your committee have learned by their inspection of the minute-book of the commissioners, that on the 25th February, 1796, information was asked on the part of Mr. Pitt, whether any and what sum then in hand arising from the disposal of Dutch property, could be paid into the exchequer for the service of the current year; and that the commissioners replied, that no payment of consequence into the bank according to the act of parliament could be made, unless the treasury should first move the lords of the privy council to direct the India Company to pay a sum (amounting to about 118,000*l.*) then due from the company to the commissioners.

At the time of this application, the balance in hand, the amount of



which appears not to have been stated to the treasury, was about 190,000*l.* and it was never so low as 150,000*l.* in the course of the next 15 months, a balance apparently much more than sufficient to allow of a payment of 50,000*l.* (the sum usually transferred at one time) into the bank under the act. The commissioners state to your committee, that demands upon them to the amount of not less than about 260,000 were then outstanding; but this sum must obviously comprise the payments which were to be expected in a long succeeding period, for all the actual payments of the following 16 months (if a sum of 50,000*l.* paid to government on the 30th June, 1796, and of 40,000*l.* transferred on the 31st December 1796, to the commissioners, on account of commission, and of about 49,000*l.* paid to captors, which had been previously received from the East India Company for that purpose within the same period, are excepted) amounted to only about 143,000*l.* according to a statement of the commissioners. These payments are undoubtedly no exact or very sure criterion of the sum which might fairly be considered on the 25th February, 1796, as likely to be wanted. They however furnish a strong presumption on the subject, and the circumstance of the 50,000*l.* just mentioned having been afforded to government, besides 40,000*l.* to the commissioners, a few months after the 25th February, 1796, without producing a reduction of the balance below, 150,000*l.* affords additional reason for thinking that there was no sufficient ground for objecting to make a payment into the exchequer as desired. It is further observable, that the com-

missioners, in their statement on this subject, to your committee, omit to mention the sums which in February, 1796, they might expect to receive. The sums actually received in the first fifteen of the above mentioned sixteen months, (exclusive of the 49,000*l.* which were both received from the East India Company, and paid over to captors as already stated) appear by a paper called for by your committee, to have been more than equal to the sum paid in the corresponding period, if the before mentioned payments of 50,000*l.* to government and 40,000*l.* to the commissioners are included. It is moreover observable, that a sum of from 86,000*l.* to 665,000*l.* (which in conformity to a clause in 35 Geo. 3. c. 80, was gathering interest at 4 per cent.) lay in the hands of the East India Company from the beginning of March 1796, to March 1798, being the produce of sales made by them from time to time on account of the commissioners, a part of which fund, supposing a proper understanding on this subject to have subsisted between the commissioners, the government and the East India Company, might have been convertible to the purpose of supplying the commissioners with the means of meeting some of the demands coming unexpectedly upon them. It is therefore on the whole, presumeable, that at the time of the application in question, a further augmentation of the large balance already in hand, rather than a diminution of it, was reasonably to be expected.

Your committee cannot contemplate the magnitude of the balances as they appear in the cash-book of the commissioners, without expressing



sing an opinion, that (supposing it allowable for the commissioners to adopt that construction of the act, which they have given to it) these balances ought to have been made productive by investing a very large proportion of them in exchequer bills for the benefit of the public. Probably not less than between 40 and 50,000*l.* would have accrued in the way of interest from a due attention to economy on the part of the commissioners in this particular, and the employment of the chief part of their large cash for such a purpose would have constituted a much better apology than has been offered by them for withholding from the bank the sums which the act, according to the strict construction of it, required to be paid into it, and would unquestionably have been the most convenient arrangement.

In the year 1799, a sum of 27,000*l.* due to captors, was turned to this use, which, through the accumulation of interest, amounted to 38,553*l.* at the time when it was paid; and a sum of about 33,000*l.* has been obtained for interest on the balances in the hands of the East India Company.

It has indeed been discovered in the progress of these inquiries, that the commissioners have availed themselves of the opportunity so obviously afforded them of rendering their balances productive, but that they employed them, during the years which preceded the completion of their sales, entirely with a view to their own emolument.—They have invested a part of them in exchequer bills, a part in India bonds, and a small part in the very exceptionable article of bills of ex-

change on private individuals, which they have discounted.

No minute was made of any resolution of the board to employ any part of the cash in hand in this manner, and no proof of such employment of it appears among the receipts and payments of the cash-book; the balances of which therefore do not exhibit, as they ought to do, the amount of cash in the hands of the bank, and of the several bankers, but include the sum lent out at interest: neither has any trace of the transaction been exhibited in any account, nor any mention of it been made to government, except that at about the same time when it was stated to the committee on Public Expenditure, the treasury were furnished with a copy of the statement. The committee itself did not at once receive correct or explicit information on this point.

It will appear by the papers and evidence annexed, that on the 2d of March 1807, the commissioners were directed (nearly in the same terms in which the heads of other offices were required to furnish their returns) to give an “account of their establishment and names, how paid, salary, fees, and other emoluments, and amount of their receipts on an average of the last three years.” The commissioners stated in their return, that they had “no salary, fees or emoluments, they being paid the usual commission on the sale of the property placed under their care, out of which they paid salaries to clerks, and all other expences of their establishment;” and they proceeded to say, that “their sales having ceased from the year 1798, and consequently their commission also, they expected to



be allowed, on the final settlement of their accounts, a reasonable remuneration for their services since that period." In an examination of one of the commissioners which took place a week after, he having mentioned that "a sum had been invested for the benefit of captors," was thereupon asked, "what was the amount of the sum vested in public securities?" and he replied, "about 27,000*l.* for the captors, and the whole remainder is invested also in public securities, which we shall account for to government (when we close our accounts) with interest."

In an explanatory paper, delivered to the committee a fortnight after this examination, the commissioners, after stating, "that they have taken particular care from time to time not to retain a larger balance than was necessary to meet the exigencies to which they were liable," add, that "they have invested the greatest part of that money in public securities, with a view of making it productive while it remained in their hands." They then say, that "they consider themselves accountable to government for the interest thus accruing." These expressions seem to your committee to imply, that they considered themselves accountable to government for whatever interest they had at any time received by lending the balances in hand, with the exception only of that portion of interest for which they had represented themselves as accountable to captors. They further observe in this explanatory paper, that "on the other hand, having received no commission since the year 1799, they conceive that the services, they

have since rendered, will not be more than adequately compensated by that interest, &c." But when the commissioners were specifically required, by a subsequent order of 9th March 1808, to render "an account of interest and benefit of any kind derived from the possession of any money which, in virtue of their commission, may from time to time have remained in their hands, and of which no account had been rendered to the treasury," they took a distinction between two considerable sums, received by them for interest at different periods, the one a sum of about 18,000*l.* (or of about 16,000. according to a subsequently corrected statement) received for interest before the completion of their sales; the other, a sum of about 26,000*l.* received after that period; and they remarked, that "it is for the last of these sums that they have declared themselves ready to account;" but that as to the smaller sum, first received," they have only kept an account of it as between themselves." They have declared themselves unable to furnish, from their private papers, all the information which has been asked respecting the sum first received, but they confidently remark, that the profit thus made is not more than the sum stated.

They endeavour to establish their title to the sum first received partly by claiming interest on their balances as a privilege common to public accountants, and partly by observing, that the sum in question is not equal to certain sums which they had relinquished, though entitled to them. The chief sum said to be so relinquished is that part of their commission which had been applied



applied by them to the payment of the expences of their establishment (amounting to about 15,000*l.*) from the burthen of supporting which they now claimed a right to be exempt, although, in their original return, they had professed to charge themselves with it. Another sum, which they take credit for having relinquished, consists of some commission which they forbore to charge to captors, but the reason assigned for this renunciation is one which your committee cannot countenance or approve.

Annexed is a paper transmitted by one of the commissioners, in explanation of the meaning of the expressions used in their first return; but, in the judgment of your committee, it has not removed the ground of any of the preceding Observations.

Your Committee now proceed to the last point on which it is necessary to dwell, namely, the Amount and Mode of Remuneration which, under all circumstances of the present case, seem the most proper to be adopted.

The following is the amount of the Profits which were stated on the 10 Feb. 1809, to have been received by the Commissioners:

Commission at five per-cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, after paying charges of their establishment.....	£.74,137
Brokerage.....	4,346
Interest.....	36,458

Making together...£.114,941

It was then also stated, that a further sum had been received, or was receivable, for Interest, which would make the profits of the Commissioners .....

124,785

Subject to a deduction  
of ..... 1,587

Making ..... 123,198

They have expected  
for Commission a  
further sum of  
about ..... 10,000

Making the total  
profits received,  
and expected,  
about ..... 133,198

Much the larger part of their Commission has been charged on property sold for them by the East India Company, who, by a clause in 37 Geo. 3. c. 80. were allowed five per-cent. for their expence in effecting such sales.

The Commissioners, in their first Return, have termed a commission of five per-cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, "the usual commission;" but two and a half per-cent. on the gross proceeds is the highest rate common among merchants, and is the rate charged by them in the case of goods sold through the medium of the East India Company. The interest which the Commissioners have derived from the great balance of cash in their hands is not warranted by mercantile practice, an exact interest account being generally kept between merchants selling on commission and their employers, to whom indeed they frequently make large advances; and a commission of two and a half per-cent. is, therefore to be considered as in some measure a recompence for that accommodation. It may be further remarked, that the extraordinary magnitude of the sales of the commissioners form a reasonable ground  
for



for keeping down the rate of commission. This principle was urged in the report of the committee on public offices upon the bank, with a reference to the allowance made for the management of the public debt, and has been since acted upon; and it no less evidently applies to the present case.

But the grounds on which the commissioners have preferred their claim to a commission of five per cent. on the gross proceeds in their more recent statements, have chiefly been, a precedent for that allowance, supposed to have been afforded in the case of a similar commission issued in the war of 1756, and the general practice of prize agents.

The commissioners state themselves to have derived their intelligence on the former of these points from a conversation with the late Mr. Aufrere, one of the commissioners in 1756, but their information is very imperfect and incorrect: and the commissioner who gave evidence before your committee, professed not to know whether the commission was charged on the gross or on the net amount of the proceeds of the sales. It appears by some authentic documents on this subject, of which copies are annexed, that a commission of two and a half per-cent. on the net proceeds having been granted, out of which various undefined expences were to be defrayed, the commissioners represented these expences (which, according to their construction of the term, included brokerage and various other charges besides those of their establishment) to amount to more than their commission; and that a commission of two and a half per-cent. on the net

proceeds of sales, independently of all expences, was consequently substituted. A copy of the entry in the account presented to the treasury by the Auditor, after the termination of the transactions under this commission, is inserted in the appendix, by which it appears that the total sum paid for commission was £.14,768. 3s.

It was divided among 14 commissioners.

The rate of commission charged by prize agents has been fixed by long usage at five per-cent.; and has lately been applied by the law to the net proceeds of sale, having before been charged on the gross proceeds. It appears by the evidence, that the excess of the commission of prize agents above that of merchants is justified chiefly by the peculiar trouble imposed on the prize agent in the distribution of the proceeds of his sales among the crews of the capturing vessels, a trouble from which the commissioners for the sale of Dutch property were exempt. If also the capital employed by the prize agent, and the responsibility and risk to which he is subject, are taken into consideration, little disparity between the two charges will be found.

Your committee will now present an estimate of the remuneration, to which the commissioners would be entitled according to each of the three principles which have been mentioned.—First, if the commission usual among merchants of two and a half per cent. on the gross proceeds of sales should be granted, about 50,000*l.* would be the amount of the allowance, out of which the expences of the establishment (in all about 17,000*l.*) would be to be defrayed;



defrayed, leaving about 33,000*l.* clear profit to be divided among the commissioners.

Secondly. If the principle adopted in 1756, of two and a half per cent, on the *net* proceeds, (which may amount to about 1,300,000*l.* or 1,400,000*l.*) should be resorted to, a sum of about 32,500 to 35,000*l.* would be receivable, which, the expences of the establishment being paid, would leave about 15,500*l.* to 18,000*l.* to be divided among the commissioners.

Thirdly. If the commission should be calculated at the rate which was usual among prize agents at the time when the commissioners began to act, namely, five per cent. on the gross proceeds of sales, the sum would be about 99,000*l.* subject to a similar deduction, leaving a clear profit of about 82,000*l.*

Your committee can by no means agree to decide the question according to this principle. The commission received by prize agents at the time when the commissioners were appointed, has lately been determined to be a more than adequate remuneration for the whole of their trouble. It should also be recollected, that the commissioners not only have been exempt from the labour of distributing the proceeds of their sales among the individual sailors concerned in the captures, and from much other trouble and responsibility, as well as from the advances to which prize agents are subject, but are also enabled, by the magnitude of the sum on which their commission is charged, to transact the public business at a much lower rate than is fairly due to individuals receiving ordinary consignments.

On the whole, your committee

recommend that a commission of five per cent. on the *net* proceeds of sales should be allowed to the commissioners, they paying the charges of their establishment.

This allowance will probably amount to not less than about 50,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* to each commissioner, and will be more by about 17,000*l.* than would be due to them, according to the usual practice of merchants, and more by at least about 32,000*l.* than they could claim according to the precedent of 1756, to which they have appealed.

The excess of this remuneration above that enjoyed by merchants, as well as above that granted in 1756, may be justified on the ground partly of the more than ordinary trouble imposed on the present commissioners, and partly by the length of time during which their commission has necessarily subsisted, and perhaps partly also by the circumstance of your committee, in consequence of the omission not only of the commissioners, but also of the government, having to recommend a retrospective arrangement. The sum which the commissioners will have to refund, in case of the adoption of this suggestion, will be not less than between 60 and 70,000*l.* They will also fail to receive nearly 20,000*l.* which they appear to have expected to appropriate to their own use, for further interest and commission.

Your committee cannot allow any weight to the observation, that two of the commissioners having, after a term, quitted their professions with a view to the fulfilment of their trust, some reference should be made to this circumstance



stance in estimating the amount of the remuneration. No notice of the intended sacrifice was given; and it is obvious, that by proportioning the general compensation receivable by the body to the special claims of two individuals, a more than adequate reward would be granted to the majority.

If it should be thought fit to adopt the suggestion of your committee, the commissioners ought to be credited in account for the proposed commission, and to be debited for all sums applied to their own use, since they have been taken without due authority, the same general principles being observed by the auditors in the settlement of the concerns of these commissioners which are usual in similar cases.

Your committee further suggest, that the commissioners should be directed to use their utmost diligence to make up and transmit their accounts to the lords of his majesty's privy council, with a view to their being submitted to the board of treasury, and by them referred to the auditors.

Your committee have not pursued their examination of all the topics to which their attention has been called, as will be seen by the evidence, partly because such investigation might detain them too long from their inquiries into other subjects, and partly on the ground of their not wishing to be considered as exempting the government from the duty of applying their attention to the transactions of the commissioners, or the auditors from the diligent and exact performance of the functions of their important office. The magnitude of the charges on the vessels and cargoes sold,

which manifest itself in the difference between the gross and the net proceeds, and in the excess of the charges above the whole proceeds in the case of many vessels, appear to demand attention.

Your committee have had it chiefly in their view to examine and animadvert upon those points which derive importance either from the magnitude of the saving in question, or from their involving some general principles, on which it might be material to insist.

On a review of the whole of the subject which has been before them, they beg leave generally to remark, that to commit pecuniary trusts of extraordinary magnitude to persons, however respectable as individuals, and however qualified for their employment by the habits of their former lives, without settling, during a long course of years, the mode or amount of their remuneration,—without providing any material check on their proceedings,—and without reminding them of their responsibility by calling for any regular or periodical account, is a neglect which may be expected often to lead to equally prejudicial consequences, and is a deviation from the acknowledged duty, and also, as your committee trust, from the ordinary practice of government.

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*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
Downing-street, May 24.*

A dispatch of which the following is a copy, was received this evening from Lieutenant-gen. the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's



Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

*Oporto, May 12, 1809.*

My Lord,

I had the honour to apprise your lordship, on the 7th inst., that I intended that the army should march on the 9th from Coimbra to dispossess the enemy of Oporto.

The advanced guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th to afford time for Marshal Beresford with his corps to arrive upon the Upper Douro.

The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition, of which two, the advanced guard, consisting of the Hanoverian legion, and Brigadier-General R. Stewart's brigade, with a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of three pounders, under Lieutenant-general Paget, and the cavalry under Lieutenant-general Payne, and the brigade of guards; Brigadier-gen. Campbell's and Brigadier-general ——— brigades of infantry, with a brigade of six-pounders, under Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto, and one composed of Major-general Hill's and Brigadier-gen. Cameron's brigades of infantry, and a brigade of six-pounders, under the command of Major-general Hill, by the road from Coimbra to Aviero.

On the 10th in the morning, before daylight, the cavalry and advanced guard crossed the Vouga with the intention to surprize and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albergaria Nova and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river, in the last of which

we failed; but the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day; we took some prisoners and their cannon from them; and the advanced guard took up the position of Oliviera.

On the same day Major-general Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro on the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right; and the head of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga on the same evening.

On the 11th, the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with Major-general Hill's division in a parallel road, which leads to Oporto from Ovar.

On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vendas Novas, between Souto Redondo and Grijon, they fell in with the outposts of the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of about four thousand infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Grijon, their front being covered by woods and broken ground. The enemy's left flank was turned by a movement well executed by Major-general Murray, with Brigadier-general Langworth's brigade of the Hanoverian legion; while the 16th Portuguese regiment of Brigadier-general Richard Stewart's brigade attacked their right, and the riflemen of the 95th, and the flank companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d of the same brigade under Major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and village in their centre.

These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way; and the Hon. Brigadier-general Charles Stewart led two squadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, under the command of



of Major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, and destroyed many and took many prisoners.

On the night of the 11th the enemy crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge over that river.

It was important, with a view to the operations of Marshal Beresford, that I should cross the Douro immediately; and I had sent Major-general Murray in the morning with a battalion of the Hanoverian legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if possible, to cross the river at Ovintas, about four miles above Oporto; and I had as many boats as could be collected brought to the ferry, immediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova.

The ground on the right bank of the river at this ferry is protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Sierra Convent at Villa Nova, and there appeared to be a good position for our troops on the opposite side of the river, till they should be collected in sufficient numbers.

The enemy took no notice of our collection of boats, or of the embarkation of the troops, till after the first battalion (the Buffs) were landed, and had taken up their position under the command of Lieutenant-general Paget on the opposite side of the river.

They then commenced an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly sustained, till supported, successively by the 48th and 66th regiments, belonging to Major-general Hill's brigade, and a Portuguese batta-

lion, and afterwards by the first battalion of detachments belonging to Brigadier-gen. Richard Stewart's brigade.

Lieut-gen. Paget was unfortunately wounded soon after the attack commenced, when the command of these gallant troops devolved upon Major-general Hill.

Although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression, and at last Major-general Murray having appeared on the enemy's left flank on his march from Ovintas, where he had crossed, and Lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, who by this time had availed himself of the enemy's weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the ferry, between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto, having appeared upon the right with the brigade of guards, and the 29th regiment, the whole retired in the utmost confusion towards Amaranthe, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrils, and many prisoners.

The enemy's loss in killed and wounded in this action has been very large, and they have left behind them in Oporto 700 sick and wounded.

Brigadier-general the Honourable Charles Stewart then directed a charge by a squadron of the 14th dragoons, under the command of Major Hervey, who made a successful attack on the enemy's rear guard.

In the different actions with the enemy, of which I have above given your lordship an account, we have lost some, and the immediate services of other valuable officers and soldiers.

In Lieutenant-gen. Paget, among  
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the latter, I have lost the assistance of a friend, who had been most useful to me in the few days which had elapsed since he had joined the army.

He had rendered a most important service at the moment he received his wound, in taking up the position which the troops afterwards maintained, and in bearing the first brunt of the enemy's attack.

Major Hervey also distinguished himself at the moment he received his wound in the charge of the cavalry on this day.

I cannot say too much in favour of the officers and troops.

They have marched in four days over eighty miles of most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops.

I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieut.-general Paget, Major-general Murray, Major-general Hill, Lieutenant-gen. Sherbrooke, Brigadier-gen. the Hon. Charles Stewart, Lieutenant-colonel Delancey, deputy quarter-master-general, and Captain Mellish, assistant adjutant-gen., for the assistance they respectively rendered General Stewart in the charge of the cavalry this day and on the 11th, Major Colin Campbell, assistant adjutant-general, for the assistance he rendered Major-general Hill in the defence of his post, and Brigadier-general Stewart in the charge of the cavalry this day; and Brigade-major Fordyce, Captain Corry, and Captain Hill, for the assistance they rendered General Hill.

I have also to request your lordship's attention to the conduct of

the riflemen and of the flank companies of the 29th, 43d, and 52d regiments, under the command of Major Way of the 29th, and that of the 16th Portuguese regiment, commanded by Colonel Machado, of which Lieutenant-colonel Doyle is lieut.-col., and that of the Brigade of the Hanoverian Legion, under the command of Brigadier-general Langworth, and that of the two squadrons of the 16th and 20th light dragoons, under the command of Major Blake of the 20th, in the action of the 11th; and the conduct of the Buffs, commanded by Lieut.-col. Drummond, the 48th commanded by Colonel Duckworth, 66th commanded by Major Murray, who was wounded, and of the squadron of the 14th dragoons, under the command of Major Hervey, in the action of this day.

I have received the greatest assistance from the adjutant-general and quarter-master-gen., Colonel Murray, and from all the officers belonging to those departments respectively throughout the service, as well as from Lieut.-col. Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the artillery and officers of Engineers.

I send this dispatch by Captain Stanhope, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection; his brother, the Hon. Major Stanhope was unfortunately wounded by a sabre whilst leading a charge of the 16th light dragoons on the 10th instant. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Abstract of the killed, wounded, and missing of the army under Lieut.-gen. Sir Arthur Wellesley, in



in action with the advanced posts of the French army at Albergaria Nova, 10th May, 1809.

None killed; 1 major, 2 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.—Total 4.

Names of Officers wounded.

Hon. Major Lincoln Stanhope, of the 16th dragoons, slightly wounded in the shoulder.

Abstract of killed, wounded, and missing in the army, under the command of Lieut.-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the action on the heights of Grijon, May 11, 1809.

Nineteen killed, 63 wounded, 14 missing.—Total 96.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

16th light dragoons—Captain Sweatman, wounded slightly; Lieut. Tomkinson, severely.

1st batt. detachments—Captain Owens, 38th foot, wounded; Lieut. Woodgate, 52d foot, severely wounded.

1st batt. king's German legion—Captain Delanring, killed.

2d ditto—Captain Langrelin, severely wounded.

Rifle corps king's German legion—Lieut. Ladders, wounded.

Abstract of killed, wounded, and missing in the army, under Lieut.-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, in action with the French army under the command of Marshal Soult, in the passage of the Douro, May 12, 1809.

Twenty-three rank and file, killed; 2 general and staff officers, 3 majors, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 85 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

Total—23 killed, 96 wounded, 2 missing—121.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Lieutenant-general Paget lost his arm, but doing well.

Capt. Hill, Aid-de-Camp to General Hill, slightly.

14th light dragoons—Major Hervey lost his right arm, but doing well; Captain Hawker and Lieut. Knipe, slightly.

3d foot—Lieutenant Monaghan, slightly.

48th foot, 2d batt—Major Erskine, slightly.

66th Foot, 2d batt—Major Murray, severely in the arm; Captain Binning, slightly.

Royal engineers—First lieutenant Hamilton, severely.

*Oporto, May 13, 1809.*

Return of ordnance, ammunition, carriages, and ordnance stores, &c. taken in the arsenal of Quartieri St. Oviedo, on the 12th May, 1809.

Brass guns French, the carriages broken to pieces—10 twelve pounders, 12 eight-pounders, 18 four-pounders, 16 three pounders.

Brass Howitzers French, one carriage good—2 eight inch, 1 six-inch.

French Caissons—4 serviceable, 36 unserviceable.

Three thousand whole barrels of English gunpowder.

Three hundred thousand English musket cartridges.

Round shot—2000 nine-pounders, 256 eighteen-pounders, 508 twelve-pounders, 656 eight-pounders, 580 four-pounders, 200 three-pounders.

Shells—400 six inch.

Six hundred flannel cartridges.

Case shot—120 six inch howitzers.

Wheels



Wheels good—8 guns, 30 howitzers, 18 carrs.

Sixty handspikes; 12 tarpaulins; 3,000 French flints; 10 slow matches; 100 sponges; 30 copper ladles.

G. HOWARTH, Brig.-Gen.  
Royal Horse Artillery.

*Protest against Buonaparte.—  
Pius VII. Pontiff.*

The dark designs, conceived by the enemies of the Apostolic See, have at length been accomplished.

After the violent and unjust spoliation of the fairest and most considerable portion of our dominions, we behold ourselves, under unworthy pretexts, and with so much the greater injustice, entirely stripped of our temporal Sovereignty, to which our spiritual independence is intimately united. In the midst of this cruel persecution we are comforted by the reflection, that we encounter such a heavy misfortune, not for any offence given to the emperor or to France, which has always been the object of our affectionate paternal solicitude, nor for any intrigue of worldly policy, but from an unwillingness to betray our duties.

To please men and to displease God is not allowed to any one professing the Catholic Religion, and much less can it be permitted to its Head and Promulgator.

As we, besides, owe it to God and the Church, to hand down our rights uninjured and untouched, we protest against this new violent spoliation, and declare it null and void.

We reject, with the firmest resolution, any allowance which the Emperor of the French may intend to assign us, and to the individuals composing our College.

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We should all cover ourselves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we suffered our subsistence to depend on the power of him who usurps her authority.

We commit ourselves entirely to Providence, and to the affection of the faithful, and we shall be contented piously to terminate the bitter career of our sorrowful days.

We adore with profound humility God's inscrutable decrees; we invoke his commiseration upon our good subjects, who will ever be our joy and our crown; and after having in this hardest of trials done what our duties required of us, we exhort them to preserve always untouched the religion and the faith, and to unite themselves to us, for the purpose of conjuring with sighs and tears, both in the closet and before the altar, the Supreme Father of Light, that he may vouchsafe to change the base designs of our persecutors.

Given at our Apostolic Palace, del Quirinale, this 10th of June, 1809. (*Locus Signi*)

PIUS PAPA VII.

*Excommunication of Buonaparte.  
Pius VII. Pontiff.*

By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you, and all your co-operators in the act of violence which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the second of February of last year, were guilty of the acts of violence, against which we have protested,

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protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive Secretaries of State, as also in two consistorial collocations of the 16th of March, and the 11th July, 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, and whoever else have been accessory to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10th, in the tenth year of our Pontificate.

(*Locus Signi*)

PIUS PAPA VII.

*Admiralty Office, July 15.—Letter from Captain Samuel Warren to Captain Barret of the Minotaur, transmitted by Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, Bart. and K. B.*

*Bellerophon, off Dagerost, June 20.*

Sir,—Pursuant to your signal to me of yesterday, I proceeded in his majesty's ship under my command off Hango; when at sun-set I discovered a lugger (apparently armed) and two other vessels at anchor within the islands. Deeming it of importance to get hold of them, I anchored and detached the boats under the orders of lieut. Pilch; and have to acquaint you, that they had gained complete possession of the vessels, which being found to be of no consequence, and under cover of four strong batteries (not before observed), supported by several gun-boats, were abandoned. It was then judged necessary, to prevent loss in returning, to dash at the nearest battery, mounting four 24 pounders (and, by a muster-roll found, garrisoned with 103

men), which after an obstinate resistance, was carried in the most gallant manner, the Russians retreating to boats on the other side the island. The guns were spiked, and magazine destroyed.

Lieut. Pilch reports to me the very able assistance he received from lieuts. Sheridan and Bentham, lieut. Carrington, royal marines, and Mr. Mart, carpenter (volunteers); and that more cool bravery could not have been displayed than by the officers and men employed on this service; and, considering the resistance met with, and heavy fire of grape-shot from batteries and gun-boats in the retreat, the loss is comparatively small, being five wounded.

It is the opinion of the officers that the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was considerable.

SAM. WARREN, capt.

### *The Expedition.*

The following is said to be an accurate statement of the effective strength of the Corps employed in the Expedition:—

#### CAVALRY.

King's German Legion,	
2d Light Dragoons . . . .	600
3d Light Dragoons, 3	
Squadrons . . . . .	480
9th Light Dragoons, 3	
Squadrons . . . . .	480
12th Light Dragoons . . . . .	760
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	2320

#### INFANTRY.

1st Foot Guards, 1st Bat. . .	1320
Ditto . . . . . 3d Bat. . .	1100
Flank Companies, ditto . . . .	666
King's German Legions,	
1st Light Bat. . . . .	725
Ditto, 2d. ditto . . . . .	630
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	2d, or



2d, or Queen's.....	809
3d, or Royals, 3d Bat. ....	1000
4th Foot, 1st Bat. ....	1000
————, 2d Bat. ....	900
5th..... 1st Bat.....	950
6th..... 1st Bat.....	850
8th..... 2d Bat.....	400
9th..... 1st Bat.....	950
11th..... 2d Bat.....	775
14th..... 2d Bat.....	1000
20th Regiment . . . . .	900
23d..... 2d Bat.....	400
26th..... 1st Bat.....	750
28th Regiment . . . . .	600
32d..... 1st Bat.....	590
35th..... 2d Bat.....	794
36th..... 1st Bat.....	780
38th..... 1st Bat.....	750
42d..... 1st Bat.....	700
43d..... 2d Bat.....	587
50th..... 1st Bat.....	1000
51st Regiment . . . . .	600
52d..... 2d Bat.....	400
59th..... 2d Bat.....	742
63d..... 2d Bat.....	406
68th Light Infantry . . . . .	570
71st..... 1st Bat.....	1600
76th Foot . . . . .	700
77th Regiment . . . . .	550
79th . . . . . 1st Bat.....	1000
81st . . . . . 2d Bat.....	737
82d..... 2d Bat.....	1000
84th..... 2d Bat.....	864
85th Regiment . . . . .	550
91st..... 1st Bat.....	590
92d..... 1st Bat.....	750
95th Rifle, Eight Companies	600
Two ditto . . . . .	200

Total effective rank and file 34,403

When the artillery, engineers, &c. are added to this force, the amount will, as we have already stated, be not less than 40,000 men complete.

*From the London Gazette.—Downing-street, Sept. 4.*

Dispatches, of which the follow-

ing are copies, were yesterday morning received at the office of Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieut.-gen. sir J. Stuart, dated Ischia, 5th and 9th July last.

*Ischia, July 5, 1809.*

My Lord—In my dispatch to your lordship of the 9th ult. from Milazzo, I did myself the honour to acquaint you with a project which I had formed, in concert with rear-admiral Martin, to make such a movement, as although it should produce no issue of achievement to ourselves, might still operate a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies, under the heavy pressure of reverse with which we had learned at the period they were bravely but unequally struggling.

The first measure that suggested itself to our contemplation was a menace upon the kingdom and capital of Naples; and the army, as within detailed being embarked, we sailed under convoy of his majesty's ships Canopus, Spartiate, Warrior, and some frigates and smaller vessels, on the 11th of last month, leaving orders to the division of his Sicilian majesty's troops, which had been placed under my conduct, and were waiting my instructions at Palermo, under the command of lieutenant-general de Boueard, to proceed to a given rendezvous. His royal highness prince Leopold, I found at our subsequent junction, had embarked with this division.

Our appearance on the coast of Calabria, which we reached on the morning of the 13th, had the effect of inducing the body of the enemy stationed in that province, to abandon, for the purposes of immediate concentration, the greater part of their



their posts along the shore, when those upon the line opposite Messina were seized and disarmed by a corps under lieutenant-col. Smith, who had been detached from the fleet immediately after our sailing from Milazzo, with provisional orders for that purpose.

Major-general Mackenzie, who had sailed with me, as designed to bear a part in this expedition, returned also at my request about this period, for the general superintendence of these services, as well as to hold the general command in Sicily, which becomes a charge so important during the term of our present operations.

On the 24th ult. the advanced division of the British and Sicilian fleet, namely, that which contained the British troops, anchored off Cape Miseno, in the vicinity of Baia, when our preparations were immediately made for a debarkation upon the island of Ischia; and the necessary arrangements and dispositions of boats being intrusted by the admiral to sir Francis Laforey, a descent was forced on the following morning by the troops named in the margin,\* commanded by major-general M'Farlane, under the immediate fire of his majesty's ships *Warrior* and *Success*, aided by the British and Sicilian gun-boats, in the face of a formidable chain of batteries, with which every accessi-

ble part of the shore was perfectly fortified. These were turned and successively abandoned, as our troops gained their footing. About 250 or 300 men, of the 1st Legere, in the first instance fell into our hands. General Colonna, who commanded, retired with his principal force into the castle, where he rejected a summons from major-general M'Farlane, and held out until the 30th ult. when a breaching battery having been erected against his works, he surrendered upon terms of capitulation.

As it was conjectured by the admiral and myself that the success and promptitude with which the landing upon Ischia was effected, might probably operate an influence upon the adjacent garrison of Procida, a summons was immediately sent to the commandant thereof, who, in the course of the day, submitted to our proposed terms; an event which contributed most fortunately to the almost entire capture or destruction of a large flotilla of about 40 heavy gun-boats, which attempted their passage during the night and following morning to Naples from Gaeta, and expected to find protection, as well as co-operation, under the artillery of the fortress, in their passage through the narrow straight that separates the island from the Main.

This important service was exe-

\* Troops that landed under the command of Major-General M'Farlane, assisted by the Hon. Brigadier-General Lumley.

First Battalion Infantry,.....	850
Second Battalion Light Infantry, (foreign).....	330
Eighty-first Regiment,.....	600
Corsican Rangers.....	400
Detachment Calabrian Free Corps,.....	150
Artillery, Staff Corps, &c.....	50

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Four Six-pounders. Two Howitzers.

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cuted by captain Staines, of his majesty's ship *Cyane*, assisted by the *Espoir* sloop, and the British and Sicilian gun-boats. It is with regret I add, that in a subsequent intrepid attack upon the frigate and corvette of the enemy in the bay, the above gallant officer has received a wound, which must for some time deprive the service of his assistance.

The amount of prisoners who have fallen into our hands, already exceeds one thousand five hundred regular troops, exclusive of their killed and wounded, both of military and marine, in different partial encounters, which we have reason to think are considerable. Among the prisoners are a general of brigade, two colonels, and upwards of 70 officers of progressive ranks.

Nearly 100 pieces of ordnance, with their corresponding stores, have also become our capture.

It is with much greater satisfaction, however, my lord, than any that can be derived from these local or momentary advantages, that I contemplate our success in the material and important object of diversion, for which this expedition was designed. A considerable body of troops which had been recently detached from Naples as a reinforcement to the army in Upper Italy, as well as almost the whole of the troops which had been sent into the Roman states to aid the late usurpation of the Papal dominions, were precipitately recalled on our first appearance on the coast; and I venture to hope, that the check which has been operated, and which I shall endeavour to preserve, will have already, though remotely, contributed to support the efforts of our brave allies.

The preponderating regular force which the enemy has now assembled in the contiguity of Naples, aided by a large body of National Guards, preclude the hope at this moment of any attack upon the capital.— But our footing upon these healthy islands (which were essentially necessary to us as a temporary lodgment as well as *depôt*) in affording us the earliest means of information, is also a position from which we can profit from circumstance, or can move with facility and promptitude to ulterior objects; while our enemy, who are observing us from the unwholesome plains of *Baia*, must be kept on the alert by the uncertainty of our operations, and harrassed by the necessity of corresponding with our every movement.

A flotilla of gun-boats, which I found it necessary to fit out at *Messina* to aid the army in that narrow straight, under the direction of captain *Reade*, of the quarter-master-general's department, has acquired the approbation of the admiral by their conduct upon this service.— Captain *Cameron*, of the 21st regiment, who commanded a division of these boats, is unfortunately among the few who have fallen.

The harmony and perfect concert that have subsisted between the naval and military branches upon this duty, and between his majesty's forces and those of his Sicilian majesty; the great disposition to concurrence and support which I have received from lieutenant general lord *Forbes*, and the other general officers; the able arrangements of the adjutant-general's and the quarter-master-general's departments under major-general *Campbell*, and lieutenant-colonel *Bunbury*, as well as those of the ordnance branches



under lieutenant-colonels Bryce and Lemoine; the providence of the commissariat and medical departments under Mr. Burgman and Dr. Franklin; and the zeal, readiness and good-will of the army throughout, are the means by which I am prepared to avail myself of opportunities to prosecute further a service, the plans and progress hitherto of which I humbly hope will meet his majesty's most gracious approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

J. STUART.

[Here follow the Articles of Capitulation.]

*Return of Killed and Wounded belonging to the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir J. Stuart, K. B. &c. between the 24th and 30th June, 1809.*

21st foot—1 subaltern killed.

6th batt. 13th king's German legion—1 rank and file (rifleman) killed; 3 rank and file (riflemen) wounded.

Corsican rangers—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file wounded.

Calabrian free corps—1 bugle, 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant wounded.

Army flotilla—2 marines killed; 2 marines wounded.

Total—1 subaltern, 1 bugle, 2 rank and file, 2 marines killed—1 captain, 2 serjeants, 5 rank and file, 2 marines wounded.

[Here follows a return of the ordnance.]

*Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.*

21st foot—lieutenant Cameron, doing duty with the flotilla, killed.

Corsican rangers—captain Arata, wounded.

J. CAMPBELL,

Maj. Gen. A. G.

*Ischia, July 4.*

*Ischia, July 9, 1809.*

My Lord—In my dispatch of the 5th instant, I had the honour of stating to your lordship, that lieutenant-colonel Smith had been detached after our sailing from Milazzo, with the 10th regiment and Chasseurs Britanniques, which were to be joined at the Faro by the 21st regiment, with orders to occupy and disarm the posts upon the straight opposite to Messina, upon the late retreat of the enemy upon the first appearance of our armament upon the coast of Calabria.

An attempt to reduce the Castle of Scylla was attended, in the first instance, with disappointment, from the sudden re-appearance of a large preponderating force of the enemy, which constrained lieutenant-colonel Smith to raise the siege, and embark for Messina; a measure which was effected, I am happy to say, on the 20th ult. without the smallest loss, but that of his besieging train, which necessarily became a sacrifice. It fortunately, however, has proved only a sacrifice of the moment.—The official reports from major-general Mackenzie state to me, that on the night of the 2d instant, the enemy, from some sudden panic, retreated again from the coast, having previously blown up the works of Scylla, and not only left us again our captured stores, but an immense quantity of ordnance and stores of their own, which had been placed in dépôt. Major-general Mackenzie mentions to me in particular, that thirty pieces of brass cannon



cannon had been thrown from the rock into the sea, from whence, however, there could be no difficulty in raising them, the water being extremely shallow.

The stores had been progressively assembling, I am informed, by means of coasting navigation, for a considerable time past, as preparatory to the long menaced, and I believe really intended, invasion of the kingdom of Sicily.

The conduct of lieutenant-colonel Smith during the course of this service, although attended with a momentary reverse, has been represented to me by major-general Mackenzie, in terms of great approbation, with every praise to the zeal and perseverance of the troops employed under his orders. He has also expressed great acknowledgments to the active assistance of captains Crawley and Palmer, of his majesty's ships *Philomel* and *Alacriety*, who were his co-operators on this service.

The great disunion of party in the province was a material obstacle to every means of intelligence, and led to the loss of a detachment of the 21st regiment, which had been sent at the solicitation of the inhabitants of the town of *Palmi* for their protection. General Murat directed a flag of truce to me after our arrival here, to offer to treat for an exchange of three officers, four non-commissioned officers and eighty men of this party, who were stated to be prisoners, and on their march to *Naples*. I had scarcely agreed to the measure, when in a seeming fit of humour, occasioned by a dissatisfaction at the terms of capitulation of this island, he sent another flag again to me, withdrawing the former offer, and

declining any further correspondence or communication with me whatever.

J. STUART,  
Lieutenant-General.

*Return of Casualties in the Division of the Army under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, 27th Regiment, during the siege of Scylla Castle, and at Palmi, from the 13th to the 28th June, 1809.*

Royal artillery—1 mule killed; 2 rank and file wounded; 4 horses, 11 mules missing.

10th foot—2 rank and file missing.

21st foot—1 captain, 1 rank and file killed; 7 rank and file wounded—2 captains, 2 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 76 rank and file prisoners; 7 rank and file missing.

Chasseurs Britanniques—13 rank and file missing.

Dillon's regiment—2 rank and file missing.

Total—1 captain, 1 rank and file, 1 mule killed; 9 rank and file wounded; 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 76 rank and file prisoners; 24 rank and file, 4 horses, 11 mules missing.

*Names of the Officers killed and taken prisoners.*

21st foot—captain Hunter, killed—captains Mackay and Couran, lieutenants M'Nab and Mackay, taken prisoners.

(Signed) J. CAMPBELL,  
Major-General.

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*Copy of a Dispatch from Major-General Carmichael to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Saint Carlos, before the City of St. Domingo, July 8, 1809.*

My Lord—I have the pleasure  
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to inform your Lordship, that I sailed from Jamaica on the 7th ult. with the troops as per margin, and landed at Polingue, the nearest landing place, thirty miles distant from the City of St. Domingo, on the 28th instant, when I immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the forts and fortifications, which was completely effected on the 29th, and fully satisfied me that the walls and bastions were assailable by coup-de-main; and considering the garrison who had bravely defended them for a constant siege of eight months, it appeared to me that prompt and decisive measures were most prudent before a gallant enemy, and would obviate the evil effect of open trenches in the rainy season, the only foe to be dreaded by this corps, and which had already made a severe impression on the Spanish natives of the country, 400 out of 600 of their best regiment being rendered unfit for service, and would probably be attended with more mortality to the British troops, than a conflict upon the walls.

His excellency general Sanchez, from whom I met, on the 30th ult. the most kind and cordial reception, being very sick some time before, and, I am grieved to say, still continuing so by fatigue and liver disease, ordered the Spanish troops at the different posts to execute any directions given by me, which they cheerfully performed by a forward movement immediately, and effectually cutting off the communication between the city of St. Domingo, and the strong fortress of fort Jerome, which, by covering the only landing place, prevented our communicating with the squadron.

Having the same evening refused

the French general's application for an armistice, I advanced with a detachment of the Spaniards to the church of St. Carlos, and established my quarters there within musket shot of the city, confident that the British troops would be with us that night, which however was rendered impracticable, by heavy and incessant rain, until the following night of the first, after suffering the greatest fatigue and privations, dragging the field-pieces on bad roads, and dreadful weather, and passages of rivers without proper conveyance.

The 1st of July, I received another letter from general Barquier, allowing him until twelve the next day for an answer.

In consequence of a continual fire of musketry from the walls, whilst the white flag was up, I moved forward with a party of dragoons, and sent an aid-de-camp to demand the cause, who was very politely received, and assured by general Barquier, that the inhabitants were firing at immense numbers of wild pigeons flying over the walls, but that he would give strict orders for it to cease during the suspension of hostilities. On the 2d instant, I received a letter from general Barquier, respecting the movement of the troops to Saint Carlos, which had been occupied on the 30th ult. when his overture for negotiation was rejected. On the 3d the commissioners for the capitulation met; those on the part of the French having declared that their instructions were positively not to consent to surrender, which I also understood by prisoners and intercepted letters; and as I did not conceive myself justifiable in admitting any other terms, the meeting adjourned until  
a com-



a communication could be had with the commander of the naval forces.

In consequence of bad weather, the answer was not received until the 6th inst. which perfectly coincided with my opinion as to the only terms that could be granted to the enemy. I was also informed that the river Huna had overflowed its banks, and we were thus separated from the greater part of the ordnance stores and our provisions, which further determined me to bring the matter to immediate issue, as I stated to captain Cumby, and requested that co-operation in armed seamen, ammunition, and provisions, which I found him ever ready most cordially to afford.

With humble submission to the Almighty Disposer of events, full confidence in a just cause, and British hearts to maintain it, I wrote a letter to be delivered to general Barquier, on the garrison again refusing to lay down their arms, and immediately made the following disposition :

The first brigade, under the command of lieut.-col. Horsford, who preferred that command to the duty of deputy-adjutant-general.

The second brigade under Major Curry of the 54th regiment, (lieut. Col. Smyth of the 55th regiment, a valuable officer, not having joined, by the Diego transport in which he was embarked being a bad sailor,) and whose absence I would have greatly regretted, as well as the excellent officers and men with him, had the expected engagement taken place. On firing the first gun from the enemy, the reserve to be formed of the Royal Irish and 54th Grenadiers; 50 men of the 2d West India regiment, and the same number of the Porto Rico regiment, as

this body had sufficient cover, as long as the walls of the church and my quarters remained, upon which above 20 guns and one mortar bore at the distance of 338 yards; I directed Brigadier-General French, a most active and zealous officer, to take up a position at a hollow, about 150 paces distant in my rear; and should the garrison attempt a sortie upon the reserve, to wait their close approach, charge bayonets, and follow them into the city. Had the enemy remained within the gates, false attacks and feints at different points were to be made during the night; and, scaling ladders being prepared, a general assault was to take place in open day, the first favourable opportunity; a lodgment effected upon the bastions; but the troops not to enter the streets until further orders.

During this hour of suspense under arms, the only sensation perceptible was impatience for attack, and the countenance of every British soldier at that interesting period depicted a resolute determination to plant the glory of England with the points of their bayonets upon the fortified walls of St. Domingo. The hour having expired, I sent my militray secretary, Capt. Twigg, to know the reason the white flag was continued after the time had elapsed, and not any answer returned to my letter? He met at the gate Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, announcing that the ultimatum had been agreed upon, and the garrison consented to lay down their arms as prisoners of war.

I also detached Major Walker, of the Royal Irish, with the three light companies of the Royal Irish, 54th, and 55th regiments of foot,



to Fort Jerome, a very strong fortress, about two miles west of the city, with orders, on the commencement of the action, to force the gate with a field-piece, and to storm by the sally port, the walls being too high for escalade. Upon his summon, Captain Gillerman, who had no provisions but biscuit left, gave the answer of a brave soldier—that he would abide the fate of the city.

The honour of his majesty's arms, my Lord, has been maintained without the loss of one British soldier, by shot or sickness, or having recourse to that glorious, but at the same time deplorable resource, the assault of a populous city. When it is considered the courage and persevering fortitude of the French garrison, with their superiority of position and numbers, I trust his majesty will not disapprove of the measures taken for the reduction, the magnitude of the object obtained, and the terms granted to the enemy; and which will be delivered to your lordship by my military secretary Captain Twigg, of the 54th regiment, to whom I beg leave to refer for further information, and earnestly recommend him as an officer deserving such mark of favour as his majesty may be graciously pleased to confer.

I have, my lord, now a further most gratifying duty to perform—that of making known to his majesty the most zealous and indefatigable exertions of the following officers:—Brigadier-general French, second in command; Lieutenant-Colonel Hosford, commanding the first brigade; Lieutenant-col. Smith, commanding the royal artillery, whose abilities and unwearied at-

tention surmounted uncommon difficulties; Lieutenant-Col. Myers, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and Commissioner to arrange the Articles of Capitulation.

The prominent situation of those Officers afforded me a constant experience of their zeal, abilities, and anxiety for the most honourable termination of the enterprize; and which sentiments, I can assure your Lordships, actuated every Officer, non-commissioned Officer, and soldier upon the expedition.

It would be ingratitude in me, my Lord, were I to omit stating, in the strongest possible terms, the cordial co-operation, as I have already noticed, and efficient aid the army received from Captain Cumby, commanding his majesty's squadron before the city, who also landed two officers, Lieuts. Denman and Sheriff, with a detachment of seamen, who were of infinite service, and cheerfully underwent the most severe fatigue and labour.

It is impossible for me to pass over in silence the very great assistance I received from William Valton, jun. esq., an English gentleman, who formerly resided in the island, and whose acquaintance with the country, inhabitants, and languages, rendered his voluntary and able services of the most essential benefit, as private secretary to me during the expedition.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

H. I. CARMICHAEL, Major-General, Commanding his Britannic Majesty's Forces at the City of St. Domingo.

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*From the London Gazette, August 5.—Copy of a Letter from Vice Admiral Sir James Saumarez,*



*rez, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Baltic, to the Hon. William Wellesley Pole, dated on board the Victory, off Nargen Island, 9th of July.*

Sir—On my arrival in the Gulf of Finland, having detached Capt. Martin, of his majesty's ship Implacable, with the Melpomene under his orders, to cruize to the eastward of Nargen Island, I herewith inclose a list of vessels which he has captured for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the admiralty; several of them being laden with naval stores belonging to the Emperor of Russia, and which cannot fail proving a valuable acquisition in England.

I also inclose, for their lordships' information, copies of two letters I have received from Captain Martin, of yesterday's date.

*Extract of two letters from Capt. Martin, dated off Percola Point, July 6, 1809, to Sir James Saumarez, and by him transmitted to the Lords of the Admiralty.*

The Implacable and Melpomene having stood into the Gulph of Narva, captured nine sail of vessels, laden with timbers, spars, and cordage, belonging to the Emperor of Russia, and which I doubt not will prove a valuable acquisition to our own dock yards.

The boats of the ships under that active and valuable officer, Lieutenant Hawkey (of whose enterprizing spirit I had occasion to speak so highly when off Dantzic) have looked into every creek along the south coast of the Gulph, without finding any vessels whatever, and he is now on the opposite with the same view.

P. S. Since writing the above, Lieutenant Hawkey has returned with three vessels, captured by the boats of the Implacable, Melpomene, and Prometheus, under his command, and he reports eight sail of gun-boats protecting some ships in shore, and is very desirous of attacking them, which shall be done, if there is a reasonable hope of success.

*His Majesty's ship Implacable, off Percola Point, July 8, 1809.*

Sir,

The position taken by the Russian flotilla under Percola Point, seemed so much like a defiance, that I considered something was necessary to be done, in order to impress these strangers with that sense of respect and fear, which his majesty's other enemies are accustomed to shew to the British flag; I therefore determined to gratify the anxious wish of Lieutenant Hawkey to lead the boats of the ships named in the margin,\* which were assembled by nine o'clock last night, and proceeded with an irresistible zeal and intrepidity towards the enemy, who had the advantage of local knowledge, to take a position of extraordinary strength within two rocks, serving as a cover to their wings, and from whence they could pour a destructive fire of grape upon our boats, which, notwithstanding, advanced with perfect coolness, and never fired a gun till actually touching the enemy, when they boarded sword in hand, and carried all before them.

I believe a more brilliant achievement does not grace the records of our naval history; each officer was impatient to be the leader in the at-

\* Implacable, Bellerophon, Melpomene, and Prometheus.



tack, and each man zealous to emulate their noble example, and the most complete success has been the consequence of such determined bravery; of eight gun-boats, each mounting a thirty-two, and twenty-four pounder, and 46 men, six have been brought out, and one sunk; and the whole of the ships and vessels (12 in number), under their protection, laden with powder and provisions for the Russian army, brought out, and a large armed ship taken and burnt; I have deeply to lament the loss of many men killed and wounded, and especially that most valuable officer, Lieutenant Hawkey, who, after taking one gun-boat, was killed by a grape-shot, in the act of boarding the second. No praise from my pen can do adequate justice to this lamented young man; as an officer, he was active, correct, and zealous, to the highest degree; the leader in every kind of enterprize, and regardless of danger; he delighted in whatever could tend to promote the glory of his country; his last words were "Huzza! push on! England for ever!"

Mr. Hawkey had been away in the boats on different services, since last Monday, accompanied by Lieut. Vernon, whose conduct in this affair has been highly exemplary, and shewn him worthy to be the companion of so heroic a man; but while I am induced to mention the name of Mr. Vernon, from his constant services with Mr. Hawkey, I feel that every officer, seaman and marine, has a claim to my warmest praises, and will, I trust, obtain your favourable recommendation to the lords commissioners of the admiralty. Lieutenant Charles Allen, of the Bellerophon, was the senior officer after Mr. Hawkey's death.

I have just been informed, that Lieutenant Stirling of the *Prometheus*, who was severely wounded, is since dead; his conduct in this affair was very conspicuous, and Captain Forest speaks highly in praise of the zeal and activity of his services on every occasion. I am sure you will readily believe that Captain Forest did not witness the preparation for this attack, without feeling an ardent desire to command it, but I was obliged to resist his pressing importunity, as a matter of justice to Mr. Hawkey.

The Russians have suffered severely in this conflict, the most moderate statement makes it appear that two thirds of them have been killed and wounded, or jumped overboard. Inclosed is a list of killed and wounded, the names of the officers employed, an account of vessels captured, and number of prisoners.—I have the honour to be, &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

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*Dispatches from Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.*

*Placentia, 15th July.*

My lord,—After I had written to your lordship on the 1st instant, Joseph Buonaparte crossed the Tagus again, and joined Sebastiani with the troops he had brought from Madrid, and with a detachment from marshal Victor's corps, making the corps of Sebastiani about 28,000 men, with an intention of attacking Venegas's corps. Venegas, however, retired into the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and col. Larey with his advanced guard attacked a French advanced corps in the night, and destroyed many of them. The French troops then returned again to the Tagus, which



which river Joseph had crossed with the reinforcement which he had taken to Sebastiani's corps; and this last corps, consisting of 10,000 men only, was on the left bank of the Tagus, about Madrilejos, in front of Venegas, who was again advancing. The last accounts from this quarter were of the 8th. The French army under Victor, joined by the detachments brought by Joseph from Sebastiani's corps, and amounting in the whole to about 35,000 men, are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and on the Alberche; gen. Cuesta's army has been in the position which I informed your lordship that it had taken up, since I addressed you on the 1st instant. The advanced guard of the British army arrived on the 8th, and the troops which were with me on the Tagus arrived by the 10th; the 23d light dragoons and the 48th arrived yesterday; the 61st regiment will arrive to-morrow. I went to gen. Cuesta's quarters at Almarez on the 10th, and stayed there till the 12th, and I have arranged with that general a plan of operations upon the French army, which we are to begin to carry into execution on the 18th, if the French should remain so long in their position. The Spanish army under general Cuesta consists of about 38,000 men (exclusive of Venegas's corps), of which 7000 are cavalry. About 14,000 men are detached to the bridge d'Arzobispo, and the remainder are in the camp under the Puerte de Mirabete. I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the seven battalions of infantry from Ireland and the Islands, and the troops of horse artillery from Great Britain, arrived at Lisbon in the beginning of the

month. Gen. Crauford's brigade is on its march to join the army, but will not arrive here till the 24th or 25th.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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*Downing-street, Aug. 26.—The following dispatch has been received from Major Maxwell, of the royal African corps, addressed to Viscount Castlereagh.*

*Senegal, July 18.*

My lord,—When I had last the honour of writing to your lordship, I communicated such information as I had received concerning the situation of the French colony of Senegal, and my opinion of the practicability of reducing it with a small force: I also mentioned the annoyance we had received at Goree and its vicinity, from their privateers, during the absence of ships of war from that station. On the 24th June, commodore Columbine arrived at Goree with the Solebay frigate, and brig Tigress, having the colonial schooner George, Agincourt transport, and several merchant vessels under convoy: and having communicated to him what intelligence I had lately obtained, we thought the reduction of Senegal practicable with the force we possessed, provided no obstacles should prevent our being able to pass the bars at the mouth of the river. To this attempt I was induced by considerations which I trust your lordship will conceive to be of weight. I was of opinion that the colony of itself would be an acquisition of importance to the nation, from its commerce: that by the French government, as it had always been much valued, its loss would be proportionably felt; and that by driving



driving the enemy from their sole possession on the coast, his majesty's settlements, and the British commerce, would be more secure, and more easily protected. Having therefore procured some light vessels and boats, the best adapted for passing the bar, a detachment of the garrison of Goree, consisting of 6 officers, 6 serjeants, 4 drummers, and 150 rank and file, was embarked on board the Agincourt transport on the 4th of July, when we sailed, and anchored at the bar on the evening of the 7th. Next morning commodore Columbine was of opinion the troops might be passed over the bar, which was accordingly effected, though with much difficulty, by the exertions of the navy. We unfortunately, however, lost a schooner and sloop, containing much of our provisions and ammunition; and the schooner George went on shore inside the bar. I landed the detachment and 60 royal marines from the ships of war, on the left bank of the river, where I took up a position, with a view to wait till provisions could be passed from the shipping, and the schooner George could be got off. We then learnt that the enemy had made a formidable line of defence at the post of the Baubague, 12 miles up the river, where there is a battery, in front of which three cannoniers and four other vessels were moored, and the whole protected by a strong boom drawn across the river. On the 9th we were attacked, but speedily repulsed the enemy, and drove them within their lines at Baubague; after which we returned to get off the schooner, which was effected on the following evening. The 11th was employed in refitting the schooner, and embarking

provisions and water. The Solebay frigate and Derwent sloop of war were ordered to anchor opposite to the post of Babague, and bombard it, which was executed with much effect. During the night, in shifting her birth, the Solebay unfortunately got aground, but in a position which enabled her still to annoy the enemy. On the morning of the 12th the troops were embarked, and the flotilla proceeded up the river, till just without gun-shot of the enemy's line of defence; and when every thing was in readiness for a night attack, we received information that it was the intention of the French commandant to capitulate.—Willing to spare an unnecessary effusion of human blood, the attack was postponed. On the morning of the 13th, we discovered that the boom was broken, that the enemy had abandoned the battery and vessels, leaving their colours flying, and shortly afterwards a letter was received from messrs. Degrigny and Durecu, in the name of the commandant of Senegal, offering to capitulate. Mr. Heddle, surgeon to the forces, who had acted as my aid-de-camp during the campaign, was sent forward to treat with these gentlemen, and soon returned with the articles of capitulation, which I inclose, and which we ratified. I immediately took possession of the battery of Isle aux Anglois; and in the course of the evening the battery of Guelander facing the town.—Next morning the garrison laid down their arms, and were embarked. We then found that the force which had been employed against us amounted to 160 regular soldiers, and 240 militia and volunteers. We had no reason, however, to count on much opposition



opposition from the latter part of the enemy's force.

[*The dispatch concludes with speaking in high terms of captain Titley, lieutenant Bones, and the other officers of the royal navy and marines, as well as Mr. Heddle, assistant commissary Hamilton, and captain Odum, the bearer of the dispatch.*]

C. W. MAXWELL,  
Major R. A. corps.

*Downing-street, Aug. 15.—The following dispatches were this day received from Sir Arthur Wellesley.*

*Talavera de la Reyna, July 29.*

My lord,—Gen. Cuesta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberche on the morning of the 24th as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos. For the reasons stated to your lordship in my dispatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry across the Alberche to Cassalegos, under the command of lieut.-gen. Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between gen. Cuesta and me, and with sir R. Wilson's corps at Escalona. It appears that gen. Venegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Daniel, in La Mancha; and the enemy in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces in this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2000 men in that place. His united army thus consisted of the corps of marshal Victor, of that of gen. Sebastiani, and of 7 or

8000 men, the guards of Joseph Buonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid; and it was commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, aided by marshals Jourdon and Victor, and gen. Sebastiani. On the 26th gen. Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberche, gen. Sherbrooke continuing at Cassalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla. It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera; and gen. Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered general Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving gen. M'Kenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood, on the right of Alberche, which covered our left flank. The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon and in second line, a division of infantry, under the orders of maj.-gen. Hill. There was a valley between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence upon the expected action. The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to



to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, on the roads leading from the town and the right, to the left of our position. In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had begun to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear. Brig.-gen. A. Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by gen. Cotton's brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry. At about two, on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack gen. Mackenzie's division. The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of general Mackenzie's and col. Donkin's brigades, and gen. Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by gen. Payne, with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2d battalion 87th regiment, and 2d battalion 31st regiment, in the wood. Upon this occasion, the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and the 5th battalion 60th regiment, were conspicuous; and I had particular reason for being satisfied with the manner in

which major-gen. Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard. As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in large numbers on the right of the Alberche, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack on the combined army. Gen. Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in the rear of the guards, col. Donkin being placed in the same situation further upon the left, in the rear of the king's German legion. The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the dusk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our position, and by an attempt, with his cavalry, to overthrow the Spanish infantry, posted, as I have before stated, on the right: this attempt failed entirely. Early in the night he pushed a division along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by gen. Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession, but maj.-gen. Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it. This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again at daylight in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by maj.-gen. Hill. Maj.-gen. Hill has reported to me in a particular manner the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment, in these different affairs, as well as that of maj.-gen. Tilson and brig.-gen. Richard Stewart. We have lost many brave officers and soldiers in the defence of this important point in our position; among others I cannot avoid to mention brig.-major Fordyce and brig.-maj. Gardner; and major-general Hill was himself wounded,



wounded, but, I am happy to say, but slightly. The defeat of this attempt was followed about noon by a general attack with the enemy's whole force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry under lieutenant-general De Bassecourt. The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by major-general Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the 1st German light dragoons, and 23d dragoons, under the command of general Anson, directed by lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by general Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23d dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan. At the same time he directed an attack upon brigadier-general Alex. Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British. This attack was most successfully repulsed by brigadier-general Campbell, supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and brigadier-general Campbell took the enemy's cannon. The brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the 2d battalion 7th, and of the 2d battalion 53d regiments; and I

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was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended. An attack was also made at the same time upon lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the 1st line of the British army. This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole division; but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the 2d line of general Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment. I had moved this regiment from its original position on the heights, as soon as I observed the advance of the guards; and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division. Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy's troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Alberche, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands 20 pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and some prisoners. Your lordship will observe by the inclosed return, the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our number: that of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed; and, indeed, the battalions that retreated

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ed were much reduced in numbers. By all accounts their loss is 10,000 men. Generals Lapisse and Morlot are killed; gens. Sebastiani and Boulet wounded. I have particularly to lament the loss of major-gen. Mackenzie, who had distinguished himself on the 27th, and of brig.-general Langworth of the king's German legion, and of brig.-maj. Becket of the guards. Your lordship will observe, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops. The Spanish commander in chief, his officers, and troops, manifested every disposition to render us assistance, and those of them which were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy, while he was engaged with us. I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to lieutenant-general Sherbrooke for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets. To lieutenant-general Payne and the cavalry, particularly general Anson's brigade; to major-generals Hill and Tilson, brig.-gens. A. Campbell, R. Stewart and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their commands respectively, particularly the 29th regiment, commanded by colonel White; the 1st battalion 48th, by col. Donnellan, afterwards, when that officer was wounded, by maj. Middlemore; the 2d battalion 7th, by lieutenant-col. sir W. Myers; the 2d battalion 53d, by lieutenant-col. Bing-

ham; the 97th, by col. Lyon; the 1st battalion of detachments, by lieutenant-col. Punbury; and the 2d battalion 31st, by major Watson; and of the 45th, by lieutenant-col. Guard; and 5th battalion 60th, commanded by major Davy on the 27th. The advance of the brigade of guards was most gallantly conducted by brig.-gen. Campbell; and, when necessary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the best order. The artillery, under brig.-gen. Howorth, was also throughout these days of the greatest service; and I have every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the chief engineer, lieutenant-col. Fletcher, the adjutant-general, brig.-gen. the hon. C. Stewart, and the quarter-master-general, col. Murray, and the officers of those departments respectively, and from col. Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff. I also received much assistance from col. O'Lawler, of the Spanish service, and from brig.-gen. Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the two Spanish battalions to the assistance of brig.-general A. Campbell. I send this by captain lord Fitzroy Somerset, who will give your lordship any further information; and whom I beg to commend.

A. WELLESLEY.

*From Sir A. Wellesley, Talavera, Aug. 1.*

Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 29th July, the enemy have continued to keep a rear-guard of about 10,000 men on the heights to the left of the Alberche. The extreme fatigue of the troops, the want of provisions, and the numbers of wounded to be taken care of, have prevented me from moving from this position. Brig.-gen. Crauford arrived with



his brigade on the 29th in the morning, having marched 12 Spanish leagues in little more than 24 hours.  
*From Sir A. Wellesley, Talavera, Aug. 1.*

When I addressed you this morning, I had not received the report from our out-posts. It appears that the enemy withdrew the rear-guard, which was posted on the heights on the left side of the Alberche, last night at 11 o'clock, and the whole army marched towards Santa Olalla; I conclude, with an intention of taking up a position in the neighbourhood of Guadarama.

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*Copy of a Letter from Capt. Lord George Stuart, of his Majesty's ship the Amiable, addressed to Rear-Admiral Sir R. Strachan, and a duplicate of which has been transmitted to the Hon. W. W. Pole.*

*His Majesty's ship L'Amiable, off Cuxhaven, July 29, 1809.*

Sir—The French troops in Hanover, not content with frequent predatory and piratical incursions in the neighbourhood of Cuxhaven, had the audacity to enter the village of Rützbuttle with a body of horse at mid-day, on Wednesday the 26th inst. and very narrowly missed making several officers of the squadron prisoners. In consequence I was induced to land a detachment of seamen and marines from the vessels composing the squadron under my orders, for the purposes, if possible, of intercepting them. In the ardour of pursuit we advanced until we got sight of the town of Bremerleke, into which we learned they had retreated. The information was incorrect. On entering the

town we were assured that the enemy, to the number of about 250, occupied the town of Gessendorf, two miles distant, and further, that it contained a depot of confiscated merchandize. It was resolved instantly to attack it.

For this purpose captain Goate of the Mosquito, advanced with a detachment, while I directed capt. Pettet, of the Briseis, to take a circuitous route, and take a well constructed battery of four twelve pounders, commanding the river Weser in flank, while the remainder, under my own immediate directions, headed by captain Watts, of the Ephira, advanced to attack it in front. The road we had to pass, subjected us all to a galling fire of round and grape from the battery, the guns of which were all pointed inwards, and which in return we could only answer by discharges of musketry. Gessendorf, though certainly tenable with the numbers the enemy had opposed to ours, was on the approach of captain Goate, precipitately evacuated. The enemy, being previously informed of our approach, had put into requisition a number of light waggons for the transportation of the foot, in rear of which sixty well mounted cavalry drew up.

The enemy in the battery, seeing us determined, notwithstanding their fire, to carry our point, and that we were making preparations for fording a deep and wide creek in their front, abandoned it, and embarked in boats on the Weser ready for their reception, under a severe fire of musketry from our detachment, with the loss on their part of several killed and wounded. From a fore knowledge of our intentions on the part of the enemy,



we made but four prisoners, the commandant of the battery, Monsieur Le Murche, a lieutenant, and two inferior officers. The battery guns were burst in pieces, the embrasures demolished, the gun-carriages burnt, together with the magazine, guard-houses, &c. &c. The powder we brought off, together with six waggon loads of confiscated merchandise.

I beg leave to state to you, sir, for their lordships information, how much I feel indebted to captain Goate, for the zeal and ability evinced by him on this, as on all other occasions, during the time he has been commanding officer on the station.

I also feel indebted to captain Pettet, for his punctuality and promptness in executing my orders; and can only regret that an opportunity was not afforded him of distinguishing himself on this occasion congenial to his wishes.

But I beg leave particularly to mention captain Watts, of the *Ephira*, who, in the most gallant and active manner, advanced intrepidly in front of the attacking party amidst the enemy's galling fire, and rendered himself equally conspicuous afterwards, for his unremitting exertion in the complete demolition of the battery; in the execution of which service, I am concerned to say, he received a wound in the leg, but which, from its nature, will in no shape incapacitate him for future service.

A want of zeal and activity was discernible no where; to every officer and man I must award the meed of praise so justly their due; but of lieutenant Burges, of the *Pincher*, and W. Hawkins, second-lieutenant, of *L'Amiable*, I am more compe-

tent to speak in favour, for their indefatigable exertions in forwarding my orders to the different detachments.

The distance from Gessendorf to Cuxhaven is 28 miles; I leave it then to their lordships, to estimate the spirit, alacrity, and expedition with which this service must have been performed, when I state, that in 24 hours from our departure, the whole detachment returned, and were safely embarked on board their respective ships, without the loss of an individual.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

G. STUART.

*Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart.*

*K. B. Rear-Admiral of  
the White, &c. &c.*

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*From the London Gazette Extraordinary.—Downing-street, August 7.*

The following dispatches were received last night from the Earl of Chatham.

*Head-quarters, Middleburgh,  
August 2.*

“My Lord—I have the honour of acquainting your lordship that having sailed from the Downs early in the morning of the 28th ult. with rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan, in his majesty's ship *Venerable*, we arrived the same evening and anchored in the East Capelle roads, and were joined on the following morning by the division of the army under lieut. gen. sir John Hope. It blew in the course of that day a fresh gale from the westward, which created a heavy swell; and the small craft being much exposed, it was determined to seek shelter for them in the anchorage of  
the



the Roompot, where lieut.-general sir J. Hope's division was also directed to proceed, in order to possess such points as might be necessary to secure the anchorage; as well as with a view to future operations up the East Scheldt. The left wing of the army under lieut.-gen. sir Eyre Coote, particularly destined for the operations against Walcheren, arrived on the 29th, and morning of the 30th; but the wind continuing to blow fresh from the westward, and occasioning a great surf on the beach, both on the side of Zoutland, as well as near Domburg, it became expedient, in order to effect a landing, to carry the whole fleet through the narrow and difficult passage into the Veer Gat, hitherto considered impracticable for large ships; which being successfully accomplished, and the necessary preparations for debarkation being completed, I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship that the troops landed on the Bree, and about a mile to the westward of Fort der Haak, without opposition, when a position was taken up for the night on the sand hills, with East Capelle in front. Lieut.-gen. Fraser was detached immediately to the left against Fort der Haak and Ter Vere, the former of which, on his approach, was evacuated by the enemy; but the town of Vere, which was strong in its defence, and had a garrison of about 600 men, held out till yesterday morning, notwithstanding the heavy and well-directed fire of the bomb-vessels and gun-boats, during the preceding day, and until the place was closely invested. Early on the morning of the 31st, a deputation from Middleburgh, from whence the garrison had been with-

drawn into Flushing, having arrived in camp, terms of capitulation were agreed upon, copies of which I have the honour herewith to enclose, as well as that of the garrison of Ter Vere; and the divisions of the army, under the orders of lieut.-general lord Paget and major-general Graham, moved forward and took up a position with the right to Maliskirke, the centre at Gryperskirke, and the left to St. Laurens. On the morning of the 1st inst. the troops advanced to the investment of Flushing, which operation was warmly contested by the enemy. In this movement he was driven by major-general Graham's division, on the right, from the batteries of the Dykeshook, the Vigeter and the Nole, while brig.-gen. Houston's brigade forced the enemy posted on the road from Middleburgh to retire with the loss of 4 guns, and many killed and wounded. Lieut.-gen. lord Paget's division also drove in the posts of the enemy, and took up his position at West Zouberg."

*[His lordship here bestows great praise on lieut.-gen. sir E. Coote, and the officers commanding columns; likewise on the light troops under brig.-gen. baron Rottenburg, the 3d battalion of the royals; flank companies of the 4th reg. and generally on the whole of the troops.]*

Ter Vere being in our possession, lieut.-gen. Fraser's division marched in the evening upon Ruttern, detaching a corps for the reduction of Ramakins, which, when effected, will complete the investment of Flushing. I have to regret the temporary absence of brig.-gen. Browne, who was wounded late in the day, but I trust not long to be



deprived of his services. I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed, wounded and missing.— Deeply as the fall of every British soldier is at all times to be lamented, the loss will not appear to have been great, when the serious impediments it was in the power of the enemy to oppose to our progress are considered, as well as the formidable state of the batteries of Flushing, to which the troops were necessarily exposed. The pressure of circumstances has prevented the commanding officer of artillery from furnishing a detailed account of the guns and ordnance stores taken in the several batteries, and fortress of Ter Vere, but which will be hereafter transmitted, with a return of the prisoners taken since our landing, supposed to amount to 1000. Commodore Owen's squadron, with lieut.-gen. marquis of Huntley's division, remains at anchor in the Wieling Passage, and the divisions of lieut.-gen. the earl of Rosslyn and lieut.-gen. Grosvenor are arrived at the anchorage in the Vere Gat.

*[The dispatch concludes with acknowledging the ability with which the fleet was conducted through the passage into the Vere Gat, and likewise the zealous exertions of the officers of the navy, as well as the seamen in dragging the artillery through a heavy sand.]*

CHATHAM.

P. S. Since writing the above letter, I have received intelligence from lieut.-gen. sir J. Hope, that the reserve of the army had effected their landing on South Beveland, and that a detachment had occupied the town of Goes.

*[Articles of capitulation for the surrender of the town of Middle-*

*burgh follow. They stipulate for the protection of the peaceable citizens, as well as all private property, condition that all fire arms are given up, and the public property accounted for to British commissioners appointed for that purpose. Public functionaries and their families are to be permitted to retire to any other part of Holland.— The capitulation of the fortress of Vere is likewise appended. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, public property is to be delivered up, and the inhabitants of the town are to be protected in their privileges.]*

*Middleburgh, August 3.*

My Lord—Since my letter of yesterday's date, I have received intelligence from lieut.-general sir J. Hope, of his having occupied Bathz, and taken possession of the whole island of South Beveland. I have also the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that upon the batteries being prepared to open, the fortress of Ramakins surrendered this evening, and I have the honour to enclose the articles of capitulation.

CHATHAM.

*[The capitulation of the fortress of Ramakins here follows. The garrison, consisting of only 127 men, surrendered prisoners of war.]*

*Admiralty-office, Aug. 7.*

Dispatches brought by lieutenant J. Duncan, of the *Ida* cutter, were received yesterday evening from sir J. Strachan.

*Venerable, off the Vere Gat, August 4, 1809.*

Sir—You have been already acquainted that I had hoisted my flag in the *Amethyst*, and that it was  
my



my intention to have preceded the expedition, in company with the *Venerable*, on board which ship lord Chatham had embarked; but finding the public service might suffer from the commanders-in-chief being separated, I therefore shifted to the *Venerable*, and sailed from the Downs at day-light on the 28th ult.

I have now to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, of my arrival on the evening of that day in the Stone Deep, with the *Ametyst* and several smaller vessels, where I was joined by the *Fisgard*, captain Bolton, who had with great judgment placed vessels on the various shoals off this coast. After dark, lieutenant Groves of this ship, with some skilful pilots in Deal boats, were dispatched to sound the Roompot channel, and to station vessels at its entrance.

Early next morning, the 29th, the division of lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, conducted by capt. Bathurst, in the *Salsette*, joined me, as did also rear-admiral sir R. Keats, in the *Superb*. This zealous officer had the command of the blockading squadron off the entrance of the Scheldt; but observing the armament pass, he, with his usual promptitude, left that squadron under the orders of lord Gardner, and resumed the charge of sir J. Hope's division: I therefore directed the rear-admiral to shift his flag to the *Salsette*, and to proceed to the Roompot.

The entrance to that channel is very narrow; and as I was aware of sir H. Popham's local knowledge of the insular navigation before me, I intrusted to that officer the service of leading sir R. Keats's division in, and which he did with great skill in the *Sabrina*, captain Kittoe:

the whole were anchored in safety opposite Zeerickzee, situated between the islands of Schowen and North Beveland.

That afternoon, rear-admiral Otway with the left wing of the army, under sir E. Coote, joined me in the Stone Deep, but it blew too fresh to have any communication. On the morning of the 30th, sir H. Popham returned with a letter from sir R. Keats, acquainting me that the division under his charge were all safely anchored; and I was likewise informed that there was sufficient space in the Roompot to contain all the ships; to which anchorage sir H. Popham undertook to conduct them; and as it blew fresh, with all the appearance of an approaching gale, the squadron was instantly got under sail, and led in by the *Venerable*, when they all came to in safety off the Vere Gat.

As soon as the ships were secured, measures were instantly taken to prepare to land the army on the island of Walcheren. I did not wait for the gun-boats coming up, but ordered those who happened to be near the *Venerable*, together with the mortar brigs, to push in shore, to cover the landing, and to force the Derhaak battery. At half past four the boats put off under the direction of lord Amelius Beauclerc, of the *Royal Oak*, and captain Cockburn of the *Belleisle*, and the troops were landed in excellent order, without opposition; the firing from the mortar and gun-vessels having driven the enemy completely from the Derhaak battery. Having thus accomplished this first object, I lost no time in directing the bombs and gun-vessels to proceed up the Vere Gat, off Camvere; and having given sir H. Popham, who,



at the request of lord Chatham, had remained on shore with his lordship's permission to employ them as the service might require, he the next morning began to cannonade Camvere, which had been summoned, but held out. The fire of the gun-boats was exceedingly well directed, and did much damage to the town. The officers and crews engaged in that service had a great claim to my admiration for their conduct.— Three of our gun-boats were sunk. In the afternoon it blew fresh ; and as the strength of the tide prevented the bombs from acting, I directed the flotilla to fall back, preserving a menacing position. At night, captain Richardson, of the *Cæsar*, who was on the Dyke, on shore, threw some rockets at the nearest battery of Camvere, and soon after the commanding officer of the town sent out an offer to surrender. A copy of the terms acceded to by lieutenant-general Fraser, and captain Richardson, the senior naval officer on the spot, accompanies this letter.

The army under sir J. Hope landed at South Beveland on the 1st of this month ; and by a letter from sir R. Keats, of yesterday's date, I find the whole of the island is in our possession, the enemy's ships are all above Lillo, and those most advanced, as high up as Antwerp. We are getting our flotilla through the slough into the Western Scheldt, to prevent succours being thrown into Flushing by the canal of Ghent.

[The letter concludes with acknowledging the particular services of rear-admiral Otway, sir R. Keats, lord Beauclerc, and capt. Cockburn, and generally of all the

officers and seamen of his majesty's ships.]

R. J. STRACHAN.

*Sabrina, off South Beveland,  
August 1, 1809.*

Sir—I have the satisfaction to inform you, that sir John Hope and 7000 of his division of the army were landed at South Beveland this afternoon, since which I have been informed by message from him, that he was met on his approach towards Goes by the magistrates, into which place he is at liberty to enter whenever he pleases. Three of the enemy's ships of the line, and six brigs, are at anchor off the east end of South Beveland ; the others I conclude, have moved higher up the Scheldt.

Three of the four sloops I brought up with me, struck in coming up. I have hoisted my flag in the *Sabrina*, and am not without hopes of getting the remaining parts of the division on shore, and most part of the army supplied to-morrow.

R. G. KEATS.

The substance of this letter was sent by telegraphic communication from the *Sabrina*, at five o'clock.— The six brigs are getting under sail and moving up the Scheldt apparently, but the ships of the line are still fast.

*Sabrina, off Wemeldinge, Aug. 3.*

Soon after I landed, I was informed by letter from sir J. Hope, that Bathz had been evacuated in the night ; and as he informed me the communication was open between Walcheren and this island, and he had sent to lord Chatham an account of the evacuation, I concluded you would hear it from hence, and went on to Bathz with a view to make



make observations, and from which I am this moment returned.

R. G. KEATS.

*Sir R. J. Strachan, bart. &c.*

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*Present condition of South America.*

The critical situation of the parent states renders it of great importance to us to ascertain the actual situation of the dependencies of Portugal and Spain in the Western world. From Buenos Ayres we have received the subsequent letter, inclosing the first public act of government of the new viceroy, a copy of which we have also subjoined. By this document and the accompanying intelligence, it will be seen that the ancient system of Spain with regard to her colonies will be adopted by the Junta, and it will be a question for this commercial nation of no inconsiderable magnitude to examine how far it be consistent with its policy to promote that close and intimate union between the mother country and her American territories, under which all direct intercourse will be prevented, and every bale of merchandize must be subject to the duties the Supreme government, whatever may be its character, shall think fit to impose. With such remarks we shall not be liable to be misunderstood in making these communications.

*Buenos Ayres, 3d August.*

The wise government of the Supreme Central Junta already appears to dawn in this vast and powerful empire—a country which has hitherto been corrupted by intrigues, and by the evil designs of those who have been invested with

authority among us. No department has felt more the miserable effects of these political vices than the commercial. All the best principles of the mercantile interest have been abandoned, and the disorders which must necessarily attend such a state of things have been occasioned.

In this deplorable condition were affairs in these rich provinces until the 30th of June last, when at the most seasonable period, to restore us to our meridian splendor, arrived D. Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, Viceroy of these Provinces, in the frigate *Proserpine*. This worthy and honourable Chief, who has conferred so much benefit on the nation during his government of Carthagena, has come among us to be the depository of the confidence of the Supreme Central Junta, to convert irregularity into method, and essentially and principally to direct his views, and to employ his power for the protection and augmentation of our commerce. In the few days he has resided here he has attended to this primary object of his mission, by giving directions that all foreign ships, whether belonging to England or elsewhere, should withdraw from our ports; and he has begun to put in activity the laws by which the Indies have been hitherto governed. By such means the merchants will be restored to their privileges, and will be enabled to pursue with advantage their occupations, under those early maxims of policy by which the prosperity of these countries has been secured.

*Proclamation of D. Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros y la Torre, Knight of the Spanish Order of Charles*



*Charles the Third, Viceroy of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and its Dependencies, &c. to the Loyal Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres.*

*Faithful and generous Neighbours and Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres.*

The abundant and sincere expressions of joy that you have manifested from the moment of my arrival in the august capital of the Viceroy, afford me the most decisive proof of your invincible loyalty, and of the sentiments of honour by which you are animated. In these I discover the homage which you offer to the Sovereign Majesty which I represent, and the liveliest feelings of your tender regard for our Monarch. It shews me, that if you possess this reverence for me, who am only his shadow, it is on account of your profound respect for the substance from which that shadow is projected, which veneration has always been in perfect consistency with your character and conduct. Finally, it gives me an authentic proof of the noble enthusiasm that reigns in your bosoms, of your firm adherence to the great cause in which the parent state is engaged, and of all the social virtues which adorn you in your respective stations. Such is the source, and such are the effects of these extraordinary demonstrations of joy which have exceeded all my expectations.

I should be deficient in my duty, if under these circumstances I did not acknowledge the grateful sensibility and warm satisfaction which these affecting indications of your disposition have produced in myself. Nothing can ever efface from my memory the delight I expe-

rienced on the night of the 30th of June. What a magnificent spectacle to every man capable of appreciating the sentiments of the heart, to see a numerous people, composing all classes of society, impelled only by their fidelity, hastening to tender their voluntary services in terms the most affecting, and accompanied by every mark of loyalty, in the presence of the representative of their beloved Sovereign! The tyrant, who oppresses us, can never enjoy such a scene of delight, with all his pomp and circumstances of splendour, his public entries and triumphs; because, by force and violence he can extort only cold and feeble applause, while yours is the natural result of the impassioned attachment, and ardent loyalty which you bestow on the memory of your august Prince. Do not doubt it, this act of yours, simple as it appears under all its character of energy, has nothing to do with ostentation and vanity, but as being the ingenuous manifestation of your loyal sentiments, it is the impenetrable wall to be opposed to the assaults of the enemy. In vain will he endeavour to seduce you by his artifices, or to debilitate your strength by spreading the seeds of discord among you. The impotence of his authority, and the inefficiency of his malicious expedients will shew to the world, that Buenos Ayres is not the country where perfidy can hold her residence. I assure you, with all the frankness which belongs to my character, that I have the most perfect confidence in your loyalty, and that I am firmly persuaded that I have nothing to apprehend from those vile agents which the enemy of our liberty distributes every where,



where, for the malignant purpose of imposing upon the unsuspecting integrity of mankind. If his audacity should pretend to violate your happy soil with his offensive vermin, you will yourselves be vigilant to discover and to destroy it.

To this gratifying reflection, which you so justly deserve, I may add another equally desirable. I am not less persuaded that the concord and unity of your sentiments will be the stable support of my government, than that your subordination to legitimate authority will give new vigour and new energy to the expedients of security, circumstances require; and that all ranks among this generous people, animated with the same spirit, and full of the same enthusiasm, will swear with me to defend, to the last moment of their existence, the sacred rights of our beloved Monarch, Ferdinand the VIIIth. Live then tranquil and happy, and rely always upon my most sincere and cordial endeavours, by all the means in my power, to augment your felicity.

(Signed)

BALTASAR HIDALGO  
DE CISNERÓS.

Buenos Ayres, 2d Aug. 1809.

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*The following dispatches have been received from the earl of Chat-ham.*

*Head-quarters, Middleburgh,  
Aug. 7.*

My lord, Nothing very material has occurred since my last dispatch of the 3d inst. We have been unremittingly employed in bringing up the artillery of siege, ammunition, and stores, to the vicinity of Flushing; and the troops have been

occupied in the construction of the batteries, and in carrying on the several works before the place, but which have been necessarily interrupted by the very heavy rains which have fallen here. The enemy is active and enterprising, and the garrison has certainly received considerable reinforcement from the opposite coast; nor has it been in the power of the flotilla hitherto to prevent it. Under these circumstances it has been found necessary to land lieutenant-general Grosvenor's division; and the two light battalions of the king's German legion have been also for the present brought on shore. Immediately on the fall of Ramakins, I determined, as soon as the necessary arrangements were made, to pass the infantry of lieutenant-general the earl of Rosslyn's corps, together with the marquis of Huntley's division, and the light brigades of artillery, into South Beveland, to form a junction with the reserve under lieutenant-general sir J. Hope; and that the cavalry and ordnance ships, together with the transports for lieutenant-general Grosvenor's division, the moment their services could be spared from before Flushing, should be brought through the Slow Passage, and proceed up the West Scheldt; but of course this latter operation cannot take place until a sufficient naval force shall have been enabled to enter the river, and to proceed in advance; but the very severe blowing weather we have constantly experienced, added to the great difficulty of the navigation, has hitherto baffled all their efforts. By letters from lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, I find that the enemy had on the 5th inst. come down with about 28 gun-vessels before Bathz, on which place they kept



up a smart cannonade for some hours, but were forced to retire by the guns from the fort; and every thing has since remained quiet in that quarter. CHATHAM.

*Middleburgh, Aug. 8.*

My lord, Since closing my dispatch of yesterday's date, the enemy, towards five o'clock in the evening, in considerable force, made a vigorous sortie upon the right of our line occupied by major-general Graham's division. The attack was principally directed upon our advanced piquets, which were supported by the 3d battalion of the royals, the 5th and 35th regiments under col. Hay. These corps, together with detachments of the royal artillery, the 95th, and light battalions of the king's German legion, received the enemy with their accustomed intrepidity: and, after a sharp contest of some duration, forced him to retire with very considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair the enemy has had another opportunity of witnessing the superior gallantry of British troops; in no instance has he succeeded in making the least impression throughout our line; and on this occasion, so far from profiting by his attempts, he has been obliged to relinquish some very advantageous ground where our advanced posts are now established. I cannot too strongly express my sense of the unremitting vigilance and ability manifested by maj.-gen. Graham, in securing and maintaining his post against the repeated attempts of the enemy to dislodge him; and I have great satisfaction in acquainting your lordship, that the major-general mentions, in terms of the warmest approbation, the distinguished con-

duct and gallantry of the officers and troops engaged on this occasion. CHATHAM.

[Here follows an abstract return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, taken from the enemy.]

*From the London Gazette, September 2.—A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was, on the 30th ult., received at the office of Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, dated Deleytosa, 8th August, 1809.*

*Deleytosa, Aug. 8, 1809.*

My lord, I apprized your lordship, on the 1st instant, of the advance of a French corps towards the Puerto de Banos, and of the probable embarrassments to the operations of the army, which its arrival at Placencia would occasion; and these embarrassments having since existed to a degree so considerable as to oblige us to fall back and to take up a defensive position on the Tagus, I am induced to trouble you more, at length with an account of what has passed upon this subject.

When I entered Spain, I had a communication with General Cuesta, through Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Roche, respecting the occupation of the Puerto de Banos, and the Puerto de Perales, the former of which, it was at last settled, should be held by a corps to be formed under the Marquis de la Reyna, to consist of two battalions from General Cuesta's army, and two from Bejar; and that the Puerto de Perales was to be taken care of by the Duque del Parque,

by



by detachments from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo.

I doubted of the capacity of the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo to make the detachment to the latter, but so little of the effectual occupation of the former, that in writing to Marshal Beresford on the 17th July, I desired him to look to the Puerto de Perales, but that I considered Banos as secure, as appears by the extract of my letter which I inclose.

On the 30th intelligence was received at Talavera, that 12,000 rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenos for the 28th, and 24,000 at Los Santos for the same day, for a French corps, which it was believed was on its march towards the Puerto de Banos.

General Cuesta expressed some anxiety respecting this post, and sent me a message, to propose that Sir Robert Wilson should be sent there with his corps.

Sir Robert was on that day at Talavera, but his corps was in the Mountains towards Escalona; and as he had already made himself very useful in that quarter, and had been near Madrid, with which city he had had a communication, which I was desirous of keeping up, I proposed that a Spanish corps should be sent to Banos without loss of time.

I could not prevail with General Cuesta, although he certainly admitted the necessity of a reinforcement when he proposed that Sir Robert should be sent to Banos, and he was equally sensible with myself, of the benefit to be derived to the cause, from sending Sir Robert back to Escalona.

At this time we had no further intelligence of the enemy's advance

than that the rations were ordered; and I had hopes that the enemy might be deterred from advancing, by the intelligence of our success on the 28th, and that the troops in the Puerto might make some defence; and that under these circumstances, it was not desirable to divert Sir Robert Wilson from Escalona.

On the 30th, however, I renewed my application to General Cuesta, to send there a Spanish division of sufficient strength, in a letter to Gen. O'Donoghue, of which I inclose a copy, but without effect; and he did not detach General Bassecourt till the morning of the 2d, after we had heard that the enemy had entered Bejar, and it was obvious that the troops in the Puerto would make no defence.

On the 2d we received accounts, that the enemy had entered Placencia in two columns.

The Marquis de la Reyna, whose two battalions consisted of only 600 men, with only 20 rounds of ammunition each man, retired from the Puerto and from Placencia, without firing a shot, and went to the bridge of Almaraz, which he declared that he intended to remove; the battalions of Bejar dispersed without making any resistance.

The General called upon me on that day, and proposed that half of the army should march to the rear to oppose the enemy, while the other half should maintain the post at Talavera.

My answer was, that if by half the army, he meant half of each army, I could only answer that I was ready either to go or to stay with the whole British army, but that I could not separate it. He then desired me to chuse whether I would



go or stay, and I preferred to go, from thinking that the British troops were most likely to do the business effectually, and without contest; and from being of opinion that to open the communication through Placencia, although very important to them, was more important to us than to the Spanish army. With this decision, general Cuesta appeared perfectly satisfied.

The movements of the enemy in our front since the first, had induced me to be of opinion, that despairing of forcing us at Talavera, they intended to force a passage by Escalona, and thus to open a communication with the French corps coming from Placencia.

This suspicion was confirmed on the night of the 2d, by letters received from sir Robert Wilson, of which I inclose copies; and before I quitted Talavera on the 3d, I waited upon general O'Donoghue and conversed with him upon the whole of our situation, and pointed out to him the possibility that in the case of the enemy coming through Escalona, general Cuesta might find himself obliged to quit Talavera, before I should be able to return to him; and I urged him to collect all the carts that could be got, in order to remove our hospital. At his desire I put the purport of this conversation in writing, and sent him a letter to be laid before general Cuesta, of which I enclose a copy.

The British army marched on the 3d to Oropesa, general Bassecourt's Spanish corps being at Centinello, where I desired that it might halt the next day, in order that I might be nearer it.

About five o'clock in the evening, I heard that the French had arrived from Placencia at Navalnoral,

whereby they were between us and the bridge of Almaraz.

About an hour afterwards, I received from gen. O'Donoghue the letter and its inclosures, of which I inclose copies, announcing to me the intention of general Cuesta to march from Talavera in the evening and to leave there my hospital, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he already had, on the ground of his apprehension that I was not strong enough for the corps coming from Placencia, and that the enemy was moving upon his flank, and had returned to Santa Olalla in his front.

I acknowledge that these reasons did not appear to me sufficient for giving up so important a post as Talavera, for exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at the same time, and for abandoning my hospital; and I wrote the letter of which I enclose a copy.

This unfortunately reached the general after he had marched, and he arrived at Oropesa shortly after daylight, on the morning of the 4th.

The question what was to be done, was then to be considered.—The enemy, stated to be thirty thousand strong, but at all events consisting of the corps of Soult and Ney, either united, or not very distant from each other, and supposed by marshal Jourdan and Joseph Buonaparte, to be sufficiently strong to attack the British army, stated to be twenty-five thousand strong, were on one side, in possession of the high road to the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, the bridge at which place we knew had been removed, although the boats still necessarily remained in the river.

On the other side, we had reason to expect the advance of Victor's corps



corps to Talavera, as soon as general Cuesta's march should be known, and after leaving 12,000 men to watch Vanegas, and allowing from 10 to 11,000 killed and wounded in the late action, his corps would have amounted to 25,000. We could extricate ourselves from this difficult situation only by great celerity of movement, to which the troops were unequal, as they had not had their allowance of provisions for several days, and by success in two battles. If unsuccessful in either, we should have been without a retreat; and if Soult and Ney avoiding an action, had retired before us, and had waited the arrival of Victor, we should have been exposed to a general action with 50,000 men, equally without a retreat.

We had reason to expect, that as the marquis de la Reyna could not remove the boats from the river Almaraz, Soult would have destroyed them.

Our only retreat was, therefore, by the bridge of Arzo Bispo; and if we had moved on, the enemy, by breaking that bridge while the army should be engaged with Soult and Ney, would have deprived us of that only resource.

We could not take a position at Oropesa, as we thereby left open the road to the bridge of Arzo Bispo from Talavera by Calera; and, after considering the whole subject maturely, I was of opinion that it was adviseable to retire to the bridge of Arzo Bispo, and to take up a defensive position upon the Tagus.

I was induced to adopt this last opinion, because the French have now at least 50,000 men disposable to oppose to the combined armies, and a corps of 12,000 to watch

Vanegas; and I was likewise of opinion, that the sooner the defensive line should be taken up, the more likely were the troops to be able to defend it.

Accordingly I marched on the 4th, and crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arzo Bispo, and have continued my route to this place, in which I am well situated to defend the passage of Almaraz and the lower parts of the Tagus. General Cuesta crossed the river on the night of the 5th, and he is still at the bridge of Arzo Bispo.

About 2000 of the wounded have been brought away from Talavera, the remaining 1500 are there; and I doubt whether, under any circumstances, it would have been possible or consistent with humanity, to attempt to remove any more of them.

From the treatment which some of the soldiers wounded on the 27th, and who fell into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which I have always treated the wounded who have fallen into my hands, I expect that these men will be well treated; and I have only to lament, that a new concurrence of events, over which from circumstances I had and could have no controul, should have placed the army in a situation to be obliged to leave any of them behind.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

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*Admiralty-office, Aug. 19,*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received at this office from sir Richard John Strachan, bart. K. B. rear-admiral of the white, &c. addressed to the hon. W. W. Pole.

*Kangaroo,*



*Kangaroo, in the West Scheld,  
off the Kaloot, Aug. 11,  
1809.*

Sir—I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I am this moment going up to Bathz in South Beveland, which has been attacked by a strong detachment of the enemy's flotilla, and which, by Sir Richard Keats's reports, consists of two frigates, one bearing a vice-admiral's flag, thirty brigs, eight luggers or schooners, and fourteen gun-boats.

I was under the necessity of detaining our flotilla to prevent supplies being thrown into the garrison at Flushing, and to assist in cutting off its communication with Cadsand, which service was effectually done, except during the late heavy gales which drove the gun-boats from their stations, and prevented our ships entering the Scheld, from the circumstance of their not being able to weigh their anchors. Since the weather has moderated, the wind has provokingly drawn round to the south-east, which is the only obstacle that prevents Lord William Stuart, with a squadron of ten heavy frigates, passing Flushing, as well as Rear-admiral Lord Gardner, with the effective line-of-battle ships, taking up the anchorage in Dykeshook Bay, where I intend his lordship shall remain, with the view of having the assistance of that squadron in our farther operations against the enemy, and eventually to proceed up the Scheld.

The divisions of the army under the Earl of Rosslyn and Marquis of Huntley, landed on South Beveland on the 9th.

The cavalry and ordnance ships, with the brigs and some sloops of

war, have passed through the Slough into the West Scheld, and are now availing themselves of every favourable tide to proceed to Bathz. I am also endeavouring to warp the Pallas and Circe through by the same channel, and with every probability of success.

Sir Home Popham was detached with some gun-vessels for the purpose of sounding the river, and of joining Sir Richard Keats at Bathz.

The batteries are not yet ready to open on Flushing, therefore I hope to be here again in time to co-operate with the army in the attack on that garrison.

I am concerned to add, that the enemy has cut the dyke to the right of the town, and the island is likely to be inundated. I have ordered Rear-admiral Otway to send the Monmouth and Agincourt to England for water, as soon as they can be got down from Zierickzee; and earnestly intreat that other means may be adopted for supplying the army and navy from England, as I apprehend all the water in this island will be spoiled by the inundation, and that there is not more in the other islands than is necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants.

Their lordships must be aware, that in this extensive and complicated service, it is impossible for me to enter so fully into detail as I could wish, especially as our arrangements must vary in proportion with the movements of the enemy.

In my absence I have directed Rear-admiral Otway to superintend the several duties relative to the investment of this island, and to correspond with the Admiralty on all matters of service.

Captain Dobbie, who acted in  
the



the Pallas during the absence of Captain Seymour, is the bearer of this dispatch. He had my flag for some time in that ship, and has been particularly attentive to the public service.

In consequence of the protracted siege of Flushing, and the necessity for the flotilla going up the Scheld, I have ordered guns from the ships of war to fit twenty transports as gun-ships, and with the launches of the ships under Rear-admiral Otway, to form a flotilla for the lower part of the Scheld, which I trust their lordships will approve.

You will please likewise to inform their lordships, that Lord Gardner has ordered the Centaur and Theseus to cruise off the Texel.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) R. J. STRACHAN.

*Honourable W. W. Pole.*

*Kangaroo, in the West Scheld,  
Aug. 12, 1809.*

Sir—Having directed the frigates named in the margin,\* to proceed up the West Scheld, under the orders of Lord William Stuart, captain of the Lavinia, the moment the wind was favourable, that zealous officer availed himself of a light air from the westward, on the afternoon of the 11th instant, notwithstanding the tide was against his proceeding, and passed the batteries between Flushing and Cadzand: the ships were under the enemy's fire nearly two hours.

The gallant and seaman-like manner in which this squadron was conducted, and their steady and well-directed fire, excited in my breast the warmest sensations of

admiration. The army witnessed their exertions with applause, and I am certain their Lordships will duly appreciate the services of Lord William Stuart, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, on this occasion.

No very material accident happened, except by a shell striking L'Aigle, and which fell through her decks into the bread-room, where it exploded; one man was killed, and four others wounded: her stern frame is much shattered.

Lord William Stuart's modest letter accompanied this dispatch, together with a return of the killed and wounded, and the damages sustained by his majesty's ships, in forcing the entrance of this river. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. J. STRACHAN.

*Fort Bathz, Aug. 12, 1809.*

Sir—I have the honour to inform you, that, in pursuance of your directions, I arrived at Bathz yesterday, and in order to render, if practicable, an attack on the enemy's flotilla more complete, I ordered thirty flat boats, armed with carronades, and some other boats from the ships under my orders, to rendezvous at this place, and meet the flotilla under Sir Home Popham, but before the arrival of either, six of the enemy's gun-boats having grounded on a bank within reach of the artillery of the fort, after sustaining some injury by it, were abandoned; five of which were destroyed, and the other brought in.

The arrival of Sir Home Popham and my boats from the East

\* Lavinia, Heroine, Amethyst, Rota, Nymphen, l'Aigle, Euryalus, Statira, Dryad, and Perlin.



Scheld took place nearly at the same time, but the enemy's flotilla moved up to Lillo with the same tide that brought ours to Bathiz, one of which was handsomely burned by the advanced gun-boats almost amongst them.

As the navigation of the West Scheld is now open as far as it can possibly be cleared by the navy, and a flotilla force of upwards of fifty sail in the East Scheld demand attention, and I can at any time return in a few hours to this place, it is my intention to repair in the morning to the Superb, where I have ordered the boats of my division. Sir Home Popham is examining the channels.

Although we are now masters of the navigation to Lillo, it may be proper to observe, that it is in the enemy's power, by sending a superior naval force to deprive us of it, as far as Bathiz, (before some larger ships ascend), whenever he pleased.

I have, &c. R. G. KEATS.

*Rear Admiral Sir Richard  
Strachan, Bart. K. B.*

*Supplement to the London Gazette  
of Saturday, Aug. 19.*

*Downing Street, August 20,  
1809.*

Dispatch from Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, K.G. dated Head-quarters, Middleburgh, Aug. 11, 1809.

*Head-quarters Middleburgh,  
Aug. 11.*

My Lord—I received yesterday evening your lordship's dispatch of the 8th inst. by the messenger Mills, and I must intreat your lordship to offer my most dutiful acknowledgments to his majesty, for the gracious approbation he has been

pleased to express of my humble endeavours in his service; and I shall feel the greatest satisfaction in communicating to Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, and the general and other officers, and the troops employed here under my command, the sense which his majesty entertains of their meritorious conduct in the services in which they have been engaged, as well as the confidence his majesty feels in their future good conduct, and which, I trust, they will not disappoint.

The enemy has continued to give what interruption he could to the progress of our works; but since the date of my last letter, he has attempted no sortie in any force. He has endeavoured to cause us some embarrassment by opening the sluices at Flushing, and letting in the salt water, but this has been attended as yet with little inconvenience, as the necessary precautions for letting off the water through the sluices in our possession at this place and at Veer, I have no doubt will be found effectual. The several batteries will probably be ready to open on the place either the 12th or 13th, and I shall look with great anxiety to the result, as the speedy reduction of Flushing, (particularly under present appearances) is of the last importance, as till then so very large a portion of the force under my command is unavoidably detained before it.

The divisions of Lieutenant-general Lord Rosslyn and Lieutenant-general Lord Huntly, were, according to the intention I mentioned in my last letter, landed in South Beveland, on the morning of the 9th instant: but I am sorry to say, that the division of transports, with the cavalry and artillery horses, the heavy



heavy ordnance, ammunition, and stores of all descriptions, have not yet been brought through the Slow Passage. The moment they appear, it is my intention to proceed towards Bathz; but as till then no operation can be undertaken, I have thought my presence here was more useful.

A large portion of the flotilla has proceeded up the river to Bathz, on which place I learn that the enemy had again made an attack, but had been repulsed by the guns on the port.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHATHAM.

*Intercepted Correspondence.*

*Minutes of Dispatches, dated Aug. 14th, and taken on a Peasant going to Avila, at Tomezcus, by a detachment under Sir Robert Wilson's orders.—(The original sent on to General Cuesta.)*

*A Monsieur le Colonel Hays, Governor d'Avila*—You will give directions that this letter shall be forwarded with the utmost expedition to his majesty, and you will send me your receipt.

Wilson's corps is cut off. About five days ago it was between Candalaria and Villa Nueva. If from your town you move a column of 1000 men, and attack them, they will be compelled to surrender.

I communicate to you the brilliant action of the 8th inst. at P. Arzobispo. We took from the enemy 30 pieces of cannon, 40 tumbrils with baggage, and 600 prisoners, besides a great number of killed. The royal carbineers and corps de garde were cut to pieces.

Send me from your province,

wine, vinegar, and brandy, which shall be paid in ready money; and also send me news from Burgos, Salamanca, Valladolid, &c.

(Signed)

DUKE OF DALMATIA.

Sire—The orders that you sent me are executed. The Duke of Elchingen will arrive to-morrow at his destination.

I have the intention of besieging Ciudad Rodrigo. If your majesty sends me five corps complete, and if the Duke of Elchingen comes this way, I will attack Marshal Beresford's army, which is now between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, and by news now received, between \* \* \* \* and Gette, and composed of 8000 English, the same number of Portuguese, and 4000 Spaniards; but if this is to be executed, it must be done with the greatest expedition; because, otherwise, the effect of the victories of Talavera and Arzobispo will be lost.

It is probable Venegas has already passed the Sierra Morena; and, in this case, the 2d corps may fall upon Cuesta, keep the Tagus, and open the communication with this corps.

Wilson's corps is cut off. It is between Villa Nueva and Candalaria; and, if a column from Avila of 1500 or 1000 men, should come down, it would be compelled to surrender.

(Signed)

DUKE OF DALMATIA.

*Addressed to Joseph, King of Spain, &c.*

*London Gazette Extraordinary, Sunday, Aug. 20.*

*Downing-street, Aug. 19.*

A dispatch, of which the following



ing is a copy, was this day received at the office of Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieutenant-general the Earl of Chatham, K. G. dated Head Quarters, Middleburgh, Aug. 16, 1809.

*Head Quarters, Middleburgh,  
Aug. 16.*

My Lord—I have the honour of acquainting your lordship, that on the 13th instant, the batteries before Flushing being completed (and the frigates, bombs, and gun-vessels, having at the same time taken their stations), a fire was opened at about half past one *p. m.* from fifty-two pieces of heavy ordnance, which was vigorously returned by the enemy. An additional battery of six twenty-four pounders was completed the same night, and the whole continued to play upon the town with little or no intermission till late on the following day.

On the morning of the 14th instant, about ten o'clock, the line of battle ships at anchor in the Durloo Passage, led by Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, got under weigh, and ranging up along the sea line of defence, kept up as they passed, a tremendous cannonade on the town for several hours, with the greatest gallantry and effect. About four in the afternoon, perceiving that the fire of the enemy had entirely ceased, and the town presenting a most awful scene of destruction, being on fire in almost every quarter, I directed Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote to send in to summons the place; General Monnet returned for answer, that he would reply to the summons as soon as he had consulted a council of war: an hour had been allowed him for the purpose, but a consi-

derable time beyond it having elapsed without any answer being received, hostilities were ordered to recommence with the utmost vigour, and about eleven o'clock at night, one of the enemy's batteries, advanced upon the Sea Dyke in front of Lieutenant-general Fraser's position, was most gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet, by detachments from the 36th, 71st, and light battalions of the king's German legion, under Lieutenant-colonel Pack, opposed to great superiority of numbers; they took forty prisoners, and killed and wounded a great many of the enemy.

I must not omit to mention, that on the preceding evening an intrenchment in front of Major-general Graham's position was also forced in a manner equally undaunted, by the 14th regiment, and detachments of the king's German legion, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicolls, who drove the enemy from it, and made a lodgment within musket-shot of the walls of the town, taking one gun and thirty prisoners. About two in the morning, the enemy demanded a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, which was refused, and only two hours granted, when he agreed to surrender according to the summons sent in, on the basis of the garrison becoming prisoners of war.

I have now the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that these preliminaries being acceded to; as soon as the admiral landed in the morning, Colonel Long, adjutant-general, and Captain Cockburn, of the royal navy, were appointed to negotiate the further articles of capitulation, which I have now the honour to enclose. They were ratified



tified about three this morning, when detachments of the royals on the right, and of his majesty's 71st regiment on the left, took possession of the gates of the town. The garrison will march out to-morrow, and will be embarked as speedily as possible.

I will now congratulate your lordship on the fall of a place so indispensably necessary to our future operations, as so large a proportion of our force being required to carry on the siege with that degree of vigour and dispatch which the means of defence the enemy possessed, and particularly his powers of inundation, which was rapidly spreading to an alarming extent, rendered absolutely necessary.

Having hoped, had circumstances permitted, to have proceeded up the river at an earlier period, I had committed to Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote the direction of the details of the siege, and of the operations before Flushing, and I cannot sufficiently express my sense of the unremitting zeal and exertion with which he has conducted the arduous service entrusted to him, in which he was ably assisted by Lieutenant-colonels Walsh and Offerey attached to him, as assistants in the adjutant and quarter-master-general's department.

I have every reason to be satisfied with the judicious manner in which the general officers have directed the several operations, as well as with the spirit and intelligence manifested by the commanding officers of corps, and the zeal and ardour of all ranks of officers.

It is with great pleasure I can report the uniform good conduct of the troops, who have not only on

all occasions shewn the greatest intrepidity in presence of the enemy, but have sustained, with great pleasure and cheerfulness, the laborious duties they have had to perform.

The active and persevering exertions of the corps of royal engineers have been conducted with much skill and judgment by Colonel Fyers, aided by Lieutenant-colonel D'Arcey, and it is impossible for me to do sufficient justice to the distinguished conduct of the officers and men of the royal artillery, under the able direction and animating example of Brigadier-general M'Leod.

The seamen, whose labours had already been so useful to the army, sought their reward in a further opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and one of the batteries was accordingly entrusted to them, and which they served with admirable vigour and effect.

I must here beg to express my strong sense of the constant and cordial co-operation of the navy on all occasions, and my warmest acknowledgments are most particularly due to Captain Cockburn of the Belleisle, commanding the flotilla, and to Captain Richardson of the Cæsar, commanding the brigade of seamen landed with the army. I have the honour to enclose a return of the garrison of Flushing, in addition to which I have learned, that, besides the number killed, which was considerable, upwards of one thousand wounded men were transported to Cadzand, previous to the complete investment of the town. I also subjoin a statement of deserters and prisoners, exclusive of the garrison of Flushing.

This dispatch will be delivered  
N n 3 to



to your Lordship by my first Aide-camp, Major Bradford, who is fully qualified to give your Lordship every further information, and whom I beg leave earnestly to recommend to his majesty's protection. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

CHATHAM.

Amount of the Garrison which surrendered at Flushing on the 15th Aug. 1809, under the command of Monnet, General of Division.

Sixteen Officers of the Staff—101 Officers.—3773 Non-commissioned Officers and soldiers.—489 sick and wounded.—Total 4379.

Return of prisoners and deserters, from the 30th July to August 15, 1809, taken in the Island of Walcheren.

One Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Col., 15 Captains, 27 Lieutenants, 1 Staff, 58 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 1700 rank and file.

Return of Officers, and of the number of Non-commissioned Officers and rank and file killed, wounded, and missing, from the 8th inst. to the surrender of Flushing, on the morning of the 15th inclusive. Head-quarters, Middleburg, Aug. 16, 1809.

Total—3 Officers, 1 Serjeant, 1 Drummer, 26 rank and file, killed; 15 Officers, 5 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 83 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed—5th Foot Capt. Talbot.—71st Foot, Ensign D. Sinclair.—2d Light Battalion King's German Legion, Lieut. Sprecker.

Wounded.—Royal Artillery, Lieutenant George Browne, slightly.—

Royal Engineers, Col. Pyres, slightly; Capt. Pasley, dangerously.—3d Batt. 1st Foot, Lieut. A. W. M'Kenzie, slightly.—2d Foot, Lieutenant Cutterbuck, slightly.—14th Foot, Ensign C. Harrald, dangerously wounded Aug. 9, since dead.—36th Foot, Major M'Kenzie, dangerously.—98th Foot, Captain Soden slightly; Lieut. Smith, slightly.—71st Foot, Capt. Spotiswoode, slightly; Lieut. D M'Donald dangerously.—77th Foot, Capt. A. V. Brown, dangerously.—81st Foot, Capt. Taylor, slightly; Assistant-Surgeon Chizlet, dangerously.—95th Foot, Lieut. Manners, slightly; wounded 3d August, not reported in time to be included in the preceding returns.

ROBERT LONG, Col. Adj. Gen.

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*Admiralty Office, Aug. 20, 1809.*

—*Dispatches from Sir R. J. Strachan, Rear Admiral of the White.*

*St. Domingo, Flushing-Roads, Aug. 17, 1809.*

SIR,—I have much satisfaction in acquainting you, that the town and garrison of Flushing have capitulated. It was my intention to have proceeded up the Scheld, with the division of frigates under Lord W. Stuart, and that the greater part of our flotilla had advanced to Bathiz, in the charge of Sir Home Popham, by whom the enemy were driven above Lillo, where their ships and gun-brigs had taken up a strong position. The command of the important service of the Scheld I have given to Sir R. Keats, and he has my direction to co-operate with Lieut.-General the Earl of Rosslyn, as well as to use every means in his power for capturing



turing or destroying the fleet and flotilla of the enemy.

Rear Admiral Lord Gardner remained with the ships named in the margin\* off Dykeshook, and his Lordship had received my direction to hold that squadron in readiness to go against the garrison of Flushing.

On the 12th instant, I was informed by Lord Chatham, that the advanced batteries were sufficiently prepared to open on the enemy the day following, at one o'clock in the afternoon; and as it appeared to me of consequence that the line of battle ships should pass the town at the same moment, I therefore abandoned my intention of going up to the advanced flotilla, and proceeding to Dykeshook hoisted my flag in the St. Domingo. The batteries opened on the garrison as it was previously settled, at one in the afternoon of the 13th instant, and the fire was returned with great vigour by the enemy.

The bombs and gun vessels under the direction of Captain Cockburn, of the Belleisle, were most judiciously placed at the south east end of the town; and to the south west, Capt. Owen, of the Clyde, had with equal skill and judgment, placed the bomb and other vessels under his orders. I had much satisfaction in witnessing the fire that was kept up by the squadrons under the command of these two officers, and the precision with which the shells were thrown from the bombs. Unfortunately the wind was too scant to allow me to weigh when the batteries opened, but, it proving more favourable the following day, I immediately put that

intention into execution, and at ten in the forenoon of the 14th proceeded with the ships already named towards Flushing, meaning to pass to a more convenient anchorage for placing the squadron against it when such a measure should appear to be necessary.

This squadron was led in by the St. Domingo, bearing my flag, and I was followed by the Blake, with the flag of Rear-Admiral Lord Gardner; the other ships advanced in succession. Soon after we had opened our fire, the wind came more southerly, and the St. Domingo grounded inside of the Dog-Sand. Lord Gardner not knowing our situation, passed inside of us, by which the Blake also grounded. The other ships were immediately directed to haul off, and anchor as previously intended.

After being some time in this situation, during which the enemy's fire slackened by the active and zealous exertions of Captain Owen, of the Clyde, who came to our assistance, and anchored close to the St. Domingo, she was got off, and soon after I had the satisfaction of seeing the Blake also afloat, and come to anchor with the rest of the squadron.

The fire of the enemy towards the evening had considerably abated; the town was burning in many places, and much damage was done to the houses.—At seven o'clock I received a message from Lieut.-Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, requesting I would cease hostilities, as a summons had been sent into Flushing; but at night the fire again commenced, and was kept up without intermission until two

\* St. Domingo, Blake, Repulse, Victorious, Denmark, Audacious, and Venerable.



o'clock of the morning of the 15th, when the French Commandant, General Monnet, offered to surrender. This was communicated to me by the Lieut. Gen., and in consequence I directed the flag of truce to be hoisted at day-light, on board his majesty's ships, and that hostilities should cease.

The Lieut.-Gen. having intimated that two Commissioners should be sent on the part of the navy, to assist in the proposed capitulation, I nominated Lord Gardner to meet Sir Eyre Coote, at East Zouburg, and to take with him Capt. Cockburn, to act in conjunction with the officers on the part of the enemy. Shortly after I received a message from the Earl of Chatham, requesting to see me at Zouburg. On my arrival there, I found his lordship had selected Col. Long, Adjutant-Gen. of the army, and Capt. Cockburn, to be the Commissioners for settling the terms of capitulation, which were finally concluded late in the evening of the 15th.

I have much pleasure in bearing the most ample testimony to the exertions of Sir Home Popham, with the advanced flotilla, in the upper part of the West Scheld, which has been of the most essential service.

(Signed) R. J. STRACHAN.

*Camilla, in the West Scheld,  
August 15, 1809.*

SIR,—I yesterday hoisted my flag in the Camilla, and am at present with 18 sloops and gun-brigs, and four divisions of gun-boats, lying between the Saeftingen shoals, a position judiciously chosen by Capt. Sir Home Popham, as it effectually cuts off the communica-

tion between the East and West Scheld.

The enemy's flotilla, considerably increased in number, has retired above or under the protection of Lillo, and the men of war, with top-gallant yards crossed, are anchored off and below Antwerp, as far down as Philipe. Six of our frigates are anchored off Waerden, waiting an opportunity to come up.

R. G. KEATS.  
*Rear-Admiral Sir R. J. Strachan.*

Return of killed and wounded on board the Flotilla, under the orders of Capt. Cockburn.

Total.—7 killed and 22 wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Marlborough, Lieut. Rennie, killed.—San Josef, Lieut. Russel, and Mr. Burnside, Surgeon, slightly wounded.

*Inclosure from Rear-Admiral Otway, of the Monarch.*

*East Zouburg, before Flushing, August 16.*

SIR—On the 28th ultimo, I landed with the army on the Sand-Hills, near the signal post on the Island of Walcheren. On the 30th ultimo, the officers and seamen under my orders, were composed of three divisions, having charge of nine pieces of ordnance, which were drawn and worked by them. At eight A. M. on the 31st, the left division took post before Ter Veere, and joined in the attack of that place, throwing several cases of rockets into it with good effect; during the night a flag of truce was received, and the terms of capitulation agreed to and signed by Gen. Fraser and myself. On the 1st instant



instant the troops quitted Ter Veere, on their way to Fort Ramekens, when we were constantly employed in the construction of works, and drawing heavy cannon, till it also capitulated on the 2d at night. The detachment then proceeded to East Zouburg, and were employed day and night in cutting fascines, erecting batteries, and drawing heavy ordnance unto them. The artillery horses being found inadequate to perform that service, from the narrow roads, darkness of the night, and difficulty of driving clear of the ditches, into which they had thrown several 24-pounder guns and carriages. This important duty, from the heavy rains and soft muddy soil, was attended with the greatest difficulty and fatigue.

After having assisted in mounting all the batteries, and otherwise completing them, on the 12th, General Sir Eyre Coote honoured me with the command of a new work just lined out for six 24-pounders; we made every possible exertion to complete it under a galling fire from the enemy's ramparts, distant only 600 yards; during the day, four were killed and one wounded in the battery. At sun-rise on the 14th, we opened a most destructive fire on the rampart and town in front of us, and in two hours every gun we could bear upon was silent. Our fire was kept up incessantly until about seven o'clock in the evening, when I received an order to cease firing, as did all the other works. We immediately put the battery in a state for renewing the fire, if found necessary, and at nine we opened again by order, with still greater effect, and continued our fire until two o'clock, when we ceased to fire, by order, the French

General having agreed to capitulate on the basis of the garrison becoming prisoners of war. I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES RICHARDSON.  
*Rear-Admiral Wm. A. Otway.*

A return of the killed and wounded belonging to his majesty's ships, in passing the batteries of Flushing, on the 15th August, 1809.

Blake.—Killed. James Gatt, serjeant of marines; John Lowry, seaman.—Wounded. Andrew Money, seaman, slightly; Thomas Coat, seaman, slightly; Robert M'Burnie, seaman, slightly; James Lee, seaman, slightly; James Goodby, private of marines, severely; William Stewart, corporal of marines, severely; John Macnamara, private of marines, slightly; William Manby, private of marines, slightly; William Firby, private of marines, slightly.

San Domingo.—Wounded. John Maynard, Charles M'Murray, Hugh Molloy, James Grady, Richard Plat, John Kirby, William Connor, Joseph Clearman, and William Owens, seamen.—Total, 2 killed, 18 wounded.

(Copy) R. J. STRACHAN.

A return of the killed and wounded in the seamen's battery before Flushing, being a detachment of seamen under the orders of Capt. C. Richardson, of the *Cæsar*, Aug. 14, 1809.

Revenge.—Wounded. Edward Harrick, midshipman; Felix Benjamin, seaman; Benjamin Parrot, seaman; John Hitchcock, seaman, and Thomas Scott, seaman.

Hero.—Wounded. John Wookcock, seaman; and William Butler, seaman.—Total, 7 wounded.

Total



Total killed and wounded.

Captain Cockburn's return—7 killed, 22 wounded. General return—2 killed, 18 wounded. Captain Richardson's return—7 wounded.—Total, 9 killed, 47 wounded.

(Signed) R. J. STRACHAN.

A letter from Rear-Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan to the Hon. W. W. Pole, dated on board the *St. Domingo*. Flushing, 17th Aug. 1809, transmits one from Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, inclosing the terms of capitulation for the surrender of the towns of Zeirickzee and Browsershaven, with the whole of the islands of Schowen and Duiveland, which are of the usual nature.

#### *Military General Orders.*

The commander in chief has received the King's commands to notify to the army the splendid victory obtained by his troops in Spain, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 27th and 28th of last month, at the battle of Talavera de la Reyna.

His Majesty is confident that his army will learn with becoming exultation, that the enemy, after escaping by a precipitate retreat from the well-concerted attack with which Sir Arthur Wellesley, in conjunction with the Spanish army, had threatened him on the 24th of July, concentrated his force, by calling to his aid the corps under the French Gen. Sebastiani and the garrison of Madrid; and thus reinforced, again approached the allied army on the 27th of July; and, on this occasion, owing to the local circumstances of

its position, and to the deliberate purpose of the enemy to direct his whole efforts against the troops of his Majesty, the British army sustained nearly the whole weight of this great contest, and has acquired the glory of having vanquished a French army double their numbers, not in a short and partial struggle, but in a battle obstinately contested on two successive days (not wholly discontinued even throughout the intervening night), and fought under circumstances which brought both armies into close and repeated combat.

The King, in contemplating so glorious a display of the valour and prowess of his troops, has been graciously pleased to command that his royal approbation of the conduct of the army serving under the command of Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley shall be thus publicly declared in general orders.

The commander in chief has received the King's commands to signify, in the most marked and special manner, the sense his Majesty entertains of Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley's personal services on this memorable occasion, not less displayed in the result of the battle itself, than in the consummate ability, valour, and military resource, with which the many difficulties of this arduous and protracted contest were met and provided for by his experience and judgment.

The conduct of Lieut.-General Sherbrooke, second in command, has entitled him to the King's marked approbation. His Majesty has observed, with satisfaction, the manner in which he led on the troops to the charge with the bayonet, a spe-



cies of combat, which on all occasions so well accords with the dauntless character of British soldiers.

His Majesty has noticed with the same gracious approbation, the conduct of the several general and other officers. All have done their duty; most of them have had occasions of eminently distinguishing themselves, the instances of which have not escaped his Majesty's attention.

It is his Majesty's command, that his royal approbation and thanks, shall be given in the most distinct, and most particular manner, to the non-commissioned officers and private men. In no instance have they displayed with greater lustre their native valour and characteristic energy, nor have they on any former occasion more decidedly proved their superiority over the inveterate enemy of their country.

Brilliant, however, as is the victory obtained at Talavera, it is not solely on that occasion that Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the troops under his command, are entitled to his Majesty's applause. The important service effected in an early part of the campaign by the same army, under the command of the same distinguished general, by the rapid march on the Duero, the passage of that river, the total discomfiture of the enemy, and his expulsion from the territory of one of his Majesty's ancient and most faithful allies, are circumstances which have made a lasting impression on his Majesty's mind; and have induced his Majesty to direct, that the operations of this arduous and eventful campaign shall be thus recorded, as furnishing splendid examples of

military skill, fortitude, perseverance, and of a spirit of enterprize, calculated to produce emulation in every part of his army, and largely to add to the renown, and to the military character of the British nation.

By order of the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief.

HARRY CALVERT, Adjt.-Gen.  
Horse-Guards, 18th August, 1809.

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*From the London Gazette, Saturday, September 19.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, were this day received at the office of Viscount Castlereagh, one of majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieut.-Gen. Viscount Wellington, K. B.

*Truxillo, August 30, 1809.*

My Lord—I wrote some days ago a letter to the French Commander-in-chief, which I sent to him by Lieut.-Col. Walters, to request his care and attention to the wounded officers and soldiers of the British army, who had fallen into his hands, in return for the care and attention which I had paid to the French officers and soldiers, who had fallen into my hands at different times; and that he would allow money to be sent to the officers; and that officers, who should not be deemed prisoners of war, might be sent to superintend and take care of the soldiers, till they should recover from their wounds, when the officers should be sent to join the British army.

I received a very civil answer from Marshal Mortier, promising that every care should be taken, and every attention paid to the British officers and soldiers who were wounded;



wounded; but stating, that he could not answer upon the other demands contained in my letter, having been obliged to refer them to the commander in chief.

Since the receipt of this letter, Mr. Dillon, the assistant commissary, has arrived from Talavera, having been taken prisoner near Cevolla on the 27th of July, previous to the action, and having been allowed to come away. He reports that the British officers and soldiers, who are wounded, are doing remarkably well, and are well fed and taken care of; indeed, he says, preferably to the French troops.

I propose to send Colonel Walters with another flag of truce, tomorrow morning, and a letter to the commander in chief of the French army, requesting that a sum of money which I shall send may be given to the officers; and I shall endeavour to establish a cartel of exchange, as soon as possible.—I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.  
*Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.*

*Truxillo, August 21, 1809.*

My lord—When I marched from Talavera on the 3d inst., with a view to oppose the French corps which we had heard had passed through the Puerto de Banos, and had arrived at Placencia, Sir Robert Wilson was detached upon the left of the army, towards Escalona; and before I marched on that morning, I put him in communication with the Spanish general Cuesta, who it had been settled was to remain at Talavera. I understood that General Cuesta put Sir Robert in communication with his

advanced guard, which retired from Talavera on the night of the 4th.

Sir Robert Wilson, however, did not arrive at Valada till the night of the 4th, having made a long march through the mountains; and as he was then six leagues from the bridge of Arzo Bispo, and had to cross the high road from Oropesa to Talavera, of which the enemy was in possession, he conceived that he was too late to retire to Arzo Bispo, and he determined to move by Venta St. Julien and Centinello towards the Tietar, and across that river towards the mountains which separate Castille from Estramadura.

Some of Sir Robert Wilson's dispatches having missed me, I am not aware by which of the passes he went through the mountains, but I believe by Tornavacas. He arrived, however, at Banos on the 11th, and on the 12th was attacked and defeated by the French corps of Marshal Ney, which, with that of Soult, returned to Placencia on the 9th, 10th, and 11th, that of Ney having since gone on towards Salamanca.

I enclose Sir Robert Wilson's account of the action. He has been very active, intelligent, and useful, in the command of the Portuguese and Spanish corps with which he was detached from this army.

Before the battle of the 28th of July, he had pushed his parties almost to the gates of Madrid, with which city he was in communication; and he would have been in Madrid, if I had not thought proper to call him in, in expectation of that general action which took place on the 28th of July. He afterwards alarmed the enemy on the right



right of his army; and, throughout the service, shewed himself to be an active and intelligent partisan, well acquainted with the country in which he was acting, and possessing the confidence of the troops which he commanded.

Being persuaded that his retreat was not open by Arzo Bispo, he acted right in taking the road he did, with which he was well acquainted; and although unsuccessful in the action which he fought, (which may well be accounted for, by the superior numbers and description of the enemy's troops,) the action, in my opinion, does him great credit. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed)

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

*Miranda de Castenar, Aug. 13, 1809.*

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, that I was on march yesterday morning on the road of Grenadella from Aldea Nueva, to restore my communication with the allied army, when a peasant assured us, that a considerable quantity of dust, which we perceived in the road of Placencia, proceeded from the march of a body of the enemy.

I immediately returned and took post in front of Banos, with my picquets in advance of Aldea Nueva, selecting such points for defence as the exigency of the time permitted.

The enemy's cavalry advanced on the high road, and drove back my small cavalry posts; but a picquet of Spanish infantry, which I had concealed, poured in on the cavalry a steady and well-directed fire, that killed and wounded many of them.

The two hundred Spanish infantry in advance of Aldea Nueva, continued, under the direction of Colonel Grant and their officers, to maintain their ground most gallantly, until the enemy's cavalry and chasseurs a cheval, in considerable bodies, appeared on both flanks, when they were obliged to retreat.

The enemy's chasseurs a cheval and cavalry advanced in great numbers in every direction, and pushed to cut off the legion posted between Aldea Nueva and Banos; but, by the steady conduct of officers and men, the enemy could only advance gradually, and with a very severe loss from the commanding fire thrown on them.

The Merida battalion, however, having given way on the right, a road was laid open, which cut behind our position, and I was obliged to order a retreat on the heights above Banos, when I was again necessitated to detach a corps, in order to scour the road of Monte Major, by which I saw the enemy directing a column, and which road turned altogether the Puerto de Banos, a league in our rear.

At this time, Don Carlos Marquis de Estragne came up with his battalion of light infantry, and, in the most gallant manner, took post along the heights commanding the road to Banos, which enabled me to send some of the Merida battalion on the mountain on our left commanding the main road, and which the enemy had tried to ascend.

The battalion of light infantry, the detachment of the legion on its right continued, notwithstanding the enemy's fire of artillery and musketry, to maintain their ground; but,

at six



at six o'clock in the evening, three columns of the enemy mounted the height on our left, gained it, and poured such a fire on the troops below, that longer defence was impracticable, and the whole was obliged to retire on the mountains on our left, leaving open the main road, along which a considerable column of cavalry immediately poured.

The battalion of Seville had been left at Bejar with orders to follow me next day, but when I was obliged to return, and the action commenced, I ordered it to Puerto Banos, to watch the Monte Major road, and the heights in the rear of our left.

When the enemy's cavalry came near, an officer and some dragoons called out to the commanding officer to surrender, but a volley killed him and his party, and then the battalion proceeded to mount the heights, in which movement it was attacked and surrounded by a column of cavalry and a column of infantry, but cut its way and cleared itself, killing a great many of the enemy, especially of his cavalry.

The enemy is now passing to Salamanca with great expedition; I lament that I could no longer arrest his progress, but, when the enormous superiority of the enemy's force is considered, and that we had no artillery, and that the Puerto de Banos on the Estremaduran side, is not a pass of such strength as on the side of Castille, especially without guns, I hope that a resistance for nine hours, which must have cost the enemy a great many men, will not be deemed inadequate to our means.

I have to acknowledge the services rendered me on this occasion

by Colonel Grant, Major Reiman, Don Fermen Marquis, adjutant-major of the dragoons of Pavia, Captain Charles and Mr. Bolman; and to express the greatest approbation of two companies of the Merida battalions advanced in front, and of the Commanding officer and soldiery of the battalions of Seville, and the Portuguese brigade. I have already noticed the distinguished conduct of Don Carlos, and his battalion merits the highest encomiums.

I have not yet been able to collect the returns of our loss. From the nature of mountain warfare, many men are missing who cannot join for a day or two, but I believe the enemy will only have to boast that he has achieved his passage, and his killed and wounded will be a great diminution of his victory. I have the honour to be,

ROBERT WILSON.

*Sir A. Wellesley, &c. &c.*

*Truxillo, Aug. 21, 1809.*

General Cuesta moved his headquarters from the neighbourhood of the bridge of Arzo Bispo on the night of the 7th instant, to Pera-leca de Garbin, leaving an advanced-guard, consisting of two divisions of infantry, and the Duke D'Alberquerque's division of cavalry, for the defence of the passage of the Tagus at this point.

The French cavalry passed the Tagus at a ford immediately above the bridge, at half-past one in the afternoon of the 8th, and surprised this advanced-guard, which retired, leaving behind them all their cannon, as well as those in the batteries constructed for the defence of the bridge.

The



The general then moved his head-quarters to the Mesa d'Ibor on the evening of the 8th, having his advanced-guard at Bohoral. He resigned the command of the army the 12th, (on account of the bad state of his health,) which has devolved upon General Equia. The head-quarters of the Spanish army are now at Deleytosa.

It appears that a detachment of Vanegas's army had some success against the enemy, in an attack made upon it in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez, on the 5th instant. General Vanegas was then at Ocaña, and he had determined to retire towards the Sierra Morena; and after the 5th, he had moved in that direction. He returned, however, towards Toledo, with an intention of attacking the enemy on the 12th, but on the 11th the enemy attacked him with Sebastiani's corps, and two divisions of Victor's in the neighbourhood of Almoracid. The action appears to have lasted some hours, but the French having at last gained an advantage on General Vanegas's left, he was obliged to retire, and was about to resume his position in the Sierra Morena.

On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, large detachments of the French troops which had come from Placencia, returned to that quarter, and on the 12th, they attacked and defeated Sir Robert Wilson in the Puerto de Banos, on their return to Salamanca.

It appears now that the French force in this part of Spain is distributed as follows:—Marshal Victor's corps is divided between Talavera and La Mancha; Sebastiani's is in La Mancha; Marshal Mortier's at Oropesa, Arzo Bispo, and Naval moral; Marshal Soult's at Pla-

cencia; and Marshal Ney's at Salamanca.

Distress for want of provisions, and its effects, have at last obliged me to move towards the frontiers of Portugal, in order to refresh my troops. In my former dispatches I have informed your lordship of our distress for the want of provisions and the means of transport. Those wants, which were the first cause of the loss of many advantages after the 22d of July, which were made known to the government, and were actually known to them on the 20th of last month, still exist in an aggravated degree, and under these circumstances I determined to break up on the 20th from Jaraicejo, where I had had my head-quarters since the 11th, with the advanced posts on the Tagus near the bridge of Almaraz, and to fall back upon the frontier of Portugal, where I hope I shall be supplied with every thing I want.

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The London Gazette of Tuesday, the 22d of August, contains some further dispatches from Flushing, though of no important nature.—They contain a return of the garrison of Flushing, which amounted to 200 officers, 4985 rank and file, and 618 sick. Total 5803.—The whole force opposed to ours on the island was upwards of 9000 men. This greatly exceeds the estimate in the former dispatches.

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*Downing-street, Sept. 2, 1809.*

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was yesterday morning received at the office of lord viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's



majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-general the earl of Chatham, dated Head-quarters, Ratz, Aug. 29, 1809.

My Lord—Major Bradford delivered to me your lordship's dispatch of the 21st instant, signifying to me his majesty's commands that I should convey to lieutenant-general sir Eyre Coote, the general and other officers and troops employed before Flushing, and particularly to those of the artillery and engineer departments, his majesty's most gracious approbation of their conduct; and which I have obeyed with the most entire satisfaction.

I had the honour in my last dispatch of acquainting your lordship with my intention of proceeding to this place, and I should have been most happy to have been enabled to have announced to your lordship the further progress of this army. Unfortunately, however, it becomes my duty to state to your lordship that, from the concurrent testimony from so many quarters, as to leave no doubt of the truth of the information, the enemy appears to have collected so formidable a force, as to convince me that the period was arrived, at which my instructions would have directed me to withdraw the army under my command, even if engaged in actual operation.

I had certainly understood on my arrival at Walcheren, that the enemy were assembling in considerable force on all points; but I was unwilling to give too much credit to these reports, and I was determined to persevere until I was satisfied, upon the fullest information, that all further attempts would be unavailable.

From all our intelligence it appears, that the force of the enemy

in this quarter, distributed between the environs of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Lillo, and Antwerp, and cantoned on the opposite coast, is not less than thirty-five thousand men, and by some statements is estimated higher. Though a landing on the continent might, I have no doubt, have been forced, yet as the siege of Antwerp, the possession of which could alone have secured to us any of the ulterior objects of the expedition, was by this state of things rendered utterly impracticable, such a measure, if successful, could have led to no solid advantage; and the retreat of the army, which must at an early period have been inevitable, would have been exposed to much hazard.

The utmost force (and that daily decreasing) that I could have brought into the field, after providing for the occupation of Walcheren and South Beveland, would have amounted to about twenty-three thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry. Your lordship must at once see, even if the enemy's force had been less numerous than represented, after the necessary detachments to observe the garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, and securing our communications, how very inadequate a force must have remained for operations against Lillo and Liefkenshoeik, and ultimately against Antwerp; which town, so far from being in the state which had been reported, is, from very correct accounts, represented to be in a complete state of defence; and the enemy's ships had been brought up and placed in security, under the guns of the citadel.

Under these circumstances, however mortifying to me to see the progress arrested of an army, from  
whose



whose good conduct and valour I had every thing to hope, I feel that my duty left me no other course than to close my operations here ; and it will always be a satisfaction to me to think, that I have not been induced lightly to commit the safety of the army confided to me, or the reputation of his majesty's arms.— It was an additional satisfaction to me to find that the unanimous opinion of the lieutenant-generals of this army, whom I thought it right to consult, more out of respect to them, than that I thought a doubt could be entertained on the subject, concurred entirely in the sentiments I have submitted to your lordship.

I am concerned to say, that the effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year, is felt most seriously, and that the numbers of sick already is little short of 3,000 men.

It is my intention to withdraw gradually from the advanced position in this island, and sending into Walcheren such an additional force, as may be necessary to secure that important possession, to embark the remainder of the troops, and to hold them in readiness to await his majesty's further commands, which I shall most anxiously expect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHATHAM.

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*British Deserters.—Case of the men arrested as deserters from the frigate L'Africaine, by John Hunter, esq. Sheriff of Baltimore, at the request of William Wood, esq. British Consul for the Port of Baltimore.*

An Habeas Corpus was applied for to Judge Scott, late on Thursday evening, on behalf of seven men, arrested and held in custody

by the Sheriff, at the request, and on the statement of the British Consul that they were deserters, by their counsel. The Habeas Corpus was issued as prayed for, returnable the next morning at nine o'clock. Accordingly, this morning, the men were brought up amidst an immense concourse of citizens, who filled the court-house and the neighbouring street, and the Sheriff made return that he had arrested and detained the men in custody, in virtue of the following, from the British Consul :

*British Consul's Office,*

*Baltimore, Sept. 6, 1809.*

Sir—Having received information that 13 seamen have deserted from L'Africaine frigate, and are now in this city, I have to request that you will be pleased to secure them till they can be sent on board.

—I am, &c. WM. WOOD.

John Hunter, Esq.

By virtue of this authority, I have arrested and put in prison the following persons, to wit : John Nowland, William Whokes, Denis Murphy, Richard Hewes, John Earp, John Burwell, and Jacob Lamb.— The Judge said, that he had conceived it his duty to give notice to Mr. Wood, (the British Consul) of the application, so that he might appear and shew cause, if any he had, why the men should be detained.

In the course of a few minutes Mr. Wood came into court, and the counsel for the prisoners, Messrs. Glenn and J. L. Donaldson, moved the court that the men be discharged, sufficient cause for their detention not appearing on the return.— Mr. Wood's counsel, Mr. Walter Dorsey, requested to be allowed time to inquire into the law; and

said



said they would be ready to prove that these men were deserters from his Britannic majesty's ship. The counsel for the prisoners objected to the delay. The Chief Justice stated, that the opinion of the Secretary of State had satisfied him, that deserters from British vessels ought not to be arrested or detained under the authority of the government of the United States, for the purpose of delivering them up to the officers of the British government; he therefore ordered the prisoners to be discharged. The audience expressed their approbation of his decision by three loud and tumultuous huzzas and execrations of the tories, and carried off the deserters in triumph!

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*Lord Castlereagh's Letter to Mr. Canning; and Mr. Canning's Answer,*

*St. James's-square, 19th Sept.*

Sir—It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement of the circumstances which preceded the recent resignations.—It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to state, that it appears a proposition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the War Department; and that you, towards the close of the last session, having urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of your seceding from the government, procured a positive promise from the Duke of Portland (the execution of which you afterwards considered yourself entitled to enforce) that such removal should be carried into effect. Notwithstanding this promise, by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with

the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the crown, was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise of the most ardent and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and ostensible approbation.

You were fully aware that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me.

I am aware, it may be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you pressed for a decision for my removal, you also pressed for its disclosure, and that it was resisted by the Duke of Portland, and some members of the government, supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit that you have a right to make use of such a plea, in justification of an act affecting my honour, nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any supposed friend (whatever may be their motives,) can authorize or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception. For were I to admit such a principle, my honour and



and character would be from that moment in the discretion of persons wholly unauthorised, and known to you to be unauthorised to act for me in such a case. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you, which no man of honour could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expence of my honour and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take yourself out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal.

Under these circumstances, I must require that satisfaction from you to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim. I am, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

*The Right Hon. Geo. Canning.*

*Gloucester-Lodge, Sept. 20.*

My Lord—The tone and purport of your lordship's letter, which I have this moment received, of course preclude any other answer on my part to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheer-

fully give to your lordship the satisfaction which you require. I am, &c.

GEORGE CANNING.

*Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.*

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*The following detail of the original cause of the animosity between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning is supposed to be written by Mr. Cooke, the private secretary to Lord Castlereagh:—*

It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Canning, during the Easter recess, did make a representation in a letter to the Duke of Portland, with respect to the war department, founded upon differences which had prevailed between him and Lord Castlereagh; but it is not true that this letter was shown to the cabinet, or that the subject was even stated to the cabinet, however it might have been secretly communicated to some of the members. It is also true that a suggestion was made for appointing the Marquis Wellesley to succeed Lord Castlereagh. It is likewise undeniable, that a decision upon this point was postponed till near the close of the session. It is further ascertained, that towards the close of the session, when Lord Grenville Leveson Gower's writ was to be moved for, on account of his coming into office, and the cabinet, that Mr. Canning called upon the Duke of Portland, as a condition of his remaining in the government, to give him a decision upon the proposition for removing Lord Castlereagh, and appointing the Marquis Wellesley his successor; and the Duke of Portland having given Mr. Canning a specific and positive promise to this effect, Mr. Canning pressed



that it should be immediately acted upon, and Lord Castlereagh acquainted with it. Lord Castlereagh, however, was not acquainted with it, and Mr. Canning acquiesced in its being concealed from him.

Undoubtedly, Lord Camden was acquainted with the transactions; but it is not true that his lordship ever undertook to make the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, nor did he ever make it. It is also true, that Mr. Canning was thoroughly apprised that it was not made known to Lord Castlereagh. And it is further true, that Lord Castlereagh, being kept in profound ignorance of the decision for his removal from office, was permitted, though in fact virtually no longer a minister, and in this state of delusion, to continue to conduct the entire arrangement of the campaign, and to engage in a new expedition of the most extensive, complicated, and important nature, under the full persuasion, not that Mr. Canning had supplanted him in office, and possessed in his pocket a promise for his dismissal, but that he really enjoyed (as during the period he in outward show and daily concurrence, experienced) Mr. Canning's sincere, liberal, and *bona fide* support, as a co-operating and approving colleague. It is further known, that Mr. Canning having thus in his pocket Lord Castlereagh's dismissal, and having arranged with the Duke of Portland that it should be carried into execution at the termination of the expedition, he did, on the 3d September, the day that the account arrived from Lord Chatham that he could not proceed to Antwerp, write to the Duke of Portland, de-

manding the execution of the promise made to him. What were all the difficulties which were started from time to time against the immediate execution of this promise, it would be extremely difficult to detail; but there cannot be a doubt but the question of the writership, which it has been attempted to connect with this transaction, could have nothing to do with it; as Mr. Canning never contended for Lord Castlereagh's removal from the government, but from the particular office he held, and into which he wished to introduce Lord Wellesley. It appears that the demand of the fulfilment of the promise led to the resignation of the Duke of Portland, and subsequently of Mr. Canning. And it further appears, that as soon as the whole of this unparalleled conduct was, at this late period, disclosed to Lord Castlereagh, he immediately placed his resignation in his majesty's hands.—On the truth of the above facts the public may rely; and they can no longer be at a loss for the real causes and grounds of the demand made by Lord Castlereagh for satisfaction from Mr. Canning.

*Mr. Canning's Answer to Lord Castlereagh's Statement.*

*The following has been ushered to the world as the statement of Mr. Canning, on the subject of the difference which led to the recent duel between himself and Lord Castlereagh.*

It is perfectly true, that so long ago as Easter Mr. Canning had represented to the Duke of Portland the insufficiency, (in his opinion) of the government, as then constituted, to carry on the affairs of the country, under all the difficulties of the times;



times; and had requested that, unless some change should be effected in it, he might be permitted to resign his office.—It is equally true, that in the course of the discussion, which arose out of this representation, it was proposed to Mr. Canning, and accepted by him, as the condition of his consenting to retain the seals of the foreign office, that a change should be made in the war department.

But it is not true that the time at which that change was ultimately proposed to be made, was of Mr. Canning's choice; and it is not true that he was party or consenting to the concealment of that intended change from Lord Castlereagh.

With respect to the concealment, Mr. Canning, some short time previous to the date of Lord Castlereagh's letter, without the smallest suspicion of the existence of any intention on the part of Lord Castlereagh to make such an appeal to Mr. Canning as this letter contains, but upon information that some misapprehension did exist as to Mr. Canning's supposed concurrence in the reserve which had been practised towards Lord Castlereagh, transmitted to one of Lord Castlereagh's most intimate friends, to be communicated whenever he might think proper, the copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Canning to the Duke of Portland, in the month of July, in which Mr. Canning requests, "in justice to himself, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter this concealment shall be alleged (as he doubts not that it will) against him, as an act of injustice towards Lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in his suggestion;—that, so far from desiring

it, he conceived, however erroneously, Lord Camden to be the sure channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late period he believed such communication to have been actually made."

The copy of this letter, and of the Duke of Portland's answer to it, "acknowledging Mr. Canning's repeated remonstrances against the concealment," are still in the possession of Lord Castlereagh's friend.

The communication to Lord Camden, to which this letter refers, was made on the 28th April, with Mr. Canning's knowledge, and at his particular desire. Lord Camden being the near connexion and most confidential friend of Lord Castlereagh, it never occurred to Mr. Canning, nor was it credible to him, till he received the most positive asseverations of the fact, that Lord Camden had kept back such a communication from Lord Castlereagh.

With respect to the period at which the change in the war department was to take place, Mr. Canning was induced, in the first instance, to consent to its postponement till the rising of parliament, partly by the representations made to himself, of the inconveniences of any change in the middle of a session, but principally from a consideration of the particular circumstances under which Lord Castlereagh stood in the house of commons after Easter; circumstances which would have given to his removal at that period of the session, a character which it was certainly no part of Mr. Canning's wish that it should bear.

Mr. Canning, however, received the most positive promise, that  
O o 3 a change



a change in the war department should take place immediately upon the close of the session. When that time arrived, the earnest and repeated entreaties of most of Lord Castlereagh's friends in the cabinet were employed to prevail upon Mr. Canning to consent to the postponement of the arrangement.

At length, and most reluctantly, he did give his consent to its being postponed to the period proposed by Lord Castlereagh's friends, viz. the termination of the expedition then in preparation; but did so upon the most distinct and solemn assurances, that, whatever might be the issue of the expedition, the change should take place at that period; that the seals of the war department should then be offered to Lord Wellesley (the person for whose accession to the cabinet Mr. Canning was known to be most anxious), and that the interval should be diligently employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh's mind to acquiesce in such an arrangement.

It was therefore matter of astonishment to Mr. Canning, when, at the issue of the expedition he reminded the Duke of Portland that the time was now come for his grace's writing to Lord Wellesley, to find, that so far from the interval having been employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh for the change, the same reserve had been continued towards him, against which Mr. Canning had before so earnestly remonstrated. Being informed of this circumstance by the Duke of Portland, and learning at the same time from his grace that there were other difficulties attending the

promised arrangement, of which Mr. Canning had not before been apprised; and that the Duke of Portland had himself come to a determination to retire from office, Mr. Canning instantly, and before any step whatever had been taken towards carrying the promised arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim, and requested the Duke of Portland to tender his (Mr. Canning's) resignation, at the same time with his grace's, to the king. This was on Wednesday the 6th of September, previously to the levee of that day.

All question of the performance of the promise made to Mr. Canning being thus at an end, the reserve which Lord Castlereagh's friends had hitherto so perseveringly practised towards Lord Castlereagh, appears to have been laid aside, Lord Castlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been proposed to him.

What may have been the reasons which prevented Lord Castlereagh's friends from fulfilling the assurances given to Mr. Canning, that Lord Castlereagh's mind should be prepared by their communication for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect; and what the motives for the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh after that arrangement had ceased to be in contemplation, it is not for Mr. Canning to explain.

*In addition to Lord Castlereagh's and Mr. Canning's statements of the origin of the late duel,—the following has been published by Lord Camden:—*

As it may be inferred from a statement



statement which has appeared in the public papers, that Lord Camden withheld from Lord Castlereagh a communication which he had been desired to make to him, it is necessary that it should be understood, that, however Mr. Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made to Lord Camden, it was never stated to Lord Camden, that the communication was made at the desire of Mr. Canning; and that, so far from Lord Camden having been authorized to make the communication to Lord Castlereagh, he was absolutely restricted from so doing.

As it may also be inferred that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Castlereagh's mind for any proposed change, it is necessary that it should be understood that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Castlereagh any circumstances respecting it, before the termination of the expedition.

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*Saturday's London Gazette.*—*Foreign Office, Nov. 11, 1809.*

A letter, of which the following is an extract, was this day received by Earl Bathurst, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, from Lieutenant-colonel Carrol, dated Army of the Left, Camp on the Heights of Tamames, Oct. 19, 1809.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the army of Marshal Ney, now commanded by General Marchout, advanced on the morning of yesterday, in force ten thousand infantry and one thousand two hundred cavalry, with fourteen pieces of artillery, to attack this army,

which was most judiciously posted on these heights.

The enemy divided his force into three columns, which advanced against the right, centre, and left of our line; it soon became evident that the principal object of his attack was to force and turn our left, it being the point in which our position was weakest.

The enemy, at the commencement, gained some advantage of position on our left, in consequence of the retreat of a small party of our cavalry, destined to cover the left of our line. This success, however, was momentary, as the vanguard, led on by Generals Mendizabel and Carrera, charged with the greatest spirit and gallantry, routed the enemy, and retook, at the point of the bayonet, six guns, of which the enemy possessed himself during the retreat of the division of our cavalry. The vanguard in this charge committed great slaughter amongst the enemy, taking from them one eight-pound gun, with a quantity of ammunition. After a long and obstinate contest, the enemy, being unable to gain a foot of ground, began to give way in all points. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy betook himself to a precipitate and disorderly flight.

The loss of the enemy, as far as we have been yet able to ascertain, exceeds one thousand, in killed and prisoners. The numbers of the wounded must be very considerable.

Our loss has been comparatively very trifling, not exceeding three hundred: one imperial eagle, one eight pounder brass gun, three ammunition waggons, twelve drums, with four or five thousand stand of arms, an immense quantity of ball cartridges,



cartridges, carts of provisions, and knapsacks loaded with plunder, fell into our hands.

No language can do sufficient justice to the gallant and intrepid conduct of the troops on this memorable day; it would be impossible to make any distinction in the zeal and ardour of the different corps, for all equally panted for the contest. The vanguard and first division, however, had the good fortune to occupy those points against which the enemy directed his principal efforts, and to add fresh laurels to the wreaths they had acquired in Lugo, St. Jago, and San Payo.

The steady intrepidity displayed by the second division, through whose ranks the party of retreating cavalry passed, and the spirit and promptness with which it pushed forward against the enemy, who had at that moment turned our left, is deserving of the highest approbation.

The entire of the cavalry, with the exception of the party attached to the vanguard, about three hundred, who, from being overpowered, were obliged to retreat, evinced the greatest steadiness and resolution in maintaining the post allotted them, and keeping the enemy's cavalry in check.

It is, however, to be lamented that our cavalry did not find themselves in a situation to enable them to take advantage of the enemy's disorderly flight across the plain between these heights and the village of Carrascalejo, a league in extent; for had five or six hundred horse charged the fugitives, the victory would have been most decisive.

The vanguard of General Ballesteros's division is in sight; we only

wait his arrival to pursue, and annihilate the discomfited enemy.

From prisoners we learn that General Marchont proclaimed at Salamanca his intention of annihilating, by two o'clock on the 18th, thirty thousand peasant insurgents: his orders to his army were, on pain of death, to possess itself of the heights by twelve o'clock, as he proposed proceeding to destroy Ballesteros's division, after having dispersed and annihilated this army.

The French general certainly appears to have held this army very cheap; judging from his plan of attack, which was far from judicious, but executed, to a certain point, with the greatest bravery, and with that intrepidity which the confidence of success inspires.

Our light troops pursued, and hung on the enemy's rear; several parties of which, amongst whom were 200 of the regiment of Balastro, have not returned as yet, having expressed a determination of hanging on the enemies flanks as long as the cover of the woods afforded a facility of so doing.—The number of the enemy's dead already found and buried amounts to upwards of 1100. Several, no doubt, will be found in the woods.

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*London Gazette Extraordinary,—*  
*Wednesday, Nov. 29.*

*Admiralty Office, Nov. 29, 1809.*  
The Hon. Lieutenant William Waldegrave, of the Ville de Paris, arrived here this morning with dispatches from Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, addressed to the Hon. William Wellesley Pole,



Pole, of which the following are copies:—

*Ville de Paris, off St. Sebastian, Oct. 30, 1809.*

Sir,—By my letter of the 16th September, their lordships would be informed of the intelligence I had received relative to the intended movements of the French squadron, and of my reasons for changing my station to St. Sebastian.

While on this station, on the night of the 22d instant, the *Pomone* joined, and Captain Barrie (who with indefatigable perseverance had, with the *Alceste*, watched the port of Toulon) informed me, that the day before, several of the enemy's squadron had put to sea, that others were coming out when he left them, and that there was every appearance of the whole fleet being on the move from the harbour. They had a numerous convoy with them, and as this movement was made with the first of an easterly wind, there was little doubt of their being bound to the westward. I immediately made the necessary signals for the squadron to be prepared for their reception, and placed the three frigates and sloop (*Pomone*, *Hydra*, *Volontaire*, and *Minstrel*) to windward, to give notice of the enemy's approach.

On the following morning (the 23d) soon after eight o'clock, the *Volontaire* made the signal for a fleet to the eastward; while they continued to come down before the wind, no alteration was made in the squadron, except by advancing two fast-sailing ships, the *Tigre* and *Bulwark*.—At ten, the *Pomone* made the signal, that the enemy had hauled to the wind, and the convoy se-

parating from the ships of war (which were now discovered to consist of three ships of the line only, two frigates, two smaller frigates, or store-ships, and a convoy of about twenty sail of vessels,) I ordered Rear-admiral Martin to chase them, and eight of the best sailing ships, which standing on contrary tacks, might take advantage of the changes of the wind which was then variable.

At two *p. m.* the *Pomone* having got far to windward, was directed by signal to destroy such of the convoy as could be come up with; and in the evening she burnt two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch. The enemy before dark was out of sight, and the ships chasing not much advanced, were standing to the northward; while the squadron with me stretched to the southward. The next morning neither the French nor our own chasing ships were in sight.

This morning Rear-admiral Martin joined with his division, as named in the margin,\* having again fallen in with the enemy on the 24th, off the entrance of the Rhone, and on the 25th they chased them on shore; the *Robust*, of 84 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Boudain, and the *Leon*, of 74, off Frontignan, where the day following themselves set fire to them. The *Borée*, of 74 guns, and a frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the Port of Cette, where there is little probability of either of them being saved.

I cannot sufficiently express the high satisfaction I have felt at the intrepid perseverance of Rear-admiral Martin, and of the captains of

\* *Canopus*, *Renown*, *Tigre*, *Sultan*, *Leviathan*, and *Cumberland*.



the ships who were with him in the pursuit. Nothing less ardent, or less skilful, would have produced a result so fortunate, where the coast near the Rhone is exceedingly shoal and dangerous, so that some of the ships were in five and six fathom water, the weather thick, and the south east wind blowing strong.

I enclose to you, Sir, Rear-Admiral Martin's letter; and beg to congratulate their lordships on three great ships of the enemy being thus destroyed, without the smallest resistance on their part, or a shot being fired by the British ships, except a few by the *Tigre* at the *Borée*, when she was pushing ashore at *Cette*; of their two frigates, the *Pomone* and *Pauline*, one hauled her wind some time in the night, and fetched into *Marseilles Road*.

The other part of the French squadron are found to remain in *Toulon* by the ships which have since examined that port.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COLLINGWOOD.

*Canopus at Sea, Oct. 27, 1809.*

My Lord,—in obedience to the signal for the *Canopus* to chase *E. N. E.* I stood that way the whole of the night of the 23d, and the following day, in company with the *Renown*, *Tigre*, *Sultan*, *Leviathan*, and *Cumberland*; in the evening four sail were seen, to which we immediately gave chase, and pursued them till after dark; when, from shoal water, and the wind being direct on the shore, near the entrance of the Rhone, it became necessary to keep to the wind during the night. The following morning, the 25th, the same ships were again seen, and chased between *Cette* and *Frontignan*,

where they ran on shore. Two of them (an 80 gun ship, bearing a rear-admiral's flag, and a seventy-four) at the latter place, and one ship of the line and a frigate at the former. From the shoal water and intricacy of the navigation, it was impossible to get close enough to the enemy's two line of battle ships near *Frontignan*, to attack them when on shore; for in attempting to do so, one of his majesty's ships was under five fathoms water, and another in less than six. On the 26th, I sent the boats to sound, meaning, if possible, to buoy the channel (if any had been found) by which the enemy's ships could be attacked; but at night we had the satisfaction to see them set on fire.

From the circumstances under which the ship and frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the port of *Cette*, I have little doubt the former will be lost; and the frigate must certainly have received considerable damage; but they cannot be got at on account of the batteries.

Your lordship must be well aware that nothing but the great press of sail carried by his majesty's ships, and the good look out kept, could have enabled them to close with those of the enemy from the distance they were at the time they commenced the chase.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. MARTIN.

*Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood,  
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

*Ville de Paris, off Rosas, Nov.  
1, 1809.*

Sir,—When the enemy's convoy was chased on the 23d ultimo, their transports separated from the ships of war, and, under the protection



tion of an armed store-ship, two bombards and a zebec made for the Bay of Rosas. When the ships of war were disposed of, as related in my letter of yesterday, the convoy became the object of my attention, and on the 29th the Apollo was sent off Rosas to examine what vessels were there, and how far they were in a situation assailable.

The next day I appointed the ships, as per margin, \* for this service, under the orders of Captain Hallowell to bring them out if the wind was favourable, or otherwise to destroy them. The state of the wind and sea would not permit this operation until last night, when, after dark, the ships bore up for the bay, and anchored about five miles from the castle of Rosas, under the protection of which castle, of Trinity fort, and of several other newly erected batteries, the convoy, consisting of eleven vessels, five of them armed, as per accompanying list, were moored.

The boats being arranged in separate divisions, the whole were put under the orders of Lieutenant Tailour, First Lieutenant of the Tigre, and proceeded to the attack of the enemy, who, although he could have had no previous intimation of such an enterprize against him, was found vigilant and completely on his guard. The ship, which was a smaller sort of frigate, was inclosed in boarding nettings, and a gun-boat advanced a-head of her for the look out; on being hailed, and the alarm-gun fired, our boats stretched out, the crews at the highest pitch of animation, filling the air with their cheers; each division took the part previously allotted

to it, the armed ship was boarded at all points, and carried in a few minutes, notwithstanding a spirited and sturdy resistance which the enemy made: all their armed vessels were well defended, but the British seamen and marines, determined to subdue them, were not to be repelled, even by a force found to be double that which was expected, and besides the opposition made by the vessels, the guns from the castle, the forts in the bay, the gun-boats and musketry from the beach kept a constant fire on them. On the opening of day every ship or vessel was either burnt or brought off, aided by the light winds which then came from the land, and the whole of the convoy that came from Toulon for the supply of the French army in Spain, has been destroyed, with the exception of the frigate, which escaped to Marseilles, and one store-ship not since heard of.

I cannot conclude this narrative without an expression of the sentiment which the execution of this bold enterprize has inspired me with, and the respect and admiration I feel for those who performed it.

In the first place, success greatly depended upon the previous arrangement which was made by Captain Hallowell with a judgment and foresight that distinguishes that officer in every service he is employed on: the division of the boats, the preparation of fire materials, and providing them with every implement that contingency could require, established confidence throughout the whole; and in this he was ably assisted by the experience and zeal of captains Wodehouse, Bullen, Taylor, and Hope. The brigs were

\* Tigre, Cumberland, Volontaire, Apollo, Topaze, Philomel, Scout, and Tuscan.  
under



under sail, as near the vessels attacked as the light winds would allow, and captain Hallowell speaks in high terms of praise of the conduct of their commanders Crawley, Raitt, and Wilson. The first lieutenant Tailour, led to the assault in a most gallant manner, and was followed by the other officers, as if each were ambitious of his place, and desired to be first; the whole party bravely maintained the character which British seamen have established for themselves.

I am sorry I have to add, that the loss has been considerable, of which I enclose a list. Lieutenant Tait, of the *Volontaire*, an excellent and brave young officer, and Mr. Caldwell, master's mate of the *Tigre*, a youth of great promise, were the only officers slain.

Many officers in the fleet were desirous of being volunteers in this service. I could not resist the earnest request of Lieutenants Lord Viscount Balgonie, the Hon. J. A. Mande, and the Hon. W. Waldegrave of the *Ville de Paris*, to have the command of boats, in which they displayed that spirit which is inherent in them.

I transmit also captain Hallowell's letter relating his proceedings, with lists of the officers who commanded boats, and had appointments in this service, and of the vessels burnt and captured.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

COLLINGWOOD.

P. S. I have charged lieutenant Waldegrave, of the *Ville de Paris*, with the delivery of my dispatches; an officer of great merit, and who commanded one of the boats employed on this service.

*His Majesty's ship Tigre,  
off Cape St. Sebastian,  
Nov. 1, 1809.*

My Lord—In obedience to your lordship's order of the 30th ultimo, I proceeded to the Bay of Rosas with the ships and sloops named in the margin, where finding it impracticable to attack the enemy's convoy while under weigh, (the wind being at S. E. and a heavy swell) I anchored the ships of the the squadron yesterday evening after dark, about five miles off the town of Rosas, and detached all the boats, under the command of lieutenant Tailour, first of the *Tigre*, to destroy them; the spirited manner in which he led them on to the attack, commanded the admiration of every one present; and the gallant manner in which he was supported reflects the highest honour on every person employed on this service.

I have the honour to inclose a list of vessels captured and destroyed on this occasion; and and when your lordship is informed that the enemy was aware of our intention to attack him, and had taken the precaution of fixing boarding nettings, and placing a launch with a gun in it in advance, to give him a notice of our approach, and that the vessels were also defended by the very strong batteries on shore, I trust your lordship will consider it equal in gallantry and judgment to any exploit that has occurred under your lordship's command.

Our loss has been severe, and among the list of killed I have to lament the loss of lieutenant Tait, of the *Volontaire*, of whom captain Bullen speaks in high terms, as an officer who has distinguished himself upon many occasions; and Mr. Caldwell, master's mate of the *Tigre*;



gre : the latter has left a widowed mother in distressed circumstances, who looked to him for comfort and support. Among the wounded are lieutenant Tailour, of the Tigre, and lieutenant Forster, of the Apollo, severely.

The brigs were directed to keep under weigh, and were in an admirable situation at day-light to have given assistance, had it been necessary.

I have the honour also to enclose a list of the officers employed on this service, and I have only to state that their conduct, and that of the seamen and marines under their command, was such as to exceed any encomium from my pen, and entitles them to my warmest thanks and approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

B. HALLOWELL.

*A List of Ships and Vessels captured and destroyed by the boats of the squadron under the command of Benjamin Hallowell, esq. captain of his majesty's ship the Tigre, in the Bay of Rosas, on the morning of the 1st November, 1809.*

Armed store-ship La Lemproye, Bertault la Brecheete, lieutenant de Vaisseau, commander, of 16 nine-pounders, 116 men, and 600 tons : burnt.—Pierced for 22 guns on the main deck—Vessel of war.

Bombard La Victoire Garribou, ensign de Vaisseau, commander, of 14 six-pounders, and 80 men :—burnt—Vessel of war.

Felucca L'Assacien, Rouve, master, of 25 muskets and 20 men : burnt—Transport belonging to government.

L'Union, of 150 tons ; burnt—Landed her cargo.

La Bien Amie, 150 tons, laden with biscuit ; burnt.

Notre Dame de Rosaire, of 150 tons ; burnt—Landed her cargo.

Felucca Notre Dame de Grace, of 90 tons ; burnt—Landed her cargo.

Bombard Le Grondire, Coreille, ensign de Vaisseau, commander, of 8 six-pounders, and 45 men, laden with biscuit ; taken—Transport belonging to government.

Xebeck Le Normande, Arnaut, ensign de Vaisseau, commander, of 10 four-pounders, and 48 men ; taken—Vessel of war.

Le Dragon, of 200 tons, laden with biscuit ; taken.

L'Indien, of 200 tons, laden with corn and flour ; taken.

(Signed) B. HALLOWELL.

*A return of the Killed and Wounded in the attack on the enemy's vessels on the morning of the 1st November, 1809, in the Bay of Biscay.*

TIGRE. Killed—James Caldwell, master's mate ; Thomas Jones, (1) able ; Alexander Duncan, ditto ; James Anderson, ditto.

Wounded—John Tailour, lieutenant, severely ; D. R. Syer, midshipman, ditto ; James Kilfoyle, carpenter's crew, slightly ; William Window, quarter-gunner, ditto ; Peter M'Laughlin, able, slightly ; John Riley, (1) ordinary, ditto ; John Westway, private marine, ditto ; James Terry, private marine, ditto ; James Grant, private marine, ditto ; George Lemon, able, ditto.

CUMBERLAND. Killed—John Leigh, ordinary ; Thomas Gibson, marine.

Wounded



Wounded—Richard Stuart, lieutenant, slightly; John Webster, master's mate; W. H. Brady, midshipman; John White, able; John James, able, slightly; Charles Spraggs, ordinary; Oliver Isaac, ordinary slightly; Timothy Collins, ordinary; Isaac Stafford, ordinary, very slightly; Stephen Miller, ordinary; John Rielly, ordinary; Robert Kelly, ordinary; George Hetherstone, private marine, very dangerously; Thomas Bowles, private marine, slightly; George Mitchell, private marine.

**VOLONTAIRE.** Killed—Dalhousie Teit, lieutenant; Thomas Harrison, quarter-gunner.

Wounded—Robert Grant, marine, dangerously; Thomas Sutton, seaman, badly; Christopher Anderson, seaman, ditto; James Hays, seaman, ditto; Jacob Schwerin, seaman, ditto; William Hinson, marine, slightly; James Dawden, marine, ditto; John Davis, seaman, ditto; William Thomas, seaman, ditto; Christopher Feat, seaman, ditto; William Thompson, seaman, ditto; Joseph Lewis, seaman, ditto; John Smith, seaman, ditto; Hon. J. A. Maude, lieutenant, ditto—a volunteer from the Ville de Paris; John Armstead, midshipman, ditto—a volunteer from the Ville de Paris.

**APOLLO.** Killed—Evan Jones, serjeant of marines; Wm. Saunders, private marine; John Mackie, able.

Wounded—J. Begbie, first lieutenant, slightly; J. Forster, lieutenant, severely; Peter Manning, private marine, dangerously; Louis O. Sauf, ordinary, badly; Caul Sausster, able, slightly.

**TOPAZE.** Killed—James Callaghan, ordinary; Dong. Carmichael, able; James M'Donald, ordinary; William March, ordinary.

Wounded—Thomas Wilson, able, very severely; William Holberson, ordinary, ditto; James White, ordinary, slightly; John Roberts, captain of foretop, ditto; James Harrington, able, ditto; John Card, private marine, severely; Joseph Carter, private marine, dangerously; Henry Tub, ordinary, slightly.

**PHILOMEL AND SCOUT.** None killed or wounded.

**TUSCAN.** Wounded—Pascoe Dunn, lieutenant, slightly; James Lamb, ordinary, dangerously.

Total killed—1 lieutenant, 1 master's mate, 10 seamen, 1 serjeant of marines, 2 privates of marines.

Total wounded—1 seaman, 4 privates of marines, dangerously; 2 lieutenants, 1 midshipman, 7 seamen, 1 private of marines, severely; 3 lieutenants, 1 master's mate, 2 midshipmen, 28 seamen, 5 privates of marines, slightly.

Grand Total—15 killed, 55 wounded.

(Signed)

B. HALLOWELL.

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*Letters from the Right Honourable George Canning, to the Earl Camden, Lord President of the Council.*

*Gloucester Lodge, Nov. 14, 1809.*

My Lord—I had written to your lordship immediately after the publication of your lordship's statement;\* but I delayed sending my letter, in the hope of being able

\* For the Statement see p. 566,



previously to submit it to the perusal of the Duke of Portland.

In this hope I have been disappointed by that fatal event which has deprived this country of one of its most upright and disinterested patriots; the king of one of his most faithful, devoted, and affectionate subjects; and the world, of one of the most blameless and most noble-minded of men.

Thus situated, I have thought it right to revise what I had written, and scrupulously to expunge every reference to the authority of the Duke of Portland, which would now stand upon my sole testimony; retaining such only as are supported, either by written documents which I shall be happy to communicate to your lordship; or by facts which are well known to your lordship or to your colleagues, and in which, for the most part, your lordship is yourself concerned.

Neither, however, can I content myself with this precaution; but must protest, at the same time, in the most earnest manner, against any possible misconstruction, by which any thing in the following letter can be strained to a meaning unfavourable to the motives which actuated the Duke of Portland's conduct.

It is impossible, indeed, not to regret the policy, however well intentioned, which dictated the reserve practised towards Lord Castlereagh in the beginning of this transaction; or that practised towards myself in its conclusion.

It is to be regretted, that the Duke of Portland should have imposed, and that your lordship should have accepted, the condition of silence, in the first communications between you.

It is also to be regretted, that I should not have learnt in July, that your lordship was not party to the assurances then given to me, on behalf of lord Castlereagh's friends in general; and that another member of the cabinet, comprehended in that description, had (as I have since heard,) refused to concur in them.

Had I been made acquainted with these circumstances, I should then have resigned; and my resignation would, at that time, have taken place without inconvenience or embarrassment; and without stirring those questions (no way connected with the causes of my retirement) or subjecting me to those misinterpretations of my conduct and motives, which have been produced by the coincidence of my resignation with that of the Duke of Portland.

But, however this reserve may be to be regretted, it is impossible to attribute the adoption of it, on the part of the Duke of Portland, to any other motives than to that gentleness of nature which eminently distinguished him; and which led him to endeavour (above all things) to prevent political differences from growing into personal dissension; and to aim at executing whatever arrangement might be expedient for improving or strengthening the administration, with the concurrence (if possible) of all its existing members.

And no man who knows the affectionate respect and attachment, which the manly and generous qualities of the Duke of Portland's mind were calculated to command, and which I invariably bore to him, will suspect me of being willing to establish my own vindication, at the expence of the slightest disrespect



spect to his memory, or prejudice to his fame.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

GEORGE CANNING.

—  
*To the Earl of Camden, &c. &c.*

My Lord—The statement, which has been published in the newspapers, in your lordship's name, has decided a question on which I had before been hesitating, as to the necessity of an authentic detail of the transactions (so far as I am concerned in them or am acquainted with them) to which that statement refers.

For that purpose, I think a direct address to your lordship more decorous, both towards your lordship and for myself, than an anonymous paragraph in a newspaper.

It is with the most painful reluctance that I recur to a subject which, so far as it concerns Lord Castlereagh and myself, had been settled in a manner, which is usually, I believe, considered as final.

Discussions of the causes of dispute more commonly precede, than follow, the extreme appeal to which Lord Castlereagh resorted: And when, after mature consideration, his lordship had determined to resort to that appeal in the first instance, I should have thought that such a choice, deliberately made, would have been felt by his friends to be equally conclusive upon them as upon himself.

But your lordship needs not to be informed, how assiduously my character has been assailed by writers in the newspapers, espousing Lord

Castlereagh's quarrel, and supposed (I trust, most injuriously) to be his lordship's particular friends.

The perversions and misrepresentations of anonymous writers, however, would not have extorted from me any reply. But to them succeeded the publication of Lord Castlereagh's letter to me of the 19th September.\*

I entirely disbelieve that Lord Castlereagh, and I distinctly deny that I myself had any knowledge of this publication.

But, by what means it matters not, the letter is before the world; and though the course originally chosen by Lord Castlereagh precluded me from offering any explanation to him, the course which has since been adopted on his behalf (though undoubtedly without his privity) might perhaps have been considered as rendering such an explanation due to myself. It is, however, only since your lordship's publication that I have felt it to be indispensably necessary.

The statement on my behalf, which has also found its way, (without my consent and against my wish) into the public papers, was written under a sense of delicacy and restraint, as to the particulars of the transaction, which from the character of the transaction itself, must always continue to prevail in a great degree; but from which, until Wednesday, the 11th of October, the day on which I gave up the seals, I had not an opportunity of soliciting any dispensation.

Of the indulgence which I then most humbly solicited, I trust I shall be able to avail myself sufficiently for my own vindication, without lo-

\* See pages 562 and 563.



sing sight of those considerations of duty and propriety, by which the use of such an indulgence must necessarily be regulated and confined.

It is stated in Lord Castlereagh's letter "That I had demanded and procured from the Duke of Portland, before the rising of parliament, a promise for Lord Castlereagh's removal from the War Department; that, by this promise, Lord Castlereagh's situation, as a minister of the crown, was made dependent upon my pleasure; and that this promise I afterwards thought myself entitled to enforce;"

"That, after, and notwithstanding this virtual supersession of Lord Castlereagh in his office, I allowed him to originate and conduct the expedition to the Scheldt;"

"And that, during this whole period, I knew that the agitation, and the decision of the question for his removal, were concealed from him: and was party to this concealment."

Lord Castlereagh indeed admits,

That he "has no right as a public man, to resent my demanding, upon public grounds, his removal from his office, or even from the administration, as a condition of my continuing a member of the government."

But he contends, that a proposition, "justifiable in itself," ought not to have been "executed in an unjustifiable manner;" and he makes me responsible for the manner in which the "head of the administration," and some members of the government, "*supposed* to be his (Lord Castlereagh's) friends," executed the proposition which he attributes to me."

He is ready to acknowledge, indeed, "that I pressed for a disclosure, at the same time that I press-

ed for a decision; and that the disclosure was resisted by the Duke of Portland and his (Lord Castlereagh's) *supposed* friends."

But, in this circumstance, Lord Castlereagh professes not to see any justification of what he conceives to have been my conduct towards him; because, by acquiescing in the advice or intreaties of his "supposed friends," I admitted "an authority" on their part, "which I must have known them not to possess; because, by "pressing for disclosure," I shewed my own sense of the "unfairness" of concealment; and because, with that sense, I "ought" (as he conceives me not to have done) "to have availed myself of the same alternative, namely, my own resignation, to enforce disclosure, which I did to enforce decision."

Without offering a single word in the way of argument, I shall by a distinct detail of facts in order of their date, substantiate my contradiction of these charges.

I shall only premise,

1st, That I had (as is admitted by Lord Castlereagh) an unquestionable right to require, on public grounds, a change in the War Department, tendering at the same time the alternative of my own resignation.

2dly. (What no man at all acquainted with the course of public business will dispute) That the regular, effectual, and straight-forward course for bringing that alternative to issue, was to state it directly to the "head of the administration," the king's chief minister, to be laid by that minister before the king.

I proceed to the detail of facts.

In the beginning of April, (the 2d) I addressed a letter to the Duke

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of



of Portland, containing a representation on the state of his administration, and expressing my wish and intention, unless some change were effected in it, to resign.

(April 4th to 8th.)—Upon the Duke of Portland's requiring a more detailed explanation as to the motives of my proffered resignation, I stated, among other things, that a change either in my own department, or in Lord Castlereagh's, appeared to me to be expedient for the public service—I stated my perfect willingness that the alternative should be decided for my retirement; and only requested that the decision might, (if possible) take place before the recommencement of business in parliament after the Easter holidays.

The Duke of Portland requested me to suspend the execution of my intention to resign: wishing to have an opportunity of consulting with some of his colleagues, before he determined what advice to lay before the king.

The Easter holidays thus passed away. On the 16th of April, shortly after his Grace's return to town from Bulstrode, the Duke of Portland opened the subject to one of the members of the cabinet, whose name, (not having been hitherto brought forward) I do not think it necessary to mention. Your lordship is perfectly acquainted with it.

By the Duke of Portland's desire, I had a communication with that member of the cabinet, within a very few days after his interview with the Duke of Portland.—He strongly represented the difficulty of making any new arrangement during the sitting of parliament; and urged me to defer the pressing my own resignation till the

end of the session. To this recommendation I did not promise to accede: but we agreed (whether upon his suggestion or upon mine, I am not confident) that, at all events, no step whatever could properly be taken, until after the decision of the question upon the writership; which was about this time brought forward in the House of Commons.

That question was decided on Tuesday the 25th of April.

On Friday, the 28th, the Duke of Portland communicated fully with your lordship; and informed me as the result of that communication, that your lordship thought a change in Lord Castlereagh's situation in the government desirable, provided it could be effected honourably for Lord Castlereagh, and that it "could be reconciled to Lord Castlereagh's feelings."

From this period, I understood that your lordship was constantly consulted by the Duke of Portland in every step of the transaction.—Other members of the cabinet were also consulted by the Duke of Portland; but how many of them, or at what precise periods, I neither knew at the time, nor can now undertake to say.

Shortly after your lordship's first interview with the Duke of Portland, (I am sure before the 5th of May) that member of the cabinet with whom his grace had first communicated, reported to me a suggestion of your lordship's of a change of office for Lord Castlereagh, evidently calculated on the principles which your lordship had stated as indispensable to such a change. Whether this communication to me was in the nature of a direct message from your lordship, I do not exactly know. But I understood



derstood distinctly that you knew of its being made to me; and that whatever observations I might make upon it, was to be reported to your lordship. What I observed upon it, was in substance,—that it was not for me to presume to say what change would be proper; that I had done all that I had thought myself either called upon or at liberty to do, in stating to the Duke of Portland my opinions, and my intention to resign; that the Duke of Portland alone could either propose any change or obtain the necessary authority for carrying it into effect; and I therefore recommended that your lordship should state your suggestion to the Duke of Portland.

On the 5th of May the Duke of Portland informed me, that he had determined to lay the whole subject, on the following Wednesday, before his Majesty.

On Wednesday the 10th of May, he informed me that he had done so; and that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to say, that he would take the subject into his serious consideration.

On Wednesday, the 31st of May, apprehending it to be possible, that my intention might not have been fully explained to his Majesty, and thinking it my duty to leave no doubt upon it, I humbly repeated to his Majesty the representations which I had before made to the Duke of Portland, and humbly tendered my resignation. I received thereupon his Majesty's gracious commands, to retain my situation until his Majesty should have considered the whole subject.

Some time in the course of the next week, I think on the 8th of June, the Duke of Portland stated to me, that he had received his Ma-

jesty's commands, to propose, and to carry into effect at the end of the Session of Parliament, an arrangement for a partial change in the war department.

The particulars of this arrangement I do not think it proper to detail; feeling it my duty to limit myself strictly to what is absolutely necessary for the explanation of my own conduct. It is sufficient to state, that the object of this arrangement was not the removal of Lord Castlereagh, but a new distribution of the business of the war department, whereby that part of it which was connected with political correspondence, would have been transferred to the foreign office; and the business of another office, then vacant, would have been transferred to Lord Castlereagh. It is only necessary to add, that the effect of this new distribution would not have been to take out of Lord Castlereagh's hands the superintendence of the Expedition to the Scheld.

On the 13th of June, I wrote to the Duke of Portland, signifying to him that, although such an arrangement had never entered into my contemplation, and although I did not think it calculated to remedy all the difficulties which had induced me to bring the state of the administration under his Grace's consideration, I was ready, so far as I was concerned, to undertake and discharge to the best of my ability, any duty which his Majesty might be graciously pleased to devolve upon me; but I expressed at the same time, great doubts, whether this arrangement could be expected to be acceptable to Lord Castlereagh, or, in all its parts, satisfactory to the public feeling.

On Sunday, the 18th of June,  
P p 2 (Parlia-



(Parliament being expected to rise on the 20th or 21st) I wrote to the Duke of Portland, to enquire whether this arrangement, or any other, was to take place; stating to him that, "if things remained as they then were, I was determined not to remain in office."

(June 18th.)—In answer, the Duke of Portland mentioned to me a new plan of arrangement, altogether different from that which he had been authorised to carry into effect; and stated that he had sent for your lordship and the other member of the cabinet with whom your lordship and the Duke of Portland had been in constant communication, to co-operate with him in forwarding this new plan, and to urge Lord Castlereagh to consent to it.

The particulars of this new plan, I do not think it necessary to state, as I learnt from the Duke of Portland, either the next day or the day following it, that to this plan Lord Castlereagh certainly could not be brought to agree. Whether this was known to his grace only from your lordship, or through your lordship from Lord Castlereagh himself, I was not apprized.

On Wednesday the 21st, the day of the rising of Parliament, I was assured by the Duke of Portland, that the specific arrangement which he had in the first instance proposed, viz. the new distribution of the business of the war department, should be carried into effect;—and that his Majesty had directed him to desire your lordship to communicate his decision to Lord Castlereagh.

On Tuesday, June the 27th, finding that no communication had been yet made to Lord Castlereagh, I

wrote to the Duke of Portland in terms of the strongest remonstrance, both against the concealment and the delay; and intimated my determination to recur to my original intention, and to press the acceptance of my resignation.

Accordingly, on the following day, Wednesday the 28th of June, I had an audience of the King, in which I humbly and earnestly repeated to his Majesty the tender of my resignation.

That same evening, the Duke of Portland informed me that he had that day signified to your lordship the King's desire, that your lordship should communicate the intended arrangement to Lord Castlereagh; and, that the communication was to be made by your lordship as soon as the expedition had sailed; which, it was expected, would be in less than a fortnight from that time.

But before this fortnight elapsed, viz. on Wednesday the 5th of July, the Duke of Portland informed me, that in consideration of the difficulties attending the proposed arrangement, he and those with whom he consulted, were of opinion, that another should be substituted for it, which he trusted, would also be more agreeable to me. He told me that hopes were entertained that your lordship would determine to offer your resignation, for the purpose of facilitating a general arrangement, in which a complete change in the war department might be effected consistently with Lord Castlereagh's feelings. He said, however, that your lordship had not yet finally made up your mind upon the subject:—but, that you would probably come to a decision before the following Wednesday.

The Duke of Portland stated his inten-



intention, in the event of your lordship's resignation, to submit to his Majesty the nomination of Lord Wellesley to the war department.

It was well known by the Duke of Portland, that I had been always anxious for Lord Wellesley's accession to the cabinet, but this was the first mention to me, in the course of this transaction, of his introduction into the war department.—But for a severe indisposition, Lord Wellesley would, before this time, have been on his way to Spain.

On Thursday, the 13th of July, the Duke of Portland informed me, that your Lordship had, the day before, actually tendered your resignation; but that your lordship had annexed to it the conditions, that no change should take place till after the termination of the expedition to the Scheld; and that it should be left to your lordship to choose the time of making any communication to Lord Castlereagh.

(July 13th to the 20th.)—I made the strongest remonstrances against this new delay, and this indefinite renewal of the concealment from Lord Castlereagh. I said that after the repeated postponements which had already taken place, and after the reserve which had already been practised towards Lord Castlereagh; I could not rely upon the execution of any arrangement which should not be now completely settled in all its parts; and, if this were not to be done, I most earnestly intreated that his Majesty might be advised now to accept my resignation.

The Duke of Portland most anxiously deprecated my resignation, as leading, in his apprehension, to the dissolution of the administra-

tion. He declared himself to be authorised to assure me, in the most solemn manner, that the arrangement now in contemplation should positively take place at the termination of the expedition; that the seals of the war department should then be offered to Lord Wellesley—an office (to be vacated by means of your lordship's retirement), being at the same time to be offered to Lord Castlereagh;—and that in the interval, and without loss of time, Lord Castlereagh's friends should take opportunities of preparing him for the change, and reconciling him to it, by representing to him the great advantages to be derived from it, in the acquisition of additional strength to the government.

Not only the Duke of Portland, but other members of the cabinet, Lord Castlereagh's friends, some directly and some through common friends, urged me, in the most earnest manner, to acquiesce in the postponement now proposed. It was represented to me, that if instead of pressing for the execution of the arrangement now, time were allowed to Lord Castlereagh's friends to prepare him for the change, and to reconcile him to it, the arrangement might ultimately take place in an amicable manner; that every public object might thus be answered, without any unnecessary harshness to the feelings of individuals; and that so far from finding fresh impediments raised to the execution of the arrangement, when the time arrived, I should find all those, to whose representations I yielded, considering themselves pledged equally with the Duke of Portland, to see it carried into effect.

It is due to your lordship to say,  
P p 3 that



that your lordship's name was not, so far as I recollect, specifically mentioned to me on this occasion; but it is equally due to myself to declare, that I never for a moment imagined, nor could have believed, that the general description of "Lord Castlereagh's friends," as stated to me without exception or qualification by the Duke of Portland, did not comprehend your lordship, whose proffered resignation was the basis of the whole arrangement, and without whose express consent, therefore, no other person could announce the arrangement to Lord Castlereagh.

By these representations and assurances, at length, (July 20,) most reluctantly, and I confess against my better judgment, I was induced to acquiesce in the proposed postponement of the change; and consented to remain in office till the termination of the expedition.

On Saturday, September the 2d, the result of the expedition to the Scheld being then known, I wrote to the Duke of Portland, at Bulstrode, reminding his grace, that the period fixed for offering the seals of the war department to Lord Wellesley, was arrived.

On the following Wednesday, the 6th of September, the Duke of Portland informed me, that no steps whatever had been taken by any of Lord Castlereagh's friends, to reconcile him to the change, or to prepare him for it; that the execution of the arrangement would be attended with other resignations, or at least with one other resignation, (of which I had never before received the slightest intimation); and that he had himself determined to retire.

Upon receiving this intelligence,

I immediately disclaimed any wish that the arrangement, however positively I understood it to have been settled, should be carried into effect under circumstances to me so unexpected; and instantly reverted to that "alternative" which, upon each successive stage of difficulties and delays, I had uniformly pressed,—that of the tender of my own resignation;—which I desired the Duke of Portland to lay that day before the King.

On the following day, Thursday the 7th of September, I declined attending the cabinet; stating in a letter to the Duke of Portland, (which I left it to his grace to communicate to the cabinet if he should think proper), that I considered my resignation as in his Majesty's hands; and myself as holding my office only until my successor should be named.

On Friday the 8th, I heard from the Duke of Portland that Lord Castlereagh had sent in his resignation. I have been informed since, (but whether correctly or not I cannot affirm), that he did so, in consequence of a communication made to him, by your lordship, after the cabinet of the preceding day.

On Thursday the 14th of September, your lordship called upon me at the foreign office, by your own appointment, for the purpose of explaining the causes which had prevented your making any communication to Lord Castlereagh in the earlier stages of the transaction.

On Tuesday, September 19th, your lordship, in answer to a letter of mine of the preceding day, explained to me the grounds of your silence to Lord Castlereagh, during the latter period of the transaction.



On Wednesday morning, September the 20th, I received from Lord Castlereagh the letter, which produced our meeting.

From this series of facts it appears,

That, in April, I made a representation to the King's first minister, on the general state of the administration; and that, in the course of the discussions arising out of that representation, I proposed on public grounds, not, as Lord Castlereagh appears to have been informed, his removal from the administration, but the alternative of a change, either in the war or foreign department.

That on the 10th of May, the Duke of Portland submitted to his Majesty the subject of my representation; and informed me that his Majesty would be pleased to take it into his consideration:

That, from the 10th of May until the 8th of June, I was wholly unapprized of the result of that consideration: but that, for fear of misapprehension, I had, in person, during that interval,—viz. on May 31,—humbly repeated my representation, and tendered my resignation to his Majesty;

That, on or about the 8th of June, for the first time, an arrangement was stated to me, which had for its object a new distribution of the business of the war department, and that, on the 13th, I signified my acquiescence in that arrangement, so far as I was concerned;

That, on the 18th, another arrangement was stated to me, to be substituted for that in which I had acquiesced: but that, on the 21st, it was announced to me that the first arrangement was finally decided upon; was to be immediately

carried into effect; and was to be communicated to Lord Castlereagh by your Lordship:

That, on the 27th of June, no step appearing to have been taken, either to execute the intended arrangement, or to apprise Lord Castlereagh of it, I remonstrated against the delay, and against the concealment from Lord Castlereagh: and that, on the 28th, I again tendered my resignation; and that on the same day your lordship received an injunction to communicate the intended arrangement to Lord Castlereagh.

That, on the 5th of July, a new plan was stated to me to be in contemplation; a plan originating with your lordship, and depending for its execution upon a step to be taken by yourself: that this plan was, on the 13th, announced to me as settled, and as intended to be substituted for that which had been first proposed:

That I at that time renewed my remonstrances in the strongest manner, both against the delay and against the concealment; but that it was stated to me to be an indispensable condition of this plan on your lordship's part,—that it should not be acted upon till the termination of the expedition to the Scheld; and that the time of making the communication to Lord Castlereagh should be left to your lordship's discretion.

That, at length, in compliance with the representations and intreaties of the Duke of Portland, and of others, Lord Castlereagh's friends, and upon the most solemn assurances that Lord Castlereagh should in the mean time be prepared by his friends for the change, and that the change should positively



tively take place at the period fixed by your lordship, I consented to remain in office.

That on Wednesday the 6th of September, finding that nothing had been done towards preparing Lord Castlereagh for the arrangement; and that the execution of it would be attended with difficulties of which I had not before been apprised, I desired the Duke of Portland to lay my resignation before the king.

Your lordship will therefore perceive,

That up to the 8th of June, so far from being in possession of any "promise for Lord Castlereagh's removal," and from his continuance in office being made thereby "dependent upon my pleasure:"—no decision whatever had, to my knowledge, been taken up to that time; no proposal had been made to me by the Duke of Portland, in any way affecting Lord Castlereagh's political situation; and no intimation had been given to me, whether my own resignation would be finally accepted or declined;

That the arrangement which was in contemplation from the 8th of June to the 5th of July, in no degree affected, and was never intended to affect, "the conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt;"

That Lord Castlereagh's "removal from the War Department" was first determined upon as part of the plan of which your lordship's resignation was the basis;

That his "removal from the administration" was not at any time "demanded" by me;

And, lastly, that I *did* employ the tender of my own resignation, not to "enforce decision," *only* (as Lord Castlereagh's Letter supposes),

but equally to "enforce disclosure;" and that in fact I did ultimately resign, rather than "enforce" the intended change, under circumstances so different from those which I had been authorised to expect.

It cannot be expected that I should labour very anxiously to refute the charge of my having "*supposed*" your lordship and others "*to be Lord Castlereagh's friends;*" and having, under that impression, deferred to your opinion and "authority," in a matter affecting Lord Castlereagh's interests and feelings.

That your lordship, in particular, as well from near connection as from an active and anxious partiality, was entitled to consultation, and to deference on such an occasion;—is a persuasion which I felt in common, as I believe, with every member of the government; and which not even Lord Castlereagh's disclaimer has induced me to renounce.

I should not have been surprised, nor should I have thought myself entitled to take the smallest offence, if your lordship had, instead of concurring in the expediency of a change in Lord Castlereagh's department, protested against it, and had recommended to the Duke of Portland; to advise the king to accept my resignation: and it was perfectly known by the Duke of Portland; and I am confident, not unknown by your lordship, that, at any moment from the beginning of these discussions to the end, I was not only ready but desirous to terminate them by resigning.

But when the opinion of the expediency of a change in the war department, had been adopted by



so many of the immediate friends of Lord Castlereagh, upon the condition that it should be reconciled to Lord Castlereagh's feelings, and when they and your lordship among the first, had devised and concerted with the king's first minister the mode of carrying that object into execution, I cannot help thinking that I should have been much, and justly, blamed, if I had insisted upon taking the communication to Lord Castlereagh out of your hands into my own.

I now come to your lordship's Statement. That Statement is as follows—

“As it may be inferred, from a statement which has appeared in the public papers, that Lord Camden withheld from Lord Castlereagh a communication which he had been desired to make to him, it is necessary that it should be understood, that however Mr. Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made to Lord Camden, it was never stated to Lord Camden, that the communication was made at the desire of Mr. Canning; and, so far from Lord Camden having been authorized to make the communication to Lord Castlereagh, he was absolutely restricted from so doing.

“As it may also be inferred that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Castlereagh's mind for any proposed change, it is necessary that it should be understood, that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Castlereagh any circumstances respecting it, before the termination of the expedition.”

*Morning Chronicle, Oct. 19th.*

This Statement appears to me to have been much misunderstood. It has been construed, as if your lordship had meant to aver that what you were *restricted from doing* and what you *had not engaged to do*, were one and the same thing;—whereas your lordship's Statement, in point of fact, contains two distinct propositions, and refers to two separate periods of time.

The period during which your lordship states yourself to have been “*absolutely restricted*” from making a communication to Lord Castlereagh, extends from the 28th of April, on which day the first communication was made by the Duke of Portland to your lordship, to the time at which the proposed arrangement, for the new distribution of the business of the war department was superseded by your lordship's tender of your resignation.

The period during which your lordship states yourself “*not to have engaged*” to make a communication to Lord Castlereagh, extends from the time of the tender of your lordship's resignation to the termination of the expedition to the Scheld.

It ought, however, to be observed, that during the first of these two periods,—from the 28th of April to the 12th of July,—the nature of communication to be made to Lord Castlereagh, and the nature of the restriction imposed upon your lordship, were entirely changed.

*Previously* to the 8th of June—the communication which your lordship would have had to make to Lord Castlereagh, was simply that I had represented the expediency of a change either in his department  
or



or in mine; and that *no* decision whatever had yet been taken upon this representation.

With respect to *this* communication, it does not appear that the restriction upon your lordship was absolute and indefinite.—But I knew nothing of its existence.

*Subsequently* to the 8th of June, the communication to be made to Lord Castlereagh was, that an arrangement was in contemplation for a new distribution of the business of the war department.

With respect to *this* communication, not only was the *restriction* upon your lordship not indefinitely continued; but your lordship actually received on the 28th of June an *injunction to make this communication* to Lord Castlereagh at a period distinctly specified, viz. the sailing of the expedition. And this injunction was only superseded by a voluntary act of your lordship's—your tender of your own resignation on the 12th of July as the basis of another arrangement.

During the whole of the period, from the 28th of April to the 12th of July, the concealment practised towards Lord Castlereagh was either without my knowledge and contrary to my belief, or it was against my earnest remonstrances.

It was without my knowledge and contrary to my belief, up to the week in which parliament rose; and from that time forth it was against my earnest remonstrances.

Even when I learnt, in June, that the communication had not been made by your lordship to Lord Castlereagh, I did not learn that you had been prevented from making it by any absolute restriction.

It was not till the month of July, in the course of the discussions

which took place from the 13th to the 20th of that month, respecting the proposal for postponing the new arrangement to be founded on your lordship's resignation, and for leaving to your lordship's discretion the time of disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, that I learnt that the silence which you had hitherto observed towards him, had been imposed upon your lordship by the injunction of the Duke of Portland. I did not till then know with whom the concealment hitherto practised had originated; I frankly own that I thought it had originated with your lordship; I was anxious above all things that it should not be ever suspected that it had originated with me; or that I had been a consenting party to it, or even (till a late period) conscious of its existence.

In my correspondence with the Duke of Portland at this period, therefore, at the same time that I resisted the new delay then proposed, I disclaimed any concurrence in the concealment which had been hitherto practised—and requested “that it might be remembered hereafter, whenever that concealment should be alleged against *me*, as an act of injustice to Lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in *my* suggestion, that so far from desiring it, I had conceived (however erroneously) *your lordship* to be the sure channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late period I had believed such communication to have been actually made.”

The Duke of Portland, in answer, acknowledged my repeated remonstrances against the concealment; stating himself at the same time not to have been aware that I had



had any time believed the communication to have been actually made; but assuring me “that he should be at all times ready to avow that the concealment had originated with himself, (the Duke of Portland); that he had *enjoined it* to all those with whom he had communicated,—from motives which he was at all times ready to justify; and that he was desirous of taking whatever blame might have been, or might at any time be, incurred by it, upon himself.”

This, as I have said, was my first knowledge of any restriction whatever upon your lordship’s communication to Lord Castlereagh.

If I am asked *why* I believed your lordship to have *actually made* the communication, I answer, because it was natural that you should make it; because the expectation of your making it was the motive which induced me to desire (and I *did* desire) that the communication should be made to your lordship;—because the manner in which you first received that communication (as reported to me by the Duke of Portland) tended to confirm the belief that your lordship was the fit channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh;—and because I knew not of the existence of any impediment to your pursuing what appeared to me (and does still appear to me) the natural and obvious course to be pursued upon such an occasion.

If it be objected, that I ought not to have been contented with *presuming* the disclosure to have been made, but ought to have diligently ascertained that it was so;—first, I answer—that no person naturally sets about ascertaining that of which he entertains no

doubt:—and, secondly, I answer—that the moment that my suspicion of the fact was excited, I did set about ascertaining the truth; and that upon ascertaining it, I did remonstrate in the strongest manner against the concealment;—and enforced that remonstrance by the tender of my own resignation.

It was on the 26th or 27th of June (five or six days after parliament rose) that I discovered my suspicion to be founded.—On the 27th I remonstrated.—On the 28th I tendered my resignation.—And in the course of the same day, your lordship (as I have already stated) received an injunction to make the communication as soon as the expedition should have sailed.

The second of the two periods to which your lordship’s Statement refers, begins from the 12th of July, the day of the tender of your lordship’s resignation.

It does not appear, nor does your lordship’s Statement aver, that at any time during the second period, the restriction which had been originally imposed upon your lordship was renewed; or that any other existed, except that which your lordship had imposed upon yourself; and which was therefore no longer binding upon your lordship than while you might yourself be willing that it should bind you.

Of the extent to which this *self-imposed* restriction appears to have gone, I had not any suspicion. I knew indeed that your lordship had stipulated to keep the time of the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh in your own hands; but subsequently to my being made acquainted with that stipulation, I had received the assurances,



assurances, which I have already described, on behalf of "Lord Castlereagh's friends; and had relied upon those assurances.

It was not till the 6th of September that I learnt that those assurances had not been carried into effect. It was not till the 19th of September that I learnt that your Lordship had been no party to them. Then indeed I learnt that your lordship had not only "*not engaged*" to make the communication previously to the "issue of the expedition being known here"—but that in July you had "stated to *one* of our colleagues," (not the Duke of Portland)—"*who was urging an earlier communication,*" that the "time of communication, so far as you were concerned, was for you to decide; but that no one had a right to say you did not perform that part in the transaction in which you were concerned, *if you did not open your lips to Lord Castlereagh before the issue of the expedition was known here.*"

This information I received from your lordship, in a letter dated the 19th of September. It was then perfectly new to me.

I leave your lordship to judge what must have been my surprise, when, after receiving from your lordship, on the evening of the 19th of September, this frank avowal of the real origin of the concealment maintained, during this latter and most important period, towards Lord Castlereagh, I received on the following morning Lord Castlereagh's letter of the same date, making *me* responsible for that concealment.

I have not to trouble your lordship with any farther observations.

I have confined myself to matters growing out of Lord Castlereagh's letter, and out of your lordship's statement: on those alone have I any right to claim your lordship's attention.

To this address to your lordship I have been compelled to resort, however reluctantly, to vindicate my private honour. As to any charges against my public conduct—this is not the mode to reply to them. If any such shall be brought against me, at the proper time and in the proper place I shall be prepared to meet and to repel them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE CANNING.

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*Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, addressed to Mr. W. W. Pole, dated on board the Ville de Paris, off St. Sebastian, the 30th of October, 1809.*

Sir,—My letter of the 4th Aug. informed their lordships of the proposal I had had made to Lieut.-gen. Sir John Stuart, that the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, &c. should be seized on before the French could turn their regard from the defence of Naples, to strengthen other points, and in which letter I enclosed to you a copy of the instructions I had sent to Rear-Admiral Martin, to be delivered to Captain Spranger, of the Warrior, whom I had selected to command the naval part of the expedition. The change which at that time had taken place in the state of the armies in the North, required the Lieutenant-general's consideration, whether an adequate



adequate force might be spared from the army, and delayed their departure from Sicily, until the 23d September, when the Warrior sailed from Messina, with the Philomel sloop and transports, carrying about 1600 troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Oswald. The Spartan, at the same time, sailed from Malta, with Mr. Faresti and Count Cladan, a Cephalonian gentleman, who had for some time taken refuge at Malta, and whose local knowledge and influence in the country, I hoped would be advantageous to the service. Orders were also sent to Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, to join them with the Corfu squadron.

I have now great satisfaction in informing you, sir, of the complete success of this expedition, and that the French garrison in the islands of Zante, Cephalonian, Ithaca, and Cerigo have, after a very faint resistance, surrendered to his Majesty's arms, the people liberated from the oppression of the French, and government of the Sept'Insular republic declared to be restored.

(Signed) COLLINGWOOD.

*Warrior, Bay of Zante, Oct. 3, 1809.*

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the commander in chief, that, in pursuance of his lordship's orders, I sailed from Messina on the 23d ult. in company with the sloop Philomel, two large gun-boats, and the transports, with troops under the command of Brigadier-general Oswald, and proceeded off Cephalonian, where we arrived on the 28th, and continued in sight of the island until the 1st of October, during which days we were joined, as had

been previously arranged, by the Spartan from Malta, and the Magnificent, Belle Poole, and Kingfisher, from Corfu, and anchored that night in the Bay of Zante, just without reach of the nearest battery.

At day light on the following morning, the troops assembled alongside the Warrior, and under cover of the Spartan, Belle Poole, and gun-boats, who soon silenced the batteries, landed a division of the army in the most perfect order, about three miles from the town, and whilst General Oswald was advancing, Captain Brenton and Brisbane, and the gun-boats, conducted by Mr. Cole, my first lieutenant, were actively employed in keeping the enemy, who had re-manned their batteries, in check, and covering the second disembarkation, when the whole army moved forward, and closely invested the castle, to which the French had retired from every direction.

A proclamation was in the meantime distributed to the inhabitants, explanatory of our views, and finding, as was expected, that they rejoiced in the expulsion of these common disturbers of mankind, I forbore attacking with the ships a strong battery on the Mole Head, which could not be taken without destroying a great part of the town; and have the satisfaction of adding, that in the course of the day, the enemy, though advantageously situated in a most important and commanding position, thought proper to capitulate on the terms which I have the honour to inclose.

(Signed) J. W. SFRANGER.  
*Rear Admiral Martin, &c.*

Here follow the articles of capitulation



tulation agreed upon for the surrender of Zante; as also of Cephalonia, Cerigo, &c. with the return of ordnance, &c.

The gazette contains also an inclosure from Lord Collingwood, giving an account of a very spirited attack made by the boats of the Excellent, Acorn, and Bustard, covered by the sloops, on a convoy of the enemy, in which six gun-boats and ten trabaccolas were captured, by Captains West and Clephane.—Two marines were killed in the action; and one seaman has since died of his wounds.

*The following are the resolutions voted at the common-hall.*

Resolved unanimously, That the enormous waste of treasure, and unprofitable loss of lives, in the late military enterprises in which his majesty's forces have been unfortunately employed, have excited mingled feelings of compassion, disappointment, indignation, and alarm, among all classes of his majesty's subjects.

Resolved, That the whole military strength and resources of this kingdom have been drawn forth to an extent unparalleled in its history, and have been most improvidently applied, and fatally consumed, in unconnected and abortive enterprises, attended with no permanent advantage to Great Britain, without effectual relief to her allies, and distinguished only by the unprofitable valour displayed, and immense sacrifice of blood and treasure.

Resolved unanimously, That during these unprecedented failures and calamities, our misfortunes have been highly aggravated by

the imbecility and distraction in the cabinet, where it appears his majesty's confidential servants have been engaged in the most despicable intrigues and cabals, endeavouring to deceive and supplant each other, to the great neglect of their public duty, and scandal of the government.

Resolved unanimously, That we are of opinion, that in the present arduous struggle, in which we are engaged, the safety of the British empire can alone be preserved by wise and honest councils to direct the public force; and that such councils can alone be upheld by the energies of a free and united people.

Resolved unanimously, That such calamitous events imperiously call for a rigid and impartial inquiry; and that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying his majesty to institute such inquiry.

*City of London Address, Dec.  
20, 1809.*

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble, loyal, and dutiful Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign;

We your majesty's most faithful, loyal, and dutiful subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly approach your majesty's sacred person, in the perfect assurance that your majesty will graciously condescend to receive the suggestions of your faithful and loyal citizens, on subjects



subjects which seriously and deeply affect their interests, in common with the rest of your majesty's people.

We have witnessed with deep regret the disastrous failure of the late Expedition, as the magnitude of its equipment had raised the just hopes and expectations of the country to some permanent benefit.

And we cannot avoid expressing to your majesty the sorrow and indignation with which we are affected, by the unhappy dissensions that have prevailed among your majesty's ministers, and our fears that such dissensions may prove eminently prejudicial to the best interests of the nation.

Your majesty's faithful citizens, actuated by loyal attachment to your sacred person and illustrious house, and solicitous for the honour of your majesty's arms and the dignity and solidity of your majesty's councils, are deeply impressed with the necessity of an early and strict inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late Expedition; therefore pray your majesty will direct inquiry to be forthwith instituted, in order to ascertain the causes which have occasioned it.

Signed by Order of Court,  
HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which Address and Petition His Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

I thank you for your expressions of duty and attachment to me and to my family.

The recent Expedition to the Scheld was directed to several objects of great importance to the interests of my allies, and to the security of my dominions.

I regret, that of these objects a part only has been accomplished.

I have not judged it to be necessary to direct any military inquiry into the conduct of my commanders by sea or land in this conjoint service.

It will be for my parliament, in their wisdom, to ask for such information, or to take such measures upon this subject as they shall judge most conducive to the public good.

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*Proclamation of the Governor of Minorca, appointed last month by the Supreme Junta.*

Noble and Loyal Minorquians,

It is now five hundred seventy and nine years since Spain liberated you from a barbarous yoke, and bringing to you the light of the faith and liberty, you became the cherished children of the most kind and benevolent mother. The situation of this precious island, and other circumstances which the vicissitudes of time produce, occasioned you to change your governors; but they were temporary changes, and you have always preserved your holy religion, and your laws have been administered with justice.

Now there appears in Europe a malignant phenomenon, a tyrannical monster to humanity, thirsting for blood and destruction, and determined to count Spain amongst his victims; but she will never lose her heroic valour, though nearly extinguished by the insidiousness and apathy of a languid and depraved government; she will raise her head, and display her ancient golden crown, in defiance of the ferocious attack of the tyrant, and divest herself of the indolence to which the most infamous artifice had reduced her,



her, through the cloak of a strict amity and alliance; but the hydra will lose its heads, and the emaciated body will soon be consumed. Minorquians, you have risen at the call of patriotism, which was heard from the most remote parts of the Peninsula, and of Europe.

You swore allegiance to and proclaimed the great Ferdinand the VIIIth. You have offered to make the utmost sacrifice for the country, and for your legitimate Sovereign, and by an admirable union, obedience, and discreet tranquillity, you have formed a shield which will protect your island from the chains which have crippled the exertions of Spain against those men, who are transformed into furies for their iniquitous despot, and have nothing to do but to direct your efforts, since I am invested with the honour of being your chief, or rather your companion and friend. Fill you hearts with ardent loyalty and virtue, and you will become invincible.

I am happy to be among you—and I shall only hint, that if any disgraceful individual of this land shall suffer himself to calculate upon his own personal situation, and believes the illusive stories of the senseless and besotted Frenchmen, let him go as a spurious child, and find his disgrace and ruin among the slaves; but if he remain among us, he shall suffer all the infamy and the punishment which his heinous offence deserves. But I do not believe that there is a single individual among the forty thousand who inhabit this island, who can commit such an offence. We are all Spaniards, and beloved subjects of Ferdinand, and will be so till our last breath.

Minorquians, justice and equity form my character; harmony and obedience towards the government are what I expect, without your giving ear to the papers, or discussions on what ambition or a seditious spirit would call rights and politics. To protect you by the most sincere friendship will be my principal object. Eternal hatred to the tyranny of France; war and christian compassion to his unhappy slaves; honour and gratitude to our generous allies, the English; love and constant loyalty to our country!

(Signed) LUIS GONZAGA DE  
VILLAVA Y AIBAR.

*Mahon, Dec. 22.*

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*General Orders.—Saturday, Dec.  
30.*

The following regulations have been substituted for those notified in the general order of the 20th March last, which had been found not sufficiently explanatory of his majesty's intentions:—

“No officer shall be promoted to the rank of a captain until he has been three years a subaltern.

No officer shall be promoted to the rank of major until he has been seven years in the service, of which he shall have been at least two years a captain; and no major shall be appointed to the rank of lieutenant until he has been nine years in the service.

No officer shall be allowed to fill any staff appointment (that of aid-de-camp excepted) until he has been four years in the service.

No subaltern officer shall be considered eligible to hold the appointment of aid-de-camp until he has been present with his regiment at least one year.”



## APPROPRIATION OF THE BRITISH SUPPLIES,

GRANTED IN THE LATE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT,

BY THE ACT 49TH GEO. III. C. 128.

For naval services .....	£.19,578,467	0	0
For the Emperor of Austria .....	3,000,000	0	0
For the exigences of Ireland.....	300,000	0	0
For his Sicilian Majesty .....	400,000	0	0
For the King of Sweden .....	300,000	0	0
For the Prince regent of Portugal .....	600,000	0	0
For the land service .....	21,144,770	10	0
For ordnance for ditto .....	4,073,662	19	10
To pay off exchequer bills of 1808 .....	20,500,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto .....	1,500,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto .....	5,000,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto .....	6,000,000	0	0
Issued pursuant to addresses of the House of Com- mons .....	22,166	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Civil establishment at Sierra Leone, for 1809 ....	17,360	0	0
.....Upper Canada .....	8,430	0	0
.....New Brunswick.....	5,500	0	0
.....Nova Scotia .....	10,105	0	0
.....St. John.....	3,100	0	0
.....Cape Breton .....	2,060	0	0
.....Newfoundland .....	1,985	0	0
.....Bahama Islands .....	3,700	0	0
.....Barmuda ditto .....	1,030	0	0
.....Dominica .....	600	0	0
.....New South Wales .....	15,134	16	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
.....African forts .....	23,000	0	0
Military college.....	16,975	17	4
..... asylum.....	23,350	9	2
For paying off certain annuities, under certain acts of 37th and 42d Geo. II. ....	47,650	17	9
For paying off ditto .....	13,215	19	6
Distrest laity and clergy of France .....	160,382	2	0
Convicts.....	55,295	0	0
Prosecution of Coiners .....	3,000	0	0
Printing and stationary for the two houses .....	31,700	0	0
Law charges .....	20,000	0	0



	£.	s.	d.
Bow-street Office .....	12,000	0	0
Fees for passing public accounts .....	5,000	0	0
..... Alien Office .....	7,497	11	2
Interest on exchequer bills .....	1,500,000	0	0
Portsmouth Docks .....	13,471	15	0
Scotch bonds .....	10,000	0	0
Navigation from the East to the Western Sea ....	50,000	0	0
To officers of the House of Lords and Com- mons .....	5,523	0	0
Deficiency of grants, for printing the votes, &c. ..	1,641	19	0
Deficiency of the grant for printing, and stationary For printing the votes, &c. of the House of Com- mons .....	8,423	13	2
For printing vol. 61 of the Journals .....	22,400	0	0
Re-printing Journals .....	4,000	0	0
Stationary for the court and officers of the Exche- quer .....	10,000	0	0
For the home patrol .....	2,154	3	11
Relief of the Dutch in Davies's Streights .....	6,345	16	0
Thames Police .....	5,165	19	0
Examining East India accounts .....	1,299	4	0
Making an index to the Rolls of Parliament .....	1,333	9	0
Bounty on salt imported into Nevis .....	439	13	0
Serjeant at Arms .....	98	1	3
Arrears of salary, for forming indexes to the Jour- nals of the Lords .....	219	14	0
Ditto, since 5th of July, 1808 .....	1,623	0	0
To J. H. Ley .....	1,192	14	0
To officers of the House of Commons .....	76	13	6
To the secretary of the Military Enquiry .....	3,409	14	8
Articles sent to New South Wales .....	745	8	6
Bills on account of convicts .....	1,848	9	0
Vaccine establishment .....	2,315	0	1½
Bills drawn from New South Wales .....	3,163	8	6
Stores supplied at Sydney .....	6,172	12	2
Board of Agriculture .....	114	18	1
Secret services .....	3,000	0	0
Poor of St. Martin's .....	175,000	0	0
To the Rev. T. B. Clark, for Act respecting the re- sidence of the clergy .....	1,328	5	4
For the supplies for Faro .....	278	6	6
Bills from New South Wales, for the year 1809 ..	1,550	0	0
British Museum .....	30,000	0	0
Protestant and dissenting ministers, and French re- fugees .....	7,639	17	2
Deficiency of ditto, 1808 .....	9,709	6	0
Contingences of secretary of state's offices .....	743	12	0

Extra



	£.	s.	d.
Extra charge for messengers .....	12,000	0	0
To sheriffs for felons' convictions .....	6,000	0	0
Military canal .....	20,800	0	0
Bounties for fish brought to London .....	4,000	0	0
Chairman of the House of Lords .....	2,698	13	0
Serjeant at Arms .....	1,623	0	0
Surveyor of Scotch roads .....	506	1	6
To D. T. Blake, for trouble on clergy residence act .....	278	6	6
Exchequer tellers .....	7,412	12	0
Westminster improvements .....	36,042	8	0
Building the Mint .....	30,500	0	0
Corsican and Toulon emigrants .....	6,000	0	0
Dutch officers retired .....	16,000	0	0
French emigrants at Jersey .....	4,400	0	0
To Dr. Cartwright, for mechanical inventions ....	10,000	0	0
Building a naval asylum .....	35,000	0	0
Printing vols. 36, 37, of Lords' Journals .....	3,057	1	8
Queen Anne's bounty .....	100,000	0	0
New Forest commissioners .....	4,500	0	0
Scotch military roads .....	5,569	0	0

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Grand Total, £.82,976,218 12 0



## PRICES OF STOCKS FOR 1809.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1809.	Bank Stock.	3p.ct. red.	3p.ct. cons.	4p.ct. cons.	6p.ct. Navy	5p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Oma.	Irish 3p.ct.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 235 243½ }	67½ 65½	67½ 65½	83 81½	98½ 97½		18½ 18	185 181½	11 pr. 1 pr.	71½	67½ 65½	66½ 65	13 pr. 2 pr.	¼ pr. 1½ dis.	95½ 95	66½ 64½	55l. Os. 21 18
Feb.	{ 247½ 243 }	68½ 67½	67½ 65½	84 82½	99½ 98½		18½ 18½	184½ 182½	13 pr. 8 pr.	73½ 71½	68 67	67½ 66½	12 pr. 8 pr.	1 pr. par.	97½ 96½	67 66	21 19
March	{ 246½ 245½ }	68½ 67½	68½ 67½	84 83½	99½ 97½		18½ 18½	184½ 183½	12 pr. 5 pr.	73½ 72½	68½ 67½	67½ 67	14 pr. 3 pr.		97½ 97½	67½ 66½	22 4 21 19
April	{ 245½ 242½ }	67½ 66½	67½ 67½	83½ 81½	98½ 98½		18½ 18½	185½ 184½	16 pr. 6 pr.	73½ 72½	67½ 66½	68½ 67½	13 pr. 5 pr.		94½ 94½	66½ 66½	22 4
May	{ 247 245 }	67½ 66½	67½ 67½	83½ 81½	99½ 98½		18½ 18½	187 185½	18 pr. 12 pr.	74½ 73½	67½ 66½	68½ 67½	13 pr. 7 pr.	1 pr. ¼ pr.	95½ 94½	66½ 65½	
June	{ 260½ 247½ }	68½ 66½	69½ 68½	83½ 82½	100½ 99½		18½ 18½	190½ 188	20 pr. 15 pr.	73½	68½ 67½	68 67½	12 pr. 2 pr.	¾ pr. ¼ pr.	97½ 95½	66½ 66½	21 11
July	{ 261½ 260 }	68½ 68½	69½ 67½	84½ 83½	99½ 98½		18½ 18½	192½ 190½	24 pr. 16 pr.	73½ 73	68½ 68½	68 67½	11 pr. 4 pr.	1½ pr. ¼ pr.	97½ 97½	67½ 66½	21 11
Aug.	{ 262 260½ }	69 68½	68½ 67½	84½ 84½	99½ 98½	101½	18½ 18½	188½ 185	23 pr. 19 pr.	74½ 73½	68½ 67½	68½ 67½	12 pr. 6 pr.	1½ pr. ¾ pr.	98 98	67½ 67½	21 11 21 17
Sept.	{ 278 263 }	68½ 67½	68½ 68½	84½ 84½	99½ 98½		18½ 18½	188½ 187½	24 pr. 19 pr.		68½ 68½	68½ 67½	14 pr. 4 pr.	1 pr. ¾ pr.	98½ 98½	67½ 67½	21 11
Oct.	{ 271 261 }	68½ 67½	69½ 68½	84½ 82½	99½ 101		18½ 18½	194½ 187½	28 pr. 19 pr.	73½ 73½	68½ 67½	69½ 68	14 pr. 4 pr.	1½ pr. ¾ pr.	97½ 97½	67½ 67½	21 17
Nov.	{ 285½ 272 }	69½ 68½	70½ 69½	84½ 83½	102½ 100½	99½ 100½	18½ 18½	197½ 193½	34 pr. 23 pr.	74½	69½ 69	69½ 69½	16 pr. 8 pr.	2½ pr. 1½ pr.	99 98½	68 67½	22 15
Dec.	{ 278 277 }	70 69½	71 70	84½ 80	102 101		18½ 18½	195½ 195	27 pr. 19 pr.		69½ 68½	99½ 99½	15 pr. 5 pr.	2½ pr. 2½ pr.	98½ 97½	68½ 68	22 15



## TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES IN ENGLAND,

*From December 20, 1808, to December 20, 1809, inclusive.*

January	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
55	118	103	79	109	100	70	70	69	71	132	113



## SHERIFFS

*Appointed by his Majesty in Council for the year 1809.*

Bedfordshire, Robert Garstin, of Harrold, esq.  
 Berkshire, sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalf, of Pernhill, bart.  
 Buckinghamshire, Thomas Stanhope Badcock, of Buckingham, esq.  
 Cambridge and Huntingdon, John Heathcote, of Conington-castle, esq.  
 Cheshire, Thomas William Tatton, of Wittenhall, esq.  
 Cumberland, Miles Ponsonby, of Hail-hall, esq.  
 Derbyshire, Charles Upton, of Derby, esq.  
 Devonshire, sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, of Kellerton, bart.  
 Dorsetshire, James John Farquharson, of Langton, esq.  
 Essex, J. Rutherford Abdy, of Albyns, esq.  
 Gloucestershire, John Hodder Moggridge, of Dymock, esq.  
 Herefordshire, W. Wall, of Leominster, esq.  
 Hertfordshire, Edmond Darby, of Ashton-house, esq.  
 Kent, sir Brooke William Bridges, of Goodneston, bart.  
 Lancashire, Samuel Clowes, of Boughton-hall, esq.  
 Leicestershire, sir William Manners, of Buckminster, bart.  
 Lincolnshire, sir R. Heron, of Stubton, bart.  
 Monmouthshire, John Kemys Gardner Kemys, of Pertholy, esq.  
 Norfolk, James Coldham, of Anmer, esq.  
 Northamptonshire, R. Andrew, of Harleston, esq.  
 Northumberland, William Sadlier Brewere, of Bewicke, esq.  
 Nottinghamshire, Thomas Walker, of Bury-hill, esq.  
 Oxfordshire, J. Harrison, of Shelswell, esq.  
 Rutlandshire, Abel Walford Bellaers, of Bulmerthorpe, esq.  
 Shropshire, William Spurling, of Petton, esq.  
 Somersetshire, J. Nurton, of Milverton, esq.  
 Staffordshire, Theophilus Levett, of Whichner, esq.  
 County of Southampton, John Blackburne, of Preston Candover, esq.  
 Suffolk, John Dresser, of Blyford, esq.  
 Surrey, Edward Bilke, of Southwark, esq.  
 Sussex, Thomas Turle, of Landport, esq.  
 Warwickshire, Abraham Bracebridge, of Atherstone, esq.  
 Wiltshire, Sir Charles Warre Mallett, of Wilbury-house, bart.  
 Worcestershire, Henry Bromley, of Abberley, esq.  
 Yorkshire, sir G. Wombwell, of Wombwell, bart.

## SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Thomas Wood, of Gwernivett, esq.  
 Carmarthenshire, Richard Isaac Starke, of Laughame-castle, esq.  
 Cardigan, William Skyrme, of Altgcock, esq.  
 Glamorgan, sir Jer. Homfray, of Llandaff.  
 Pembroke, C. Allen Phillips, of the Hill, esq.  
 Radnor, John Whittaker, of Cascob, esq.

NORTH



## NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Bodewyrd, bart.  
 Caernarvonshire, Thomas Parry Jones Parry, of Madryn, esq.  
 Denbighshire, J. Ablet, of Llanbedb, esq.  
 Flintshire, Thomas Peate, of Bistree, esq.  
 Merioneth, William Davies, of Ty Ucha, esq.  
 Montgomeryshire, Thomas Edwards, of Trefuant, esq.

*SHERIFF appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for the year 1809.*

Cornwall, the hon. Charles Bagnal Agar.

LIST OF HIS  
 MAJESTY'S MINISTRY,  
 AS IT STOOD

*In July, 1809.*

*In Dec., 1809.*

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden . . . .	<i>President of the Council . . . .</i>	Earl Camden.
Lord Eldon . . . .	<i>Lord High Chancellor . . . .</i>	Lord Eldon.
Earl of Westmore- land . . . . .	<i>Lord Privy Seal . . . . .</i>	Earl of Westmore- land.
Duke of Portland	<i>First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) . . . . .</i>	Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval.
Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval . . . .	<i>Chanc. and Under Treasurer of the Excheq. and also Chanc. of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	
Lord Mulgrave ..	<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	
Earl of Chatham	<i>Master Gen. of the Ordnance</i>	Earl of Chatham.
Earl Bathurst . . . .	<i>Pres. of the Board of Trade</i>	Earl Bathurst.
Lord Hawkesbury	<i>Sec. of State for Home De- partment . . . . .</i>	Hon. Richard Ryder.
Rt. Hon. George Canning . . . . .	<i>Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs . . . . .</i>	Marquis Welles- ley.
Lord Castlereagh	<i>Sec. of State for the Depart- ment of War and the Colo- nies . . . . .</i>	Earl of Liverpool.



## NOT OF THE CABINET.

*In July, 1809.**In Dec. 1809.*

Rt. Hon. R. Saunders Dundas ..	{ <i>Pres. of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India</i> }	Rt. Hon. R. Saunders Dundas.
Rt. Hon. George Rose .....	{ <i>Vice-Pres. of the board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy</i> .....	Rt. Hon. George Rose
Sir James Pulteney, Bt. ....	{ <i>Secretary at War</i> .....	{ Viscount Palmerston.
Lord Charles Somerset .....	{ <i>Joint Paymaster-General</i> ..	{ Lord Charles Somerset.
Rt. Hon. Charles Long .....	{ <i>Joint Postmaster-General</i> ..	{ Rt. Hon. Charles Long.
Earl of Chichester	{ <i>Secretaries of the Treasury</i> ..	{ Earl of Chichester,
Earl of Sandwich		{ Earl of Sandwich.
William Huskisson, esq. ....		{ Richard Wharton, esq.
Hon. Henry Wellesley .....		{ Charles Arbuthnot, esq.
Sir William Grant	<i>Master of the Rolls</i> .....	Sir William Grant.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	<i>Attorney-General</i> .....	Sir Vicary Gibbs.
Sir Thomas Plomer	<i>Solicitor-General</i> .....	Sir Thomas Plomer.

## PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	<i>Lord Lieutenant</i> .....	Duke of Richmond.
Lord Manners	<i>Lord High Chancellor</i> ....	Lord Manners.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	<i>Chief Secretary</i> .....	W. Wellesley Pole.
Rt. Hon. J. Foster	<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Rt. Hon. J. Foster.



## NEW PATENTS,

GRANTED DURING THE YEAR 1809.

Mr. Benjamin Cook's (Birmingham) for a method of making barrels for fowling-pieces, &c. and ramrods for the same.

Mr. William Congreve's (London) for a new principle of measuring time.

Mr. John Carr's (Sheffield) for a method of applying flat ropes, flat bands, &c. to capsterns and windlasses, and also for applying flat or round ropes for the purpose of catching whales.

Mr. Richard Fothergill's (Sunderland), for a machine for dressing hemp.

Mr. John Dickenson's (Ludgate Hill), for his invention of a cannon cartridge paper, manufactured on a new principle.

Mr. Archibald Jones (Stepney), for a method of discharging colours from dyed silks.

Charles Viscount de Vaux's (Chelsea), for a machine which will shew the latitude and longitude at sea: it will also serve as a weighing and measuring machine, &c.

Mr. William Bell's (Birmingham), for making pipes or pumps for conveying water and other liquids.

Mr. John Duff's (Great Pulteney Street), for an invention of snuffers, on a new and improved construction, communicated to Mr. Duff by a foreigner.

Mr. Edward Manley's (Uffculm, Devon), for a plough.

Mr. John Barton's (Argyle Street, Westminster), for a lamp of a new construction.

Mr. William Hutton's (Sheffield), for a method of making sickles and reaping hooks.

Mr. David Thomas's (Featherstone Buildings), for a perforated vessel, percolator and frame, for making or preparing portable coffee.

Mr. William Shotwell's (York), for certain improvements in the manufacture of mustard.

Mr. Edward Dampier's (Primrose Street, London), for machinery for reducing drugs, &c. into fine powder.

Mr. Joseph Cuff's (Whitechapel), for a new method of slaughtering cattle, &c.

Mr. Edward Thomason's (Birmingham), for a new method of manufacturing umbrellas, parasols, &c.

Mr. Thomas Jones's (Bilston, Stafford), for compositions for the purpose of making trays, waiters, and various other articles, by presses or stamps.

Mr. Edward Massey's (Newcastle), for an improved cock for drawing off liquors.

Mr. Edward Stracey's (Westminster), for an improved method of



of hanging the bodies, and of constructing the perches, of four-wheel carriages, by which such carriages are rendered less liable to be overturned.

Mr. Edward Steer's (Inner Temple), for a new method, directed by machinery, of using the screw, by which its mechanical power, or its motion, is increased.

Mr. Anthony Berrolla's (Denmark Street), for a method of making infallible repeating watches.

Mr. Andrew Brown's (London), for improvements in the construction of a press for printing books and other articles, part of which may be applied to presses in common use.

Frederick Bartholomew Folsch and William Howard's (London), for a certain machine, instrument, or pen, calculated to promote facility in writing; and also a certain black writing ink or composition, the durability whereof is not to be affected by time, or change of climate.

Mr. John Brierley's (Greenfield, Flintshire), for a new mode of setting blue lead for corroding the same into white lead.

Mr. Abraham Seward's (Lancaster), for a new or improved hook, for bearing up the heads of horses in drawing carriages.

Mr. T. and J. Clatsworthy (Winsford), for shears on an improved construction for shearing sheep, &c.

Mr. Nicholas Fairless, (South Shields), for a windlass, windlass bits, and metallic hawse-hole chamber, by which manual labour and time are saved in heaving to, and getting on board ships' anchors.

Mr. James Young's (Theobalds-

Road, London), for improvements on the stove.

Mr. George Finch's (King Street, Soho), for manufacturing various kinds of metal laces, so as to imitate gold and silver laces, and also for manufacturing gold and silver upon laces.

Mr. Jonathan Dickson's (Christ Church, Surrey), for improvements in the construction of tuns, coolers, vatts, and backs, used by brewers, distillers, &c.

Mr. Thomas Noon's (Burton-upon-Trent), for improvements in fire-arms, &c.

Mr. Thomas Well's (Erdington, Warwickshire), for an improved method of making and constructing barrel-cocks and water-cocks, whereby leakage, and the stuckey or setting-fast of the key or plug, are prevented.

Mr. Richard Scantlebury's (Redruth, Cornwall), for a machine, by which he counterbalances the weight of any column of water, to be lifted by any steam or water engine, or other machinery, either worked by animals or men.

Mr. William Proctors's (Sheffield), for improved methods of raising or supplying tubes or lamps with oil, so as to remove the shade of the vessel containing the oil.

Mr. John Warren's (Poole,) for an apparatus to prevent chimneys from smoking, and to extinguish fires in grates and stoves, without making any dust or smoke, injurious to the room or furniture.

Mr. Joseph Islet's (Stratford), for a method of producing fast greens on cottons, and various other articles.

Mr. Robert Ransome's (Ipswich),  
for



for improvements on the wheel and swing plough.

Mr. Samuel Brooke's (Bermondsey), for splitting hides, so that each side of the hide, so split, may be manufactured for the purposes for which an entire hide hath been before used; the grain side for coaches, &c. and the flesh side for white leather, vellum, &c.

Mr. Wedgwood's (Oxford Street), for an apparatus for producing several original writings or drawings, at one time.

Mr. Ferdinand Smith Stuart's (Billericay), or a substitute, the produce of the country, for Peruvian bark.

Messrs. Philipps, sen. and jun. (London), for a new method of purifying the muriate of soda or common salt.

Mr. W. F. Snowden's (Oxford

Street), for improvements in an engine for cutting hay, straw, &c. into chaff.

Mr. James Grellier's (Barking), for a building of a peculiar construction, for the purpose of burning coke and lime, whereby the superfluous heat of the fire used in burning coke is applied to burn lime, and also whereby such fire may be rendered perpetual.

Mr. John Curr's (Sheffield), for laying a rope, or twisting and forming the strands together that compose the round rope.

Mr. Samuel Clegg's (Manchester), for a rotative engine, the piston of which makes a complete revolution at a distance from the revolving axis.

Mr. Thomas Cobb's (Banbury), for improvements in making paper in separate sheets.



A GENERAL BILL  
OF  
CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS.

From DECEMBER 13, 1808, to DECEMBER 12, 1809.

Christened	{ Males . . . . 9981 }	In all, 19612	Buried	{ Males . . . . 8636 }	In all, 16680
	{ Females . . 9631 }			{ Females . . 8044 }	

### Decreased in Burials 2932.

Died under 2 years	.....4937	50 and 60	....1419	102.....0
Between.. 2 and 5	....1916	60 and 70	....1235	e'103.....0
5 and 10	.... 754	70 and 80	....1063	10.....0
10 and 20	.... 566	80 and 90	.... 369	10.....0
20 and 30	....1145	90 and 100	.... 54	10.....0
30 and 40	....1472	100.....	v2	15.....0
40 and 50	....1748	101.....	0	

<b>DISEASES.</b>	Dropsy . . . . .	736	Scurvy . . . . .	4	Bruised . . . . .	5
Abortive still born . . . . .	Evil . . . . .	2	Small Pox . . . . .	1163	Burnt . . . . .	30
Abscess . . . . .	Fevers of all kinds . . . . .	1066	Sore Throat ..	7	Drowned ....	124
Aged . . . . .	Fistula . . . . .	3	Sores and Ul- cers . . . . .	5	Excessive Drinking ..	7
Ague . . . . .	Flux . . . . .	9	Spasm . . . . .	24	Executed * ..	6
Apoplexy and sudden ....	French Pox ..	29	St. Anthony's Fire . . . . .	2	Found Dead ..	8
203	Gout . . . . .	50	St. Vitus's Dance ....	1	Fractured ....	2
Asthma and Phthisic ....	Gravel, Stone and Stran- gury . . . . .	10	Stoppage in the Stomach ..	20	Frighted ....	1
488	Grief . . . . .	5	Strangury ....	1	Frozen . . . . .	1
Bile . . . . .	Jaundice ....	26	Teeth . . . . .	308	Killed by Falls and several other Acci- dents . . . . .	68
Bleeding ....	Jaw Locked ..	4	Thrush . . . . .	39	Killed them- selves . . . . .	52
24	Inflammation .	511	Tumour . . . . .	1	Murdered ....	1
Bursten and Rupture....	Influenza' ....	3	Water in the Chest . . . . .	11	Overjoy . . . . .	1
15	Livergrown ..	21	Water in the Head . . . . .	252	Poisoned ....	4
Cancer . . . . .	Lunatic . . . . .	166	Worms . . . . .	5	Scalded . . . . .	5
55	Measles . . . . .	106			Smothered ..	1
Childbed ....	Miscarriage ..	2			Starved . . . . .	1
123	Mortification..	167			Suffocated ..	7
Colds . . . . .	Palsy . . . . .	123				
15	Palpitation of the Heart ..	1				
Colick, Gripes, &c. . . . .	Pleurisy ....	19				
15	Quinsy . . . . .	3				
Consumption..	Rheumatism ..	2				
4570	Scarlatina ....	1				
Convulsions ..						
3463						
Cough, and Hooping- Cough ....						
591						
Cramp . . . . .						
2						
Croop . . . . .						
81						
Diabetes ....						
1						

Total 326

\* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 16; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.



## BIRTHS in the year 1809.

*Jan.* 3. The lady of the hon. Herbert Gardiner of a son.

8. The wife of Mr. M'Corrie of three children.

10. Countess Oxford of a daughter.

— The hon. Mrs. Courtney Boyle of a daughter.

18. The lady of the rev. C. Rawlins of a son.

26. The hon. Mrs. Winne of a son.

30. Lady Caroline Lambe of a daughter.

*Feb.* 1. The countess of Loudon and Moira of a daughter.

6. Lady Monson of a son and heir.

10. Lady Louvaine of a daughter.

14. Countess of Enniskillen of a son.

20. Viscountess Grimston of a son and heir.

28. The wife of capt. Hodge of a daughter.

*March* 3. The lady of R. J. Chambers, esq. of a son.

— Viscountess Glentworth of a son and heir.

5. Lady Augusta Leith of a son.

9. The lady of Mr. serjeant Vaughan of a son and heir.

14. The lady of Thomas Cadell, esq. of a daughter.

22. The lady of Coultts Trotter, esq. of a daughter.

25. The lady of the hon. E. J. Turnour of a daughter.

30. The lady of John Idle, esq. of a daughter.

*April* 4. The lady of Edmond Turnor, esq. of a son.

8. The lady of Philip Francis, esq. of a daughter.

13. The hon. Mrs. Pelham of a son.

16. The lady of gen. F. Dundas of a son.

20. The lady of major St. Paul of a daughter.

22. Countess Selkirk of a son and heir.

30. Hon. Mrs. Hugh Percy of a daughter.

*May* 3. Viscountess Hereford of a son.

9. The lady of George Smith, esq. of a son.

11. Madame Catalani of a son.

17. Countess Grey of a son.

19. The lady of the right hon. R. P. Carew of a daughter.

20. Countess de Mesnard of a son.

25. The lady of sir Thomas Dyke Acland of a son.

31. The lady of the rev. J. W. Burford of a daughter.

*June* 6. Lady Mosley of a daughter.

13. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley of a daughter.

14. Countess of Albemarle of a son.

16. Lady Ellenborough of her 7th son and 13th child.

21. Lady Andover of a son.

22. The lady of Mr. alderman Atkins of a son.

— Lady Harriet Bagot of a son.

26. The lady of sir Robert Williams of a son.

30. The marchioness of Tavistock of a son.

*July* 1. The lady of sir C. M. Burrel of a son.

8. Lady Jane Taylor of a son.

12. Countess Craven of a son.

— The countess of Aberdeen of a daughter.

13. The countess of Dalkeith of a son.

15. The



15. The lady of Isaac Goldsmid, esq. of a son.
19. Viscountess St. Asaph of a daughter.
23. The wife of Mr. Easton of two sons and a daughter.
21. The duchess of Richmond of a daughter, being the 14th child.
23. The countess of Abingdon of a daughter.
27. The lady of George Ormerod, esq.
- Aug. 1.* The lady of the rev. J. Simkinson of a son.
8. The lady of William Tooke, esq. of a daughter.
10. Lady Bagot of a daughter.
18. The Lady of sir John W. Smith, bart of a son.
19. Lady Elizabeth Talbot of a son.
23. The lady of F. Freeling, esq. of a daughter.
24. Mrs. Hazleton, wife of a journeyman wheeler, of three sons.
28. The lady of capt. Otway of a daughter.
- Sept. 2.* The lady of the hon. P. R. D. Burrell of a daughter.
9. The lady of Ed. Popham, esq. of a daughter.
17. The lady of William Domville, jun., esq. of a daughter.
25. The lady of George Polhill, esq. of a son.
- Oct. 2.* Viscountess Primrose of a son.
4. Her Prussian majesty of a daughter.
- The wife of John Allen of three daughters.
11. Lady Sinclair of a son.
18. Lady Mulgrave of a son.
22. The lady of John Milford, esq. of a son.
26. The lady of William Stanley Clarke, esq. of a son.
27. The lady of sir R. Phillips of a daughter.
28. Lady Arundell of a daughter.
31. The lady of sir George Bowyer, bart. of a daughter.
- Nov. 2.* The lady of capt. P. Parker of a son.
16. Lady Marsham of a daughter.
18. The lady of Richard Neave, esq. of a son.
- Hon. Mrs. Codrington of a daughter.
29. The lady of Dr. Stodart of twins.
- Dec. 2.* The lady of Henry Hobhouse, esq. of a daughter.
10. Lady Catherine Forrester of a daughter.
12. Lady Keith of a daughter.
22. Lady Morpeth of a son.
24. Lady Robert Fitzgerald of a son.
31. The lady of the rev. Henry Neville of a son.

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#### MARRIAGES in the year 1809.

- Jan. 2.* George Richards, esq. to Miss F. Kettrilby.
3. Hon. D. P. Bouverie, to miss L. May.
7. Thomas Moor, esq. to miss Grey.
9. Sir Thomas Gage, bart. to lady M. A. Browne.
10. R. T. Farquhar, esq. to miss F. Lautour.
15. H. Jackson, esq. to miss Poole.
18. James Drummond, esq. to lady A. S. Murray.
- Feb. 1.* Rev. J. Grundy, to miss A. Hancock.
2. J. Morrough, esq. to miss M. Plowden.
9. Rev. G. W. Marsh, to miss S. Hart.

13. Rev.



13. Rev. Dr. Werninck, to the hon. Mrs. Wynn.

16. Sir A. Paget, to lady Augusta Fane, late wife of lord Boringdon, from whom she was divorced on the 14th.

21. Rev. F. Graham, to miss Paley.

22. Rev. T. G. Tyndale, to miss Earle.

25. Stephen Vertue, esq. to miss A. Brent.

27. J. O. Vandeleur, esq. to miss C. Glasse.

*March 2.* Rev. J. St. Leger, to miss Williams.

6. Capt. Reade, to miss Hoskyns.

9. Lieut.-Col. Townsend, to miss Scott.

11. Reader Clarke, esq. to miss M. Pinhorn.

16. Rev. Henry Raikes, to miss Whittington.

21. Hon. and rev. Edward Grey, to miss C. Crofts.

23. Capt. G. Heathcote, to miss A. Lyell.

29. Capt. Baird, to miss Dixon.

*April 1.* Capt. T. P. Baugh, to miss Scott.

5. Major George Evans, to miss Spalding.

10. E. J. Esdaile, esq. to miss Drake.

15. Rev. J. Dods, to miss Swayne.

18. Rev. Theophilus Prosser, to miss Newport.

22. J. G. Jones, esq. to miss F. Brent.

25. Mr. W. Armestead, to miss E. Godfrey.

*May 1.* Rev. J. Rose, to miss Babington.

4. Rev. J. Stevens, to miss A. M. Norton.

8. W. Milner, esq. to miss H. Bentinck.

9. Edward Grove, esq. to miss E. Hartopp.

11. F. Popham, esq. to miss S. Fenwick.

13. Edward Davies, esq. to miss S. Jones.

17. The hon.<sup>e</sup> George Lambe, to mademoiselle Caroline St. Jules.

18. Francis Evans, esq. to miss H. Locke.

23. D. W. Harvey, esq. to miss Johnston.

27. Dr. Parr of Exeter, to miss F. Robson.

*June 1.* Mr. William Carlon to miss Bonner.

— Sir. H. V. Darell, to miss Becher.

6. Henry Card, esq. to miss C. Fletcher.

9. John Shaw, esq. to miss H. Eade.

12. William Davey, esq. to miss A. Thornton.

19. Rev. D. W. Davis, to miss Akhurst.

22. W. C. Key, esq. to miss Down.

— Thomas Wainwright, esq. to miss E. Kevill.

26. E. Wodehouse, esq. to miss Lucy Wodehouse.

29. Sir Thomas Ramsay, bart. to miss Steele.

— Rear admiral Stopford, to miss Mary Fanshawe.

*July 3.* J. P. Bastard, esq. to miss J. A. Martin.

— C. N. Noel, esq. to miss Welman.

5. Thomas Richards, esq. to Mrs. Edwards.

7. Sir A. O. Molesworth, bart. to miss Browne.

11. T. H. Farquhar, esq. to miss Sybilla Rockliffe.

13. Sir G. Rumbold to miss E. Parkyns.

17. H.



17. H. Parry, M. D., to miss E. M. Bedford.
22. T. Nicholls, esq. to miss H. Rivaz.
27. Cholmeley Dernigy, esq. to miss Hale.
31. Lambert Blair, esq. to the eldest daughter of the late general Stopford.
- Aug. 1.* John Phillips, esq. to miss A. F. Shawe.
7. Sir H. Mildmay, to miss Bouverie.
10. Charles Pott, esq. to miss Cox.
17. J. W. Goodwyn, esq. to miss E. Flower, second daughter of the lord mayor of London.
19. Edward Carter, esq. to Mary, the fourth daughter of the late sir John Carter.
22. S. R. Solly, esq. to miss Hammond.
23. Lord Boringdon, to miss T. bot.
24. Philip Cipriani, esq. to Mrs. Waller.
31. Thomas Deacon, esq. to miss Durand.
- Sept. 4.* Francis Carlton, esq. to miss Montgomerie.
7. James Briggs, esq. to miss Vincent.
13. Rev. J. Barrett, to miss Slade.
14. J. Osborn, esq. to miss Davers.
19. The hon. E. Harbord, to the hon. miss Vernon.
27. H. Gurney, esq. to miss Barclay.
28. Henry Erskine, esq. to the youngest daughter of sir Charles Shipley.
30. Mr. Redfern, to miss M. Greenwood.
- Oct. 1.* R. C. Pyne, esq. to miss Pizzie.
4. Hon. S. H. Ongley, to miss Monox.
11. Sir W. Sidney Smith, to lady Rumbold.
- Edward Christian, esq. to miss Walmsley.
16. F. Wharton, esq. to lady Anne Duff.
19. Charles Walker, esq. to miss Curwen.
- The duke of Devonshire, to lady Elizabeth Forster.
21. Booth Grey, esq. to lady Sophia Grey.
23. John Henry Ley, esq. to lady Frances Dorothy Hay, second daughter of the late marquis of Tweeddale.
26. Jeremiah Dick, esq. to miss Harriette Le Coq.
27. Rev. R. Collett, M. A. to miss F. M. Smith.
30. Edward Ellice, esq. to lady Anne Bettesworth.
- Nov. 1.* William Speke, esq. to miss Andrews.
9. Thomas Northmore, esq. to miss Eden.
15. R. C. Blunt, esq. to miss E. F. Mercer.
16. Viscount Bernard, to lady Sophia Poulett.
25. Lord Hamilton, to miss Douglas.
27. Captain Stoner, to the eldest daughter of Charles Butler, esq.
29. Lieut.-col. Egerton, to miss Trowbridge.
- Dec. 2.* James Wilkinson, esq. to the second daughter of C. A. Craig, esq.
7. Robert Storks, esq. to miss Brooke.
13. Rev. Charles Brooke, to Charlotte, third daughter of the rev. F. Capper.
16. Sir Brook W. Bridges, bart. to



to the eldest daughter of sir Henry Hawley, bart.

20. O. G. Gregory, LL.D. to miss Beddome.

24. Lord Grenville Leveson Gower, to lady Harriet Cavendish.

26. Egerton Leigh, esq. jun. to miss Stratton.

30. Euclid Shaw, esq. to miss Saunders.

31. Charles Thomas Macklin, esq. to miss Moore.

### PROMOTIONS in the year 1809.

*Queen's palace, Jan. 4.* Henry Bentinck, esq. sworn governor and commander in chief of the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo. — Charles Bentinck, esq. sworn governor and commander in chief of Surinam.

*Admiralty-office, Jan. 7.* Cuthbert lord Collingwood, vice-admiral of the red, appointed major-general of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* lord Gardener, deceased.

*Whitehall, Jan. 7.* Henry Clements Thompson, esq. a commander in the royal navy, permitted to wear the insignia of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, conferred upon him by the king of Sweden for his services in the engagement with the Russian fleet in the gulf of Finland on the 26th of August last. — Hon. and rev. Auchtel Grey, M.A. appointed to the twelfth prebend of Durham, void by the translation of the bishop of Rochester to the see of Ely.

*Foreign-office, Jan. 20.* Joseph Charles Mellish, esq. appointed his majesty's consul in the territory of

Louisiana. — Andrew Snape-Douglas, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of his Sicilian majesty.

*Carlton-house, Jan. 21.* Rev. Henry Whitfield, D.D. appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his royal highness's chaplains in ordinary.

*Whitehall, Jan. 28.* James earl of Hopetoun, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Hopetoun, of Hopetoun, co. Linlithgow.

*Downing-street, Jan. 30.* Brigadier-gen. the hon. Charles William Stewart, appointed governor of Fort Charles, in the island of Jamaica, *vice* Smith, deceased.

*Queen's palace, Feb. 6.* Dr. Christopher Robinson, his majesty's advocate-general (*vice* Nicholl, resigned), knighted.

*Foreign-office, Feb. 6.* Charles Oakeley, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation to the United States of America.

*Foreign-office, Feb. 7.* Mr. John Hawker, approved (by his majesty) as Sicilian vice-consul at Plymouth.

*Whitehall, Feb. 18.* Rev. Charles Talbot, B.D. presented to the deanery of Sarum, *vice* Ekins, deceased.

*Queen's palace, March 1.* John lord Brownlow, sworn lord lieutenant of the county of Lincoln, *vice* the duke of Ancaster, dec. — Owen Ellis, esq. of Eyton, to be sheriff of the county of Flint, *vice* Peat.

*Queen's palace, March 18.* John Mytten, esq. of Penylan, to be sheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Edwards. — William Griffith, esq. of Bodegroes, to be sheriff of the county of Caernarvon, *vice* Parry.

*Whitehall, March 18.* Rev. William Carey, D.D. appointed a prebendary



bendary of Westminster, void by the promotion of Dr. Walker King to the see of Rochester.

*Whitehall, March 21.* Reverend George Gretton, D.D. recommended (by his majesty's letter) to be elected dean of Hereford, *vice* Leigh, deceased.

*Queen's palace, March 22.* Right hon. gen. sir David Dundas, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall, March 25.* Right hon. gen. sir David Dundas, K. B. appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's land forces in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* the Duke of York, resigned.—Robert Moorsom, esq. appointed one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, *vice* capt. Hope, resigned.—Rev. George Gordon, B. D. appointed dean of Exeter, *vice* Talbot, resigned.—Rev. Joseph Mends, B. A. presented to the rectory of Aller, co. Somerset, void by the promotion of Dr. King to the see of Rochester.—Rev. Robert Holdsworth, M. A. presented to the vicarage of Brixham, co. Devon, *vice* Fownes, dec.

*Whitehall, March 28.* Sir David Baird, knt. lieutenant-general of his majesty's land forces, created a baronet of the united kingdom; with remainder to Robert Baird, esq. of Newbyth, East Lothian, his brother.

*Whitehall, April 1.* Sir Samuel Hood, K. B. rear-admiral of the white, created a baronet of the united kingdom; with remainder to his nephew, Alexander Hood, esq.—Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, M. A. presented to the vicarage of West Ham Essex, *vice* Dr. Gregory, dec.

*Whitehall, April 4.* Francis lord Napier, appointed high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

*Whitehall, April 8.* Archibald Campbell, esq. appointed a lord of session in Scotland, *vice* sir William Nairn, bart. resigned.

*Queen's palace, April 12.* Sir Hugh Elliot, sworn captain-general and governor in chief of his majesty's Leeward Charibbee islands in America.

*Whitehall, April 21.* J. Sedgwick, J. Jackson, and S. Rose, esqrs. appointed commissioners of excise in Scotland, *vice* J. Stoddart, R. Graham, esqrs. and sir J. Stuart, bart. resigned.

*Downing-street, April 27.* Lieut-col. Lachlan Macquarrie, of the 73d foot, appointed governor and commander in chief of the settlement of New South Wales and its dependencies.

*Foreign-office, April 29.* The marquis Wellesley, K. P. appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the Seventh; and to reside in that character at the seat of the central or supreme junta in Spain.—Frederick Lindeman, esq. to be consul to the province of Batavia, in the Portuguese dominions in South America.—John Lempriere, esq. appointed consul to the province of Penambuco, in the said dominions.—Henry Veitch, esq. to be agent and consul-general in the islands of Madeiras.

*Whitehall, May 6.* Michael Seymour, esq. of High Mount, county Cork, and of Friery-park, co. Devon, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

*Foreign-office, May 8.* Robert Adair,



Adair, esq. appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the sublime Ottoman Porte; and Stratford Canning, esq. to be secretary to that embassy.

*Downing-street, May 15.* Lieut.-general Edward Morrison, appointed commander of his majesty's forces in the island of Jamaica and its dependencies.

*Foreign-office, May 26.* Francis James Jackson, esq. appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

*Whitehall, May 27.* Right rev. John Randolph, bishop of Bangor, recommended by *congé d'élire* to the see of London, *vice* Porteus, dec.—James Clerk, esq. advocate, appointed one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Scotland, *vice* Cockburn, resigned; and William Rae, esq. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Edinburgh, *vice* Clerk, resigned.

*War-office, May 30.* Lieut.-general David Douglas, lieutenant-colonel of the 18th foot, appointed governor of Tynmouth, *vice* Rainsford, dec.

*Whitehall, June 6.* William Erskine, esq. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of the shire of Orkney and Zetland, *vice* Rae, resigned.—Sir George Rupert, knt. Ambrose Serle, James Bowen, esqrs. the hon. John Douglas, John Harness, M.D. and the hon. Courtenay Boyle, appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, for the care of sick and wounded seamen, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war.

*Foreign-office, June 7.* Robert Fagan, esq. appointed consul at Sicily and Malta.

*Downing-street, June 10.* Ma-

jor-gen. the hon. John Brodrick, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Martinique.—Lieutenant-general Edward Morrison, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, and commander of the forces on the Jamaica station.

*Foreign office, June 10.* Bartholomew Frere, esq. appointed secretary to his majesty's embassy in Spain.

*Foreign-office, June 17.* Mr. Emanuel Viale, approved (by his majesty) as his Sicilian majesty's consul at Gibraltar.

*Whitehall, June 20.* Hon. Henry Sedley, appointed gentleman and master of his majesty's robes, *vice* the earl of Harcourt, resigned.

*St. James's, June 24.* Edmund Phelps, esq. appointed lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, *vice* Garrick, resigned.

*Whitehall, July 1.* Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower (commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower) appointed his majesty's secretary at war, *vice* Pulteney, resigned.

*Whitehall, July 11.* Right hon. Dudley baron Harrowby, and right hon. John baron Teignmouth, appointed commissioners for the management of the affairs of India; the former *vice* Dundas-Saunders (president), the latter *vice* Johnstone.

*Whitehall, July 15.* Right hon. Robert Dundas, added to the commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.—Benjamin Sydenham, esq. appointed a commissioner for managing his majesty's revenue of excise, *vice* Jackson.

*Whitehall, July 18.* Right hon. Dudley baron Harrowby, created viscount Sandon, of Sandon, co.



Stafford, and earl of Harrowby, co. Lincoln.

*Whitehall, July 21.* George Kekewich, esq. appointed advocate-general, and William David Jennings, esq. procurator-general, at his majesty's settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

*Carlton-house, Aug. 8.* Reverend Houlton Hartwell, of New College, Oxford, M. A. appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to H. R. H. the prince of Wales.

*Whitehall, Aug. 12.* Right rev. Henry William Majendie, bishop of Chester, recommended, by *congé d'élire*, to be elected bishop of Bangor, *vice* bp. Randolph, translated to the see of London.

*Whitehall, Aug. 26.* Right hon. sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. and lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, created baron Douro of Wellesley, co. Somerset, and viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington in the said county.

*Dublin castle, Aug. 26.* Right rev. Euseby Cleaver, D. D. bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, translated to the archbishopric of Dublin and bishopric of Glandelagh, *vice* Charles earl of Normanton, dec.—Hon. and rev. Dr. Percy Jocelyn, promoted to the united bishoprics of Leighlin and Ferns, *vice* Cleaver.

*Foreign-office, Aug. 26.* Appointment of don Josef Alonso Orfiz, to be his Catholic majesty's consul-general in Great Britain and Ireland, approved by his majesty.

*Whitehall, Aug. 29.* Sir Rupert George, of Park-place, co. Middlesex, and of St. Stephen's-green, co. Dublin, knt. first commissioner for conducting the transport service, created a baronet.

*Whitehall, Sept. 2.* The king has been pleased to grant the dignity of

a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen: Paulus-Amelius Irving, of Woodhouse and Robgill Tower, co. Dumfries, esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces: Thomas Roberts, of Robert's Cove, co. Cork, esq.; James Shaw, of the city of London, and of Kilmarnock, co. Ayr, esq.; Rowland Blennerhasset, of Blennerville, co. Kerry, esq.; William Smith, of Eardiston, co. Worcester, esq.; Charles Cockerell, of Sezincot, co. Gloucester, and of Piccadilly, co. Middlesex, esq.; Edward Bayntum Sandys, of Miserden-castle, co. Gloucester, and of Chadlington-hall, co. Oxford, esq.; Henry Halford, of St. George's Hanover-square, co. Middlesex, doctor of physic, and one of his majesty's physicians in extraordinary; and John Tyrell, of Boreham-house, co. Essex, esq.

*Whitehall, Sept. 16.* Major-gen. John Cope Sherbrooke, appointed one of the knights companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.—F. W. Grant, esq. to be lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Inverness, *vice* sir J. Grant, bart. resigned.

*War-office, Sept. 16.* Lieutenant-gen. sir James Henry Craig, K. B. from the 22d foot, to be colonel of the 78th regiment of foot, *vice*, Frazer, dec.

*Whitehall, Sept. 19.* Thomas Sheppard, of Thornton-hall, co. Buckingham, esq. created a baronet.

*Queen's palace, Sept. 27.* Right rev. John Randolph, bishop of London, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall, Sept. 30.* Louis Casamajor, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at Lisbon.

*Downing-*



*Downing-street, Oct. 6.* Alexander Johnston, esq. appointed chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in the island of Ceylon, *vice* Lushington, resigned; and William Coke, esq. to be puisne judge of the said court, *vice* Johnston.

*War-office, Oct. 7.* His serene highness William duke of Brunswick Oels, appointed a lieutenant-general, with temporary rank in the army; commission dated July 1, 1809.

*Whitehall, Oct. 7.* Rev. Bowyer Edward Sparke, D.D. recommended, by *cong   d'  lire*, to be elected bishop of Chester, *vice* bishop Majendie, translated to the see of Bangor.—Hon. and rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, M.A. recommended to be elected a canon residentiary of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, *vice* Majendie resigned.—Rev. William Harry Edward Bentinck, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Wellesley, resigned.

*Queen's palace, Oct. 11.* Right hon. Henry earl Bathurst, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

*Whitehall, Oct. 17.* Rev. Samuel Gerrard Andrew, D.D. appointed dean of his majesty's metropolitical church of Canterbury, *vice* Powys, dec.

*Queen's palace, Oct. 18.* Right hon. William Wellesley Pole, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall, Oct. 21.* Rev. Charles Henry Hall, D.D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Christ, in the university of Oxford, *vice* Jackson, resigned.

*Carlton-house, Oct. 23.* Andrew Bain, M.D. of Curzon-street, May-

fair, appointed one of the physicians extraordinary to his royal highness the prince of Wales, *vice* Hayes, dec.

*War-office, Oct. 24.* His majesty has been pleased to appoint lieutenant-gens. Robert Donkin, James Balfour, sir James Duff, knt. Henry lord Mulgrave, and Grice Blakeney, to be generals in the army.—Major-generals George Elliot, Baldwin Leighton, Richard Chapman, John Coffin, Richard Armstrong, John Murray, sir Charles Green, bart. William St. Leger, Richard Northey Hopkins, and Thomas Hartcup, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Colonels, from John Hamilton to John Michel, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Harry Chester to Phillip K. Skinner, to be colonels in the army.—Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Ross, to be aid-de-camp to the king.—Majors, from John Potter Hamilton to Charles Darrah, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from J. S. Ridge to Charles O'Gorman, to be majors in the army.

*Admiralty-office, Oct. 25.* This day, in pursuance of the king's pleasure, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, *viz.* Admirals of the white, to be admirals of the red: William Pere Williams, esq. and sir John Colpoys, K. B.—Admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white: Isaac Prescott, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. and sir John Orde, bart.—Vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue: John Thomas, esq. James Brine, esq. sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, esq. and George Wilson, esq.—Vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red: Henry Savage, esq. Bartholomew



Samuel Rowley, esq. sir Richard Bickerton, bart. and George Bowen, esq.—Vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white : Samson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Henry Frankland, esq. Arthur Phillip, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knt.—Rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue; John Child Purvis, esq. Theophilus Jones, esq. William Domett, esq. William Woseley, esq. John Manley, esq. George Murray, esq. John Sutton, esq. Robert Murray, esq. hon. sir Alexander Forrester Cochrane, K. B. and John Markham, esq.—Rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red: John Wells, esq. Richard Grindall, esq. George Martin, esq. sir Alexander John Ball, bart. sir Richard John Strachan, bart. K. B. sir William Sidney Smith, knt. Thomas Sotheby, esq. Nathan Brunton, esq. William Hancock Kelly, esq. John Schank, esq. and the hon. Michael De Courcy.—Rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white. Davidge Gould, esq. sir Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B. Robert Devereux Fancourt, esq. sir Edward Buller, bart. hon. Robert Stopford, Mark Robinson, esq. Thomas Revill Shivers, esq. Charles Cobb, esq. Francis Pickmore, esq. John Stephens Hall, esq. John Dilkes, esq.—The undermentioned captains were also appointed flag officers of his majesty's fleet, to be rear-admirals of the blue, *viz.* Rowley Bulteel, esq. William Luke, esq. Isaac George Manley, esq. John Osborn, esq. Edmund Crawley, esq. Charles Boyles, esq. sir Thomas Williams, knt. Thomas Hamilton, esq. sir T. B. Thompson, bart. and George Countess, esq.

*Admiralty-office, Oct. 25.* Sir

Charles Hamilton, bart. and the hon. Henry Curzon, appointed colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* Charles Boyles, esq. and sir Thomas Williams, knt. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

*Whitehall, Oct. 28.* Right hon. Henry John viscount Palmerston, appointed his majesty's secretary at war, *vice* lord Granville Leveson Gower, resigned.

*Whitehall, Oct. 31.* Joseph Philimore, LL. D. appointed professor of civil law in the university of Oxford, *vice* Laurence, dec.

*Foreign-office, Oct. 31.* Appointment of don Antonio Fernandez de Urruim, to be consul for his Catholic majesty at Gibraltar, approved by his majesty.

*Queen's palace, Nov. 1.* Right hon. Henry John viscount Palmerston, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. Richard Ryder, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.—William Plomer, esq. alderman of the city of London; James Athol Wood, esq. captain in the royal navy; Alexander Johnston, esq. on being appointed chief justice of the supreme court of judicature on the island of Ceylon; and Francis Macnaghten, esq. one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Madras, knighted.

*Whitehall, Nov. 4.* Right hon. Charles Plower, of Lobb, co. Oxford, and of Woodford, co. Essex, esq. lord Mayor of the city of London, created a baronet.

*Whitehall, Nov. 7.* Right hon. Robert Dundas, appointed first commissioner for the management of affairs in India, *vice* lord Harrowby, resigned.

*Queen's palace, Nov. 8.* Right hon.



hon. Charles Mannors Sutton, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

*Whitehall, Nov. 14.* William Lowther, esq. (commonly called viscount Lowther,) appointed one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, *vice* lord Palmerston, resigned.—Robert Dundas, esq. writer to the signet, appointed conjunct clerk to the bills in the office of his majesty's registers and rolls in Scotland, *vice* Anstruther, dec.

*Queen's palace, Nov. 22.* Jere Homfray, esq. of Llandaff-house, co. Glamorgan, knighted.

*Whitehall, Dec. 2.* Snowden Barne, esq. appointed one of the lords commissioners of the treasury.—William Alexander, of the city of Dublin, esq. and right hon. William Stamer, esq. lord mayor of the city of Dublin, created baronets.

*Queen's palace, Dec. 6.* The most noble marquis Wellesley, K. B. sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.—Thomas Staines, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

*Foreign-office, Dec. 15.* The hon. Henry Wellesley, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the Seventh; and directed to reside in that character at the seat of the central or supreme junta in Spain.

*Queen's palace, Dec. 20.* Right hon. John lord Sheffield and right hon. Henry Wellesley sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Henry Pelham, duke of Newcastle, sworn lord lieutenant of the county of Nottingham, *vice* duke of Portland, dec.

*War-office, Dec. 23.* William Merry, esq. appointed, by the right hon. lord viscount Palmerston, his majesty's secretary at war, to be his deputy, *vice* Francis Moore, esq.

*Downing-street, Dec. 26.* Rear-admiral sir Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B. appointed his majesty's commissioner for the civil affairs of Malta, *vice* admiral Ball, dec.

## LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS,

*Passed in the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—49th of George III.*

AN act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England; for the services of the year 1809.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for

the services of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia of Great Britain,



to enlist voluntarily into the regular forces.

An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia in Ireland voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's regular forces.

An act for the relief of prisoners in custody for non-payment of money, pursuant to orders of Courts of Equity.

An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain, in the United Kingdom, for a limited time.

An act to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, until the 1st of June, 1809.

An act to grant bounties on the importation of flax seed into Ireland from Great Britain; until the 8th day of April 1809; and to amend the laws for the regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland so far as relates to importers of flax seed.

An act to continue so much of an act of the 47th year of his present majesty, as allows a bounty upon double refined sugar exported, until the 25th of March 1811; and so much of the same act as allows a bounty on raw sugar exported, until the 25th of March 1810.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th of March 1810, certain bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the countervailing duties and bounties on sugar when the duties imposed by an act of the 46th year of his present majesty shall be suspended.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the more effectually

preventing the forging of bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, and the negotiation of forged and counterfeited bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, of the governor and company of the bank of Ireland.

An act for repealing an act of the parliament of Scotland, relative to child murder; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th of March 1810; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st day of Hilary Term 1810.

An act to allow the importation of rum and other spirits, from the island of Bermuda into the province of Lower Canada, without payment of Duty, on the same terms and conditions as such importation may be made directly from his majesty's sugar colonies in the West Indies.

An act to authorize his majesty, during the present war, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

An act for continuing until the 25th day of March 1814, several acts for the free importation of cochineal and indigo; and until the 25th of March 1819, an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, to permit the exportation of wool from the British plantations in America.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An



An act to make perpetual several laws relating to the encouragement of the silk manufactures; to the allowing the importation of rape seed, and other seeds used for extracting oil, whenever the prices of middling British rape seed shall be above a certain limit; to the encouraging the growth of coffee in his majesty's plantations in America; and for amending and making perpetual several laws relating to the preventing the clandestine running of goods, and the danger of infection thereby; and to the allowing the importation of seal skins cured with foreign salt free of duty.

An act for granting annuities to discharge certain exchequer bills.

An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into and from the port of Falmouth in the island of Jamaica.

An act for further continuing until the 25th of March 1810, an act made in the 39th year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the exportation from and permitting the importation to Great Britain of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision without payment of duty.

An act for charging with duty spent wash, re-distilled in Great Britain.

An act to permit, until the 25th of March 1811, the importation of tobacco into Great Britain, from any place whatever.

An act for allowing, until the 25th of March 1810, the importation of certain fish from parts of the coast of his majesty's North American colonies; and for granting a bounty thereon.

An act for establishing courts of

Judicature in the island of Newfoundland and the islands adjacent; and for re annexing part of the coast of Labrador and the islands lying on the said coast to the government of Newfoundland.

An act to enable the clerks of the king's coroner and attorney in the Court of King's Bench to be admitted as attornies.

An act for the appropriation of 20,000*l.* out of the consolidated fund of Ireland, toward the encouragement of the saving of flax seed for sowing in Ireland.

An act to continue until the 25th of March 1810, certain acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and for warehousing in Ireland, rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March 1810, an act of the 41st year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, and for permitting the importation into Ireland, duty free, of corn, and other provisions.

An act for continuing and making perpetual several duties of 1*s.* 6*d.*, repealed by an act of the last session of parliament, on offices and employments of profit, and on annuities, pensions and stipends, and thereby granted for one year to the 25th of March 1809.

An act to grant an excise duty on spirits made or distilled from sugar in Ireland, during the prohibition of distillation from corn or grain there, in lieu of the excise duty now chargeable thereon, and to allow a drawback on the export thereof to foreign parts.

An act to permit the registry at Malta of ships taken as prize.

An act for the more convenient pay-



payment of pensions to widows of officers of the navy.

An act to amend an act made in the 45th year of his present majesty, for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the parliament of Ireland, for erecting and establishing public infirmaries or hospitals.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act for further continuing until the 25th of July 1811, an act made in the 33rd year of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

An act for making compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Portsmouth: and for extending the lines and works at Dover; in pursuance of an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local militia force, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act to amend an act made in the 48th year of his present majesty, to provide that British ships captured by the enemy, becoming the property of British subjects, shall not be entitled to the privilege of British ships.

An act for better regulating the public records of Scotland.

An act for regulating the mode in which the average price of Brown or Muscovado sugar, exclusive of the duty thereon, is to be ascertained under the provisions of an act

passed in the 46th year of his present majesty.

An act to permit goods brought in as prize, and restored by the court of admiralty, or which have been seized as droits, and so restored, to be sold or transferred within this kingdom, without paying the home consumption duty.

An act for more conveniently paying of allowances on the compassionate list of the navy, and of half pay to officers of the royal marines.

An act to authorize the principal officers of the customs in the British colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies, to examine witnesses on oath.

An act to permit certain articles, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, to be laden and shipped on board ships arriving with British North American produce, and fish taken by settlers in the British North American colonies, at any port of Europe, in order to be exported to the principal ports in the British colonies and plantations in North America.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act to authorize his majesty to permit, until the 25th of March 1812, any goods and commodities to be imported into and exported from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in any ship or vessel whatsoever.

An act to amend so much of an act made in the 37th year of his present majesty, for granting to his majesty certain stamp duties, as relates



lates to the limitation according to which the discount of newspapers is regulated.

An act to continue until the 1st of August 1810, and amend certain acts for appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in several public offices in Ireland; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

An act for raising the sum of 6,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for completing the militia of Great Britain.

An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors in Ireland.

An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed by an act of the last session of parliament for appointing commissioners for carrying into execution an act of this session of parliament for granting to his majesty a duty on pensions and offices in England, and an act, made in the 38th year of his present majesty, for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax to be raised in Great Britain for the service of the year 1798, and for appointing other commissioners together with those named in the first mentioned act, to put in execution an act of this session of parliament for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, for the service of the year 1809, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present majesty; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted

as commissioners for executing the said acts.

An act for completing the militia of Ireland.

An act for improving the quality of beer in Ireland, by further preventing the use of unmalted corn, or of any deleterious or unwholesome ingredients therein, and for the better securing the collection of the malt duties in Ireland.

An act to explain and render more effectual an act, passed in the parliament of Ireland in the 36th year of his present majesty's reign, for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

An act to permit the trade between Great Britain and the United States of America to be carried on in ships or vessels belonging to the inhabitants of the said States.

An act for allowing the importation from any port in Europe or Africa, of goods or commodities the growth or produce of any country, until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act for making sugar and coffee of Martinique and Mariegalante liable to duty on importation as sugar and coffee not of the British plantations.

An act to amend several acts for the prevention of smuggling: for better securing the duties on coals, culm, and cinders; and for permitting the exportation of salt, pepper, and wine from Guernsey or Jersey to Sark, in small packages.

An act for repealing the duties on the materials used in making spread window glass and crown glass, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof, and for the better collection of the said duties.

An act to amend an act passed in



in the last session of parliament for enabling the commissioners for the reduction of the national Debt to grant life annuities.

An act for giving jurisdiction to justices of the peace to hear and determine prosecutions for penalties incurred by any offence against the laws relating to the revenue of Customs; and also requiring all goods, customable and not exciseable, seized by any police or peace officer, to be brought to the Custom-House warehouses in London within a certain period.

An act for the abolition of certain holidays, and for altering and extending the time for keeping open the chief office of excise.

An act to amend an act passed in the 46th year of his present majesty, for the redemption and sale of the land tax, and to make further provision for exonerating small livings and charitable institutions from the land tax.

An act to explain and amend the law of Bastardy, so far as relates to indemnifying parishes in respect thereof.

An act to indemnify persons who have inadvertently printed, published, or dispersed papers or books without a full description of the place of abode of the printers thereof from penalties incurred under an act of the 39th year of his majesty's reign.

An act to amend an act passed in the 48th year of his present majesty, to enable his majesty's postmaster-general of Ireland to purchase premises for the enlargement of the general post-office in the city of Dublin.

An act for raising the sum of 14,600,000*l.* by way of Annuities.

An act to continue until the 25th

of March, 1811, certain acts of the parliament of Ireland, for the improvement of the city of Dublin, by making wide and convenient passages through the same, and for regulating the coal trade thereof, and for other purposes.

An act to grant to his majesty duties upon spirits made or distilled in Ireland, and upon British spirits imported into Ireland, and upon licences to sell spirituous liquors in Ireland in quantities not less than two gallons.

An act to continue until the 5th day of July, 1810, several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland.

An act to provide for the better collection of the duties and taxes on carriages, servants, horses, and dogs, in Ireland.

An act for vesting in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by advice of the privy council, the power of prohibiting the exportation and carrying coastwise of gunpowder, saltpetre, arms, ammunition, and naval stores.

An act to amend the several acts for securing the duties on paper made in Ireland.

An act for raising the sum of 1,250,000*l.*, by way of annuities and treasury bills for the service of Ireland.

An act for raising the sum of 500,000*l.*, by treasury bills for the service of Ireland, for the year 1809.

An act for allowing dealers to roast their own coffee on certain conditions.

An act to amend several laws of excise relating to paper, silks, and salt,



salt, and for authorizing the seizure of utensils in cases where vessels used in excise manufactories are subject to forfeiture.

An act to amend several acts passed in the last and present sessions of parliament relating to the local militia.

An act for the amendment of the laws now in force in Ireland, relative to persons entering into recognizances in criminal cases, in custody under any fine, or under such recognizance.

An act for amending the Irish road acts.

An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March, 1810, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

An act to make provision in certain cases, for the wives and families of ballotted men, substitutes, and volunteers serving in the militia of Ireland.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain for the year 1809.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

An act to revive and continue until the 25th day of March, 1810, and amend so much of an act made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England,

disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

An act for providing relief for the wives and families of the militia-men in Scotland, when called into actual service.

An act to empower the judges to try civil causes in their own counties in England.

An act for charging the sum of 11,000,000*l.* raised for the service of Great Britain for the year 1809, and the sum of 7,932,100*l.* in Exchequer bills, funded, pursuant to an act of this session of parliament, upon the duties granted to his majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money, to be raised by lotteries.

An act for further regulating the constitution of the board of commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

An act to provide for a durable allowance of superannuation to the officers of excise, under certain restrictions.

An act for empowering the board of ordnance to exchange lands at Purfleet in the county of Essex, for other lands in the said parish.

An act for repealing the several duties of customs chargeable in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act to amend the several acts for the regulating and securing the collection



collection of the duties on spirits distilled in Ireland, and for the regulating the sale of such liquors by retail.

An act to amend the several acts for securing the collection of the duties on auctions in Ireland.

An act to regulate the fees payable by persons charged with treason, felony, and all other offences, at assizes and quarter sessions in Ireland; and for amending an act of the parliament of Ireland, made in the 36th year of his present majesty, relating thereto.

An act to appoint commissioners to enquire and examine, until the 1st day of August, 1811, into the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them, and the best means of effecting the same.

An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for making provision for the building and rebuilding of churches, chapels, and glebe houses, in Ireland.

An act to amend several acts, made in the parliament of Ireland, for granting life annuities with benefit of survivorship.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1810, an act of this present session of parliament, to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into great Britain or Ireland respectively.

An act for allowing further time for taking goods out of warehouse, and paying duties thereon.

An act for the more effectual recovery of penalties and forfeitures, incurred in the British colonies and plantations in America.

An act to amend the several acts respecting the payment of wages and

prize-money, and allotment of wages to persons serving in his majesty's royal navy.

An act to repeal several acts respecting the woollen manufacture; and to amend other acts relating to the said manufacture; and for allowing persons employed in any branch of the woollen manufacture to set up trade in any place in Great Britain.

An act to rectify a mistake in an act, made in this session of parliament, for continuing and making perpetual several duties of one shilling and sixpence on offices and employments.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1811, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for appointing commissioners to enquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned.

An act to amend an act, passed in the forty-fourth year of his present majesty, to provide for the defence of the realm, with respect to the purchase of lands and hereditaments for the public service.

An act for better regulating the office of agent general for volunteers and local militia.

An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 3,000,000*l.* for the service of Great Britain.

An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors in England.

An act to make further provision for the execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things, under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes, in Ireland.

An act for lowering the duty of excise



excise on coffee, of the growth of his majesty's dominions in Africa.

An act for better securing the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining of seats in parliament by corrupt practices.

An act to give to the persons named by his majesty, pursuant to an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, 'An act concerning the administration of justice in Scotland, and concerning appeals to the House of Lords,' further time for making their report or reports.

An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament, the several laws for raising and training the militia of Ireland.

An act to alter and amend the laws relating to bankrupts.

An act for preventing frauds and depredations committed on merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters, by boatmen and others; and also for remedying certain defects relative to the adjustment of salvage in England, under an act made in the twelfth year of Queen Anne.

An act to explain and amend an act, made in the forty-fifth year of his present majesty, for the encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning his majesty's navy during the present war; and for the further encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectually providing for the interest of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, and the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea; and to extend the pro-

visions of the said act to cases arising in consequence of hostilities commenced since the passing of the said act.

An act for altering, amending, and explaining certain acts relative to the removal of the poor, and for making regulations in certain cases touching the examination of paupers as to their settlement; and for extending to all parishes certain rules and orders in workhouses, under an act of the twenty-second year of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the better relief and employment of the poor.'

An act to amend an act, made in the thirty-third year of his present majesty, for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

An act for the farther prevention of the sale and brokerage of offices.

An act for further augmenting the salaries of certain of the judges of the courts in Westminster Hall, and of the chief and second justices of Chester, and justices of the great sessions in Wales.

An act for granting to his majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1809; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act to prevent the enlisting of local militia-men into the regular militia of any other county or stewartry than the county or stewartry to which they belong.



DEATHS *in the Year 1809.*

At his house in Hertford-street, May Fair, the Earl of Liverpool.—The Right Honourable Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, and Baron of Hawkesbury, was descended from a family which had been settled more than a century, at Walcot, near Charlbury, in Oxfordshire. His grandfather, Sir Robert Jenkinson, married a wealthy heiress at Bromley, in Kent; and his father, who was a colonel in the army, resided at South Lawn Lodge, in Whichwood Forest. Charles Jenkinson was born in 1727, and received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar school of Burford. He was afterwards placed on the foundation in the Charterhouse, from which seminary he was removed to Oxford, and was entered a member of University college. There he took two degrees, that of B. A. and A. M. and seems to have made himself first known to the public by some verses on the death of the Prince of Wales, father of his present Majesty. In 1753, he removed from Oxford, and possessing but a small patrimonial fortune, he commenced his career as a man of letters, and is said to have supplied materials for the Monthly Review. He next commenced political writer; and, in 1756, published “A Dissertation on the Establishment of a national and constitutional Force in England, independent of a standing Army.” This tract abounds with many manly and patriotic sentiments, and has been quoted against himself in the House of Peers, on which occasion his lordship did not deny that he was

the author, but contented himself with apologising for his errors, on account of his extreme youth. Soon after this he wrote “A Discourse on the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain, with respect to neutral Nations, during the present War.” To this production, his rise in life has been falsely attributed; it was indeed allowed by every one to be an able performance; but, like many others of the same-kind, it might have lain in the warehouse of his bookseller, and he himself remained for ever in obscurity, had it not been for the intervention of a gentleman of the same county, with whom he luckily became acquainted. Sir Edward Turner, of Ambroseden in Oxfordshire, being of an ancient family, and possessing a large fortune, was desirous to represent his native county in parliament. Having attained considerable influence by means of a large estate, and a hospitable and noble mansion, since pulled down by his successor, he accordingly stood candidate as knight of the shire. He was, however, strenuously but unsuccessfully opposed; for in addition to his own, he possessed the court interest. The struggle, nevertheless, was long and violent, and it still forms a memorable epoch in the history of contested elections; but for nothing is it more remarkable, than by being the fortunate occurrence in Mr. Jenkinson’s life, which produced all his subsequent greatness. The contending parties having, as usual, called in the aid of ballads, lampoons, verses, and satires, this gentleman



tleman distinguished himself by a song in favour of Sir Edward and his friends, which so captivated either the taste or the gratitude of the baronet, that he introduced him to the Earl of Bute, then flourishing in all the plenitude of power. It is known but to few, perhaps, that his lordship, who placed Mr. J. at first in an inferior office, was not at all captivated with him; for it was entirely owing to the repeated solicitations of the member for Oxfordshire, that he extended his further protection. After a longer trial, he became the premier's private secretary, and in some respect a member of his family, participating in his friendship and favour, and living with him in an unrestrained and confidential intercourse. Such a connexion as this could not fail to prove advantageous; and, accordingly, in March, 1761, we find him appointed one of the under secretaries of state, a station which presupposes an intimate acquaintance with the situation of foreign affairs, and a pretty accurate knowledge in respect to the *arcana imperii* in general. He now became a declared adherent of what was then called "the Leicester-house party," by whose influence he was returned to parliament at the general election (in 1761) for the borough of Cockermouth, on the recommendation of the late Earl of Lonsdale, his patron's son-in-law. He, however, did not remain long in this station; for he soon received the lucrative appointment of treasurer of the ordnance. This he relinquished in 1763, for the more confidential office of joint secretary of the treasury; a situation for which he was admirably qualified, by his knowledge of the state

of parties, and the management of a House of Commons, of which he himself had been some time a member. To the Rockingham administration, which succeeded in 1765, he was both personally and politically odious, and he accordingly lost all his appointments; but in the course of the same year, he had one conferred on him by the king's mother, the late Princess Dowager of Wales, which no minister could bereave him of; this was the auditorship of her Royal Highness's accounts. That circumstance, added to his close intimacy with the discarded minister, awakened the jealousy of the patriots; and, if we are to credit their suspicions, he became, in the technical language of that day, the "go-between" to the favourite, the princess-mother, and the throne. When Lord Bute retired into the country in disgust, promising to relinquish public affairs, a great personage is said to have construed it into an abandonment, and to have looked out for advice elsewhere; from that moment Mr. Jenkinson was ranked as one of the leaders of the party called "the king's friends," and his majesty ever after distinguished him by a marked partiality. Honours and employments now fell thick upon him. In 1766, he was nominated a lord of the admiralty, and in 1767, a lord of the treasury, in which place he continued during the Grenville and Grafton administration. But under that of Lord North, we find him aspiring to some of the higher offices of government; for in 1772, he was appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, on which occasion he was introduced into the privy council. In 1775, he purchased of Mr. Fox,



the patent place of clerk of the pells in Ireland, which had constituted part of that gentleman's patrimony, and next year was appointed master of the Mint, in the room of Lord Cadogan. In 1778, he was elevated to the more important post of secretary at war, in which situation we find him in 1780, and 1781, defending the estimates of the army, in the House of Commons. The contests between the friends of Mr. Jenkinson and opposition, now became critical; the majorities which had implicitly voted with the ministry, were reduced in every division, and at last abandoned a premier, who tottered on the treasury bench. Mr. Jenkinson thought he had now ample leisure to compile his collection of Treaties; but he was soon, by another change in politics, called back from his literary labours, into active life, and took a decided part in behalf of Mr. Pitt. In consequence of his exertions on this occasion, in 1786, he was nominated to the lucrative post of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, created baron of Hawkesbury, in the county of Gloucester, and appointed president of the committee of council for the affairs of trade and plantations. For the last situation, his lordship's regular and progressive rise, added to the various offices in which he had acted, admirably qualified him. Further emoluments were, however, reserved for him, for in 1790, on the decease of his relation, the late Sir Banks Jenkinson, who held the lucrative patent place of collector of the customs inwards, he procured the grant. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate his great influence than that occurrence; for this was one of the sinecures which the premier had all

along declared his intention to abolish. To these favours, in 1796, was added that of Earl of Liverpool, on which creation he was authorized by his majesty to quarter the arms of that commercial city with those of his own family. As an orator, his lordship spoke but seldom, either in the House of Commons or Peers, and of late years he had attended but little to public business, in consequence of his advanced age and infirmities.— Besides the works which have already been mentioned, his lordship was the author of the following:— “A Collection of all Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce between Great Britain and other Powers, from the Treaty of Munster in 1648, to the Treaties signed at Paris in 1783,” 3 vols. 8vo. (1785); and, “A Treatise on the Coins of England, in a Letter to the King,” 4to. (1805). Whatever odium may be attached by his political enemies, to the general line of conduct adopted by this nobleman, they will not deny that he deserved great praise for the attention which he always bestowed on the trade of this country. Among other things, he drew up the treaty of commercial intercourse with America, and is also said, not only to have pointed out, but to have created the whale fishery in the South Seas. His lordship was married, for the first time, in 1769, to Miss Amelia Watts; daughter of the governor of Fort William, in Bengal, by whom he had a son, the present earl; and secondly, in 1782, to Catharine, daughter of the late Sir Cecil Bishop, Bart. and widow of Sir Charles Cope, by whom he has left a son and daughter, the Hon. Charles Cecil Cope Jenkinson, M.P.



for Sandwich, and Lady Charlotte, married to the present Viscount Grimstone. Lord Liverpool partly inherited, and partly accumulated, a large fortune during the course of a long and brilliant career. He has left to his eldest son, the present earl, 15,000*l.* per annum, of which only about 3,500*l.* per annum is in land. To his widow, the Countess of Liverpool, only 700*l.* per annum for life, in addition to her former jointure, as Lady Cope, of 1000*l.* per annum. But the present earl has added 500*l.* more per annum to his father's bequest; and it is understood that the Duchess of Dorset, her daughter, adds 300*l.* per annum more. To the honourable Cecil Jenkinson, his second son, he has left 1000*l.* per annum, in addition to an estate of near 3000*l.* per annum, of which Mr. Cecil Jenkinson is already in possession, by the death of a relation. To Lady Charlotte Grimstone, now Lady Forrester, he has left only the 700*l.* per annum, bequeathed to the Countess of Liverpool, after her decease. The landed property is entailed to all the family of the Jenkinsons, in tail male, to a great extent.

At Teddington, Viscount Aghrim, Baron of Ballymore, 66. He is succeeded in his titles and estates by Frederic, Viscount Aghrim. His lordship married Anne Elizabeth Christine, Baroness De Tuill de Scerosberkin, by whom he has left several children.

At his seat, Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, Henry Lord Arundell, Baron of Wardour, Count of the Holy Roman Empire. His lordship was born in 1740, and succeeded to the honours and estates of his

father in 1758. Seven years afterwards he married Mary, daughter of Benedict Conquest, Esq. by whom he had three daughters, the eldest and youngest of whom are dead; the survivor, Eleanor Mary, in 1786, became the wife of Lord Clifford. Being a Roman Catholic, his lordship never took the oaths, or his seat, in the House of Peers. A few years since, as the ancient family seat was falling into decay, Lord Arundell erected a mansion in its immediate vicinity on a noble and extensive scale; but the expence incurred in this undertaking, tended not a little to embarrass his fortune. He is succeeded in his title by his first cousin, James Everard Arundell, Esq. of Irnham Hall, in the county of Lincoln.

In Tichfield street, Madame Jarry, relict of General Francis J. commandant of the Royal Military College, at Wycombe. She was a native of Posen, in Poland, and frequently amused her friends by relating anecdotes of the Buonaparte family, one of whom she employed as a mantua-maker during her residence at Paris.

At his seat, Hawkestone, Shropshire, sir Richard Hill, bart. 75. This gentleman was descended from a family of considerable antiquity, in the county of Salop, which can be traced up to the time of Edward II. Rowland was the first honoured with a patent of baronetage in 1726. He afterwards represented the city of Litchfield in Parliament, and had a large family, consisting of ten children, the eldest of whom Richard, was born in 1733. He was educated at Westminster school, and afterwards admitted as gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford; where he resided until he re-



ceived the honorary degree of A. M.; when he went to an academy at Angers, in France; and after about one year's residence at that place, he made a tour of the southern parts of Europe, in company with the late Earl of Elgin, and then returned to his native county. He was about twenty-four years of age before he had a religious turn of mind; when he became known to the late reverend and learned Messrs. Romaine, Talbot, Stillingfleet, H. Venn, Berridge, S. Walker, and others of the most pious and laborious clergy of the church of England; whose acquaintance was particularly beneficial to him. Desirous of being useful in his station, he published and distributed several religious tracts, visited and relieved the poor and afflicted in his neighbourhood, and exhorted them to repentance and newness of life. His controversial writings in defence of the six Students expelled the university of Oxford, and in defence of the Calvinistic doctrines of the gospel, as held by and stated in the articles, homilies and liturgy of the church of England, do honour to his abilities as an able writer, and to his piety, zeal and integrity as a christian, the polite gentleman, and scholar; but his reply to the rev. Mr. Madan, intitled, "The Blessings of Polygamy displayed," gained him more credit than any of his other publications. Sir Richard, when but a young convert, became a zealous champion for the religious party to which he had attached himself. It is well known that the great leaders of methodism, Wesley and Whitfield, adopted opposite sentiments on the extent of salvation. The former allowed that man is a free agent, and that the

satisfaction of Christ was made for all men. These points were flatly denied by Whitfield and the calvinistical methodists, who made man a passive instrument till grace inspired him with divine life; and they contended that the elect only, or those who where predestinated from all eternity, shall be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. A fierce contention arose among the methodistical leaders upon these inscrutable topics, and they almost proceeded to excommunicate one another for heterodoxy. The Calvinists were by far the most violent, and the harshness of their creed inspired them with the most intolerant sentiments. Sir Richard Hill waged war against the whole host of Arminians, and published several pamphlets upon the doctrines in dispute, which exhibited considerable knowledge of the subject, and evinced no small skill in theological controversy. About the same time, the university of Oxford began to be jealous of the progress of methodism, and finding that Edmund-hall contained some students who exercised their preaching talents before they were duly authorised, expelled them. This caused a mighty outcry among the zealots; and several pieces were published against the conduct of Dr. Durel and Dr. Noel, and other heads of houses who were engaged in that affair. Among the rest Sir Richard came forward as the champion of methodism, in a tract which was written with great shrewdness and spirit, entitled, "*Pietas Oxoniensis*." Not long after this he engaged in a paper war with Dr. Adams, rector of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, on the following occasion. It was the custom of the late Mr. Romaine, whom



whom the Calvinists regarded as their prophet, to spend some of the summer months in travelling, and in one of these excursions he was invited to preach at the doctor's church. He accepted the invitation; but his sermon was so little to the vicar's taste that he is said to have treated him rather rudely, and even to have preached against him from the same pulpit. The doctor was soon after attacked in a printed letter with great warmth by the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*, and the controversy we believe was continued for some time with no little heat on both sides; though the doctor did not scruple to confess that his own doctrines were not those of the Church of England, and upon this ground it was that his antagonist had so great an advantage over him. But Mr. John Wesley, and a very pious minister in connection with that extraordinary man, the Rev. Mr. John Fletcher, vicar of Madely, were the principal antagonists of Sir Richard. The whole field of controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism was traversed over and over again by these adroit polemics; but there was one gentleman who had a manifest advantage over all the rest, and that was Mr. Augustus Toplady. He possessed a considerable degree of learning, a great command of language, an extent of reading, and such a competency of metaphysics and logic, as enabled him to give to Calvinism an attracting appearance. When that gentleman died, it seems the Wesleyan methodists propagated some scandalous stories concerning the manner of his departure, as that he had recanted his opinions, and expired distracted. In confutation of this slanderous reproach,

Sir Richard printed a small pamphlet, which abundantly vindicated the consistent integrity of his departed friend, and did honour to his own feelings. Since that time he has published a few other pieces, some practical and others controversial. The chief of his works, however, is "An Apology for Brotherly Love, and for the Doctrines of the Church of England, in letters to the Rev. Charles Daubeny; with a Vindication of such parts of Mr. Wilberforce's Practical View as have been objected to by Mr. Daubeny in his "Guide to the Church." 8vo. 1798. In this work Sir Richard evinces greater moderation than in his former pieces; and it must be admitted that, so far as the faith of the Church of England is concerned, he encounters his adversary to great advantage. Sir Richard was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Salop, in 1780, and continued its representative in six successive parliaments till the dissolution in 1807. He formerly used often to speak in parliament, and never rose but to promote or to suggest some object of public utility. Every thing he uttered was marked by good sense, observation, knowledge of the world, and sincere patriotism. There was, however, something peculiar in his manner, and his mind having a strong bias towards religion, he frequently mingled passages from Scripture in his speeches, which subjected him to the ridicule of those whose dispositions were less serious; but the known rectitude and benignity of his character always secured him the attention and respect of much the greater number of his hearers. In his parliamentary career, it was his principle to support



administration whenever he conscientiously could: but he never gave one vote with Lord North during the American war, uniformly dividing with the opposition on every question that had any relation to it. When Mr. Pitt first moved for a reform in parliament, Sir Richard voted in favour of that measure. In 1784 he also supported Alderman Sawbridge, and in 1797, Mr. Grey on a similar occasion. He joined for a time in favour of the former contest with France; but we at length find him voting against the continuance of the war, as he wished a stop to be put to the effusion of human blood. In 1800, the knight of the shire for Salop seconded a motion made by the late Sir William Pulteney, for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the inhuman sport of bull-bating. In 1802, when Mr. Dent moved the second reading of a similar bill, he begged leave to "speak in behalf of a race of poor friendless beings who certainly could not speak for themselves." After quoting several apposite passages from the Proverbs of Solomon, and the writings of Sir Matthew Hale, in opposition to cruelty to brute creatures, he jocularly observed, that "as the gentlemen of Ireland had been so favourable to their own *bulls* he was sure they would be no less indulgent to ours."\* Sir Richard supported Mr. Addington's administration, and expressed his approbation of the address to the king on the renewal of hostili-

ties. The public and private charities of the deceased baronet were very liberal and extensive; and what is still better they were administered in the true spirit of the gospel, with tenderness and secrecy. The great regularity which pervaded his household and numerous domestics exhibited a pattern highly worthy of the imitation of all others in the like station of life; at the same time that his munificence and hospitality in the entertainment of his friends were quite of the old English stamp. His paternal estate he laid out with great taste, insomuch that Hawkstone is one of the greatest ornaments of the county in which it is situated, and the admiration of all visitors. Sir Richard was never married, so that his title and estates descend to his eldest brother, now Sir John Hill.

At his seat, near Alton, Hampshire, *Sir Thomas Pasley*, bart. admiral of the white, 74. He was the fifth son of James Pasley, esq. of Craig, in the county of Dumfries, North Britain, by Magdalen, daughter of Robert Elliot, esq. of Middleholm Mill, in the county of Roxburgh. He was born at Craig, on the 2d of March, 1734, and having, from his early youth, entertained a strong predilection for the naval service, he entered in 1752, as a midshipman on board the *Garland* frigate. Very soon afterwards, he removed into the *Weasel* sloop of war, at that time under orders for the Jamaica station, and in

\* Sir Richard carried his consideration for his servants and domestic animals, particularly his horses, to a degree not very common at the present day. It is a fact, that after being set down at the House of Commons, which he very regularly attended, if the weather either was or threatened to be bad, he would direct his coachman to return immediately; and rather than keep his domestics and horses exposed to its vicissitudes, he would himself brave its inclemency, at all hours, in a walk from Westminster to his residence, at the very extremity of Upper Harley-street.

which



which he served successively under the captains Cockburn, Webber, and Digby. The latter being appointed to the Biddeford frigate, took with him Mr. Pasley, for whom he had conceived a strong attachment, and promoted him to the rank of acting lieutenant. The frigate was soon ordered to England, having on board 300,000*l.* in bullion. As soon as the vessel arrived at Portsmouth, Mr. Pasley, with a proper escort, was dispatched to London with the treasure. Having lodged his valuable charge in the bank, he returned to Portsmouth without delay, and embarked on board the Dunkirk, to which Captain Digby had been appointed during his absence. This ship was one of those which proceeded, in 1757, on the unsuccessful expedition to the coast of France; and, though its issue was so ill calculated to procure either honour or promotion for those who were engaged in it, yet the merit of Mr. Pasley had so powerfully attracted the notice of his commanding officer, that, on his return to Portsmouth, he found a commission as an established lieutenant lying there for him, by which he was appointed to serve on board the Roman Emperor fire-ship. He was very soon afterwards transferred from this vessel, at his own special request, into the Hussar frigate, commanded by the celebrated Captain Elliot, with whom he removed to the *Æolus* of 36 guns. In this ship he assisted in the capture of *Mignonne*, a French vessel of 20 guns, which, with her consort, the *Blonde*, of 36, the *Æolus* fell in with off the coast of France; but, as the enemy immediately crowded all the sail they could set, the latter was fortunate enough to escape.

In the year 1760, the *Æolus* was employed on the Irish station, and captain Elliot, as senior officer commanded the little British squadron, which proceeded from the harbour of Kinsale in quest of the French, under Thurot, who had effected a landing in the north of Ireland. The event of the engagement which took place is too well known to render a repetition necessary; but a circumstance, which occurred during the encounter, reflects too much honour on the judgment of Mr. Pasley to be omitted. The *Æolus* had fallen on board the French commodore's ship, the *Bellisle* of 44 guns, the bowsprit hanging over that ship's quarter deck, and was consequently not only left exposed to the whole weight of the enemy's fire, without being able to bring a single gun to bear on her antagonist, but also compelled to engage the *Blonde*, of 36, at the same time with her aftermost guns, that frigate having fallen on board the *Æolus*. In this perilous situation Mr. Pasley called the men from the foremost guns, which he at that time commanded; and having boarded the enemy at their head from the bowsprit, made himself master of the deck and obtained entire possession of the ship. As soon as this conquest was achieved, he sent on board the *Æolus* for an English jack, which he immediately hoisted on board the prize, as her signal of surrender. Captain Elliot, soon after his arrival at Portsmouth with his prize, was removed into another ship, but Mr. Pasley retained his station under captain, now lord Hotham, who was appointed to succeed him, and with whom he continued till the year 1762. In the *Æolus*, Mr. Pasley returned to his



former occupation of cruising, but was not concerned in any advantage more material than the capture of five or six privateers of insignificant force, and of a valuable French ship outward bound, from Bourdeaux to St. Domingo, called the *Formidable*. On the return of the *Æolus* to England, Mr. Pasley had the satisfaction to find that he had been promoted, during his absence, to the rank of commander, and was appointed to the *Albany* sloop of war, a vessel employed in conveying ships to and from the port of Milford. After some continuance in that sloop, he removed into the *Weasel*, in which he had before served as a midshipman, and proceeded to the coast of Guinea. From the *Weasel* he was appointed to the *Pomona*, of 18 guns, and was ordered to Greenock, on the impress service, in consequence of the apprehended rupture with Spain respecting the Falkland islands. In 1771, he was promoted to the rank of postcaptain, and being appointed to the *Seahorse*, of 20 guns, he sailed to the West Indies, where he rendered material service during the contest with the Caribs. Having returned to England the ensuing year, and the *Seahorse* being put out of commission, he continued unemployed till 1776. He was then appointed to the *Glasgow*, and sent out to the West Indies, to convoy thither a valuable fleet of merchantmen, consisting of 120 sail. This charge he executed so much to the satisfaction of all concerned, that he received the thanks of the cities of London, Bristol, and other ports, and a handsome piece of plate was presented to him, as a more substantial proof of the approbation of the merchants. On his return

to England, captain Pasley performed a similar service; and, with the exception of the present, he had the satisfaction of receiving similar honours. Soon after his arrival in England, he was appointed to the *Sybil* of 28 guns, and sent with admiral Edwards to the Newfoundland station. In 1780 he was promoted to the *Jupiter* of 50 guns, and at the commencement of the ensuing year, sailed with commodore Johnstone on a secret expedition. In the attack made on the British squadron by M. de Suffrein, in Porto Praya Road, the *Jupiter* was particularly distinguished for the power and force of her fire; and amidst the torrent of abuse which was undeservedly thrown on some persons concerned in that encounter, the conduct of Captain Pasley was very justly applauded by all parties. The subsequent operations of the British squadron were, as it is well known, confined to the capture of a fleet of Dutch India ships, surprised in Saldanha Bay. On its return, the *Jupiter* was, in May 1782, ordered to proceed to the West Indies with admiral Pigot, who was sent out to supersede lord Rodney, in the chief command of the fleet employed in that quarter. The *Jupiter*, soon after her arrival, was ordered on a cruise off the Havannah, and Captain Pasley had the good fortune to take five out of thirteen vessels which he fell in with. The crew of one of these prizes, however, having risen on the English that were put into her, succeeded in their attempt, and carried her into the Havannah, where they informed the Spanish admiral of the situation of the *Jupiter*, which had struck upon a shoal. He accordingly dispatched a ship of 84, and another



another of 64 guns, to take or destroy her. Captain Pasley had, meanwhile, succeeded in getting the *Jupiter* afloat; but almost immediately fell in with the *Tiger*, the largest of the Spanish ships. The enemy immediately gave chase, and gained considerably on the *Jupiter*, which had sustained considerable injury. At the dawn of day, the *Tiger*, being within gunshot, and Captain Pasley finding escape impossible, called together his crew, to whom he addressed a short but spirited harangue. He declared his intention of attacking the enemy, which was warmly approved by three hearty cheers. The *Jupiter* brought to, and prepared for action. The enemy, probably intimidated by this appearance of resolution, immediately hauled their wind, and suffered the *Jupiter* to continue her voyage unmolested. Captain Pasley immediately sailed for Antigua, to refit; and hostilities ceasing soon after, the *Jupiter* proceeded to Chatham, where she was put out of commission. The five years which immediately succeeded the cessation of hostilities, were passed by Captain Pasley in the relaxation of domestic retirement. In 1788, he was invested with the chief command in the *Medway*, and hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Vengeance*. From this station he removed, first into the *Scipio*, and then into the *Bellerophon*. In the latter he was ordered to join the channel fleet, in consequence of the apprehended ruptures with Russia and Spain. These disputes being compromised, he repaired to Chatham, where he continued during the customary period allotted to such a command. Retiring for a time from the service, he again remained unemployed

till the commencement of the war with France in 1793. He was then appointed, as an established commodore, to hoist his broad pendant on board his former ship, the *Bellerophon*, and ordered to join the main fleet, under the orders of Lord Howe. On the 12th of April 1794, being advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, he hoisted his flag on board the same ship to which he had been so long attached. In the partial affairs which preceded the glorious 1st of June, as well as in the engagement on that day, the *Bellerophon* took a conspicuous part; and towards the conclusion of the conflict, admiral Pasley had the misfortune to lose his leg. He had, however, the satisfaction to receive every palliative to his wound, which the attention of his sovereign, his commander, and his country, could bestow. His majesty conferred on him the dignity of a baronet, accompanied with a pension of 1000*l.* a year. The personal injury he had sustained necessarily deprived the nation of his farther services in an active capacity. In 1798, in consequence of the mutiny at the *Nore*, Sir Thomas was appointed for a short time commander in chief in the *Thames* and the *Medway*; but relinquished this station as soon as the trials of the mutineers were concluded. In 1799, he was appointed port-admiral at Portsmouth, where he displayed the same activity and ability which constantly marked his character, while the unimpaired state of his body permitted him to engage in a more interesting department of the service. Sir Thomas married Mary, daughter of Thomas Neywood, esq. chief justice of the Isle of Man, who died  
in



in 1788, and was buried at Avignon, in France; by whom he had two daughters, Maria, married to Captain Sabine, of the Guards, and Magdalen.

At his house, in Spital-square, William Hawes, M. D. a man whose long, active, disinterested, and unwearied exertions in the cause of humanity, justly secured to him the regard, esteem, and affection of all who knew him, or who feel an interest in whatever promotes the happiness of their species; nor can these exertions fail to endear his memory to posterity, as a benefactor to the human race. He was born at Islington, of respectable parents, on November 28, 1736. After receiving his education at St. Paul's school, he went as an apprentice, in the year 1751, to Mr. Corson, an eminent apothecary at Lambeth. On the termination of his apprenticeship, he attended with great diligence the lectures given at the hospital, and by the different lecturers of the time. His favourite lecturer was the late Dr. George Fordyce, and on whom he attended for some time after he entered into business, living in his immediate neighbourhood. In 1759, he settled as an apothecary in the Strand: here he practised for many years with considerable success to his patients and himself. In the year 1767, a society was instituted at Amsterdam, for the recovery of the drowned, in consequence of some instances of recovery which had been happily effected, a short time before, in Switzerland. Memoirs of this society were published, and a copy of them brought from Holland by Dr. Cogan; these he translated in 1773, in order to show to the British public the practicability of recovering per-

sons who had hitherto been considered as dead, in consequence of being taken out of the water with every appearance of death. These memoirs were no sooner translated, than they engaged the benevolent and humane mind of Mr. Hawes. He immediately advertised that he would pay rewards to those who would acquaint him, within a certain time, of any person who had been drowned in his neighbourhood. This he did till the society was established in the following year; and certainly, he could not have given a more sincere or disinterested proof of his wish to promote so valuable and benevolent an object. In the spring of 1774, Mr. Hawes published his "Account of the late Dr. Goldsmith's Illness, so far as relates to the Exhibition of Dr. James's Powder; together with Remarks on the Use and Abuse of that powerful Medicine, in the beginning of acute Diseases." Dr. Goldsmith was his intimate friend, and one of the first whom he consulted on his plan of offering the rewards just mentioned. Mr. Hawes' only motive in this publication appears to have been the wish of being serviceable to others; and to prevent men, if possible, from destroying their own lives by the injudicious use of strong and (what are called) infallible remedies. "If the desire I have, (he observes) to warn mankind against the fatal effects produced by the indiscriminate exhibition of various potent medicines has betrayed me into an improper warmth of expression, I hope to stand excused by the humane and sensible part of the public, when it is considered that the preservation of the lives of my fellow-creatures was my principal inducement to it." He

acknow-



acknowledges, however, with the greatest candour, that much good has arisen from the proper and skilful exhibition of Dr. James's powder, in many cases of fever; but declares that he has also seen several cases in which it has proved highly injurious.

In an advertisement to a fourth edition of this account, he remarks, "it is not my disposition to be uncandid, nor my wish to injure the circumstances of any man; but whatsoever, in the form of medicine, appears likely to produce a public injury, I am determined to expose. I have made quacks of all denominations my sworn enemies: but what medical man of honour and reputation would wish to be upon tolerable terms with the murderers of the human race?" In the summer of this year (1774) an association of thirty gentlemen, one half of whom were the friends of Dr. Cogan, and the other of Mr. Hawes, formed themselves into a society, whose object, like that of Amsterdam, was to promote the recovery of persons who were apparently dead by drowning; and like that society also, their views were at first confined to the recovery of the drowned. Other respectable names were soon added to the list; and successful cases began to increase its numbers and reputation. Dr. Cogan, during his continuance in England, prepared the reports of the society from year to year; that he did it with judgment, would be unnecessary to say, as he can do nothing but with the hand of a master. During this time, Mr. Hawes was most zealously active in promoting the views of the infant institution: but his wish to promote the welfare and happiness of others

was not limited or confined to one point. Early in the year 1776, he published an examination of Wesley's primitive physic, a work full of the grossest absurdities, and the most dangerous remedies; and which were likely to be destructive of the lives of many of those over whom the name of Wesley had influence. This examination, which passed through three large editions, it is believed, has been very serviceable in promoting the humane and disinterested views of its author. About this time he received his diploma of M. D. In the autumn of this year he gave his first course of lectures on suspended animation. The doctor's object in delivering these lectures was to excite an investigation of the subject in all its branches, and particularly to lead the minds of medical students to it, and to induce them to examine into, and pay the most minute attention to, all the received signs of life, in cases of suspended animation, whether from drowning, suffocation by the cord, syncope, inebriation, or trance; from noxious vapours, intense cold, and even lightning. These lectures were continued for several years, and answered the very valuable purpose of turning the attention of many of his hearers to this benevolent, novel, and interesting subject. In 1777, the doctor first published his "Address to the Public on premature Death and premature Interment." At a considerable expence he distributed seven thousand of this address in the course of a few months. He also offered the reward of one guinea to any nurse, or other attendant, on any child or grown person returning to life by their humane attention, provided the



the fact was ascertained by a gentleman of the faculty, or attested by three creditable persons. The doctor asserts, and no one who knew him can doubt it, that his view in incurring such heavy expences was the hope of exciting an universal attention to the subject of so much importance to mankind. Some time in the year 1778, a more active post in the management of the affairs of the Humane Society devolved on him, by his being chosen register. This was still increased in the year 1780, when Dr. Cogan returned to Holland. On this event Dr. Hawes greatly regretted the loss of so able a colleague, and laments that the task of arranging and preparing the annual reports of the society should have "fallen into hands of such inferior ability;" but hopes that his zeal will compensate for the want of ability, that the important cause then entrusted to his sole care might not be permitted to languish. Those only who have witnessed the labour and fatigue which the multiplied concerns of the society necessarily impose on him who is entrusted with the entire direction of them, can justly appreciate the value and extent of his unceasing exertions for promoting a cause so near his heart, and with which his own happiness, as well as the happiness of others, was interwoven. The doctor remarks, that\* soon after this time, the execution of the reports of this institution, became more complex and intricate. As the instances of resuscitation multiplied, he observes that new and improved modes of treat-

ment suggested themselves to skilful practitioners; and that other species of apparent death than those hitherto treated, were also brought within the reach of art. These circumstances arising from the liberal spirit and unexampled fervour manifested by the medical assistants, in the prosecution of their life-saving views, concurred to render the task operose and complicated. But, he adds, all these difficulties sunk before the pleasing contemplation of the immense good that would result to mankind from it. In 1781, Dr. Hawes published "An Address to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, on preserving the Lives of the Inhabitants, and on regulating the Bills of Mortality." To the third edition of this work were made very considerable additions; particularly "Further Hints for restoring Animation, and for preserving Health against the pernicious Influence of noxious Vapours, or contaminated Air, by simple efficacious Means," in a letter to him by Dr. Fothergill. The mind of Dr. Hawes was uniformly and ardently employed in the general cause of humanity. His views of beneficence were by no means confined to the object connected with the institution of which he was the zealous advocate and unwearied promoter. His whole life was a constant exemplification of his motto; *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*. He did not suffer his exertions to abate, because he could not succeed in the first, second, or third attempt, but persevered with uncommon ardour till

\* In the Transactions of the Society from 1774 to 1784, published in 1796, by Dr. Hawes.



he could obtain the object he wished to promote for the good of others. Numerous are the instances of his anonymous appeals to the public liberality for the relief of virtuous indigence or unavoidable misery. In the year 1793, the introduction of the general use of cottons instead of silk, having occasioned, as was to be expected, a want of employment to the weavers of silk in Spitalfields, a great deal of disease, distress, and positive want, were the consequences. Dr. Hawes, in his capacity of physician to the London Dispensary, witnessed them with real anguish of mind, and lamented his own inability to afford relief. He made several appeals to the public; at length he became happily instrumental in preserving, from absolute ruin, nearly twelve hundred families. The following letter to a clergyman, is one, among a great many, which his humane and benevolent mind dictated on the occasion:—

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ Permit me to address you on the present occasion, and to return you my most sincere thanks for your voluntary exertions in behalf of the distressed weavers. Believe, me, sir, it is not in the power of language to describe their long and continued miseries; miseries not brought on by idleness, intemperance, or a dissolute course of life; human wretchedness, absolutely produced by want of employment. My profession obliges me daily to be an eye-witness to the severe distresses, trials, and afflictions, of these much to be pitied of our fellow-creatures. Whole families, without fire, without riment, and

without food; and, to add to the catalogue of human woes, three, four, and five, in many families, languishing on the bed of sickness. I am sure, sir, you will believe me, when I declare, that such scenes of complicated woe are too affecting to dwell upon: and therefore shall conclude with my most earnest wishes, that by your pleading in their behalf, other divines may be animated to the same pious undertaking; I am certain that public benevolence will prevent the premature death of many, will restore health to numbers, and afford the staff of life to thousands of afflicted families.

“ I am, reverend sir, your most obedient humble servant,

W. HAWES,

Physician to the London Dispensary.

*Spital Square, Nov. 16, 1798.*

About ten years ago, Dr. Letsom, who had succeeded Mr. Horsfall as treasurer of the Humane Society, resigned, and Dr. Hawes was chosen as his successor. He had previously discharged that part of the treasurer's office, which consists in examining into the claims for rewards, and paying them. He therefore still continued his laborious exertions for supporting and extending the influence of the institution, which he had fostered with all the attention, assiduity, and interest of a parent. Indeed, a man of less ardour, or zeal, or activity, must have failed in raising to that degree of eminence, which it now possesses, the Humane Society of London. The tide of prejudice, for many years, ran very strong against a set of men who presumed, or pretended, to bring the dead to life. In  
other



other institutions, the subscribers have the means of affording relief to some sick or distressed neighbours, or have something to dispose of, some good they can personally confer; but, in this institution, there is nothing of the kind, which has been an obstacle to its establishment. Its patrons and promoters have, it is true, the godlike satisfaction of knowing they contribute towards preserving the lives of many of their fellow-creatures from premature death. They have a gratification too, of a very superior kind, afforded them at the anniversary festival; they see men, women, and children, whom they have contributed to rescue from an untimely death, walk in solemn and silent procession, expressing, as they pass, their gratitude to God and to their benefactors. This is one of the most interesting and affecting scenes a man of feeling can witness; and it seldom fails to cause the tear of sympathy to steal down the cheeks of the spectators. It certainly required all the energy and undeviating perseverance of Dr. H. to place this institution in opposition to numerous difficulties, in that state of respectability and permanence in which he has left it; and to which such a cause is justly entitled. To the same zeal for saving the lives of his fellow-creatures, must we attribute his uniform attention to the establishment of similar societies in numerous towns of the united kingdom; and in various parts of Europe, America, and India. No man could be more alive to distress of every kind than Dr. Hawes; and to a great variety of which he was a constant witness in his attendance on the poor, as physician of the London and Surrey

Dispensaries. In many cases he found them more in want of nourishment than medicine; having told them what was necessary, he would afford them the means of procuring this nourishment, and hasten from them to prevent their overwhelming him with their gratitude. Instances too have frequently occurred of his overtaking persons in the street, whom he knew to be in great want; of his taking his hand from his pocket, and putting the means of relief into their hand, and passing quickly on. The instances of his benevolence, humanity, and real charity, must have been numerous; for many of those which are known, have been incidentally discovered. It was truly said of him in the Morning Chronicle, a day or two after his death, that he was a man of whom it may with the greatest truth be asserted, that his only failings arose from an overflow of the milk of human kindness; that he was open and unsuspecting as noon-day; that his heart was always in his hand, and his benevolence unbounded; and that the tears and regrets of thousands would follow him to the grave, with the consolatory reflection that he is gone to receive the reward of a well-spent, active, useful, and virtuous life. As a friend, he was sincere, and without the least reserve. In him was no guile. To his family he was the affectionate friend, and indulgent father; and by whom he was most deservedly and tenderly beloved. His highest gratification was, to see those around him happy, and to contribute by every means in his power, to promote their pleasures and comfort. His manners were kind and conciliating; his temper frank, generous, and



and uncommonly cheerful. On the evening of Sunday, November 6, he was attacked with a very painful disease, which, though the skill and attention of Messrs. Cline and Addington succeeded in mitigating, they could not remove. During this severe illness, his patience, composure, and resignation, were truly exemplary. The activity of his mind continued with him to the last; and to the last moment he was sensible. On Monday morning, December 5, he was, at six o'clock, remarking on something that was passing; at a quarter past six, he gently closed his eyes on this life, with a look of affection and tenderness to those of his family, who were then surrounding him. He was buried at Islington, on Tuesday, December 13. Three mourning coaches, filled with his relatives, and a few of his most intimate friends attended him to the grave. To these were unexpectedly added, in the square, seven other mourning coaches, filled with those friends who were desirous of thus publicly manifesting their esteem for him, and accompanying him to his last abode in this world. The church was filled, and the sorrow for the loss of such a man was abundantly visible.

At Carlisle, on Wednesday, November 2, Mr. Chisholm, architect, aged 28. He was a native of Aberdeen, in North Britain, in the university of which he received the elements of physical and moral science, on which his professional studies were grounded. The activity of his mind was shewn in the great progress which he made in architecture, engineering, and those parts of natural philosophy connected with them. But while he was stu-

dious to advance himself in his profession, he did not neglect those ornamental studies which qualify a man to take a part in elegant and polite conversation. His taste was improved by reading the best poets of ancient and modern times; and he had formed a style of writing which evinced a brilliant fancy and a poetical imagination. Mr. Chisholm, till a few days previous to his death, enjoyed good health, and was ever active in promoting and superintending the works on which he was employed. On the Thursday preceding he was out taking different levels on the river Caldew, from which the projected water-works were to take their source. On Sunday he went on a visit to John Losh, esq. of Woodside, from which place he returned home indisposed; shortly after, his illness increased, and though the best medical assistance was administered, and every attendance that friendship or humanity could dictate, yet his disorder proved mortal, and deprived the world of a man of integrity and of worth! It has too often been our lot to lament the aspiring genius cut short by the hand of death, and to mourn for the vacuum which it leaves behind it; but never could regret or lamentation be more feelingly bestowed than on the subject of this short memorial. From the union of moral excellence and ingenuity in his profession, from the amenity of his manners, and from the justness of his observations, he had conciliated universal esteem, admiration, and respect; and never did the grave close upon a man more useful, nor more entitled to the esteem and reverence of his survivors. It is supposed that he died in consequence  
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of the bursting of an artery at the heart.

A few days ago, at Whaplode, near Spalding, aged eighty-five years, Mr. Golding, a respectable farmer and grazier, well known as one of the warmest votaries of Bacchus. For many years his constant answer to those who congratulated him on his attaining to so patriarchal an age, was "Aye, and yet when I die you will all say I killed myself by drinking!"

At Ludlow, at an advanced age, that eccentric character, William Purslow, self-titled esquire, well known to many persons, besides his neighbours, for having some years ago so tamed two hedge-hogs as to make them to perambulate the streets with him, in a degree of discipline and subjection which astonished the beholders. In the early part of his life he was a soldier, and served under "the old Cock of the Rock" during its siege by the Spaniards. His latter years have been chiefly supported by the bounties of his opulent and benevolent neighbours. Though in the utmost degree of penury and wretchedness, he would never submit to receive parochial relief; and several years ago, he had saved seven pounds, which he deposited in the custody of a friend, for the express purpose of defraying his funeral expences; that even his interment might not be chargeable to the parish funds. Of this sum, three-fourths remained untouched at the day of his death. His form was athletic, his constitution robust, and his features discovered a firm heroic spirit. Had he been placed in more fortunate circumstances for the exhibition of that spirit, he would probably have been a hero

of prominent merit. (During several years past, rheumatic lameness, occasioned and confirmed by his hard manner of living, compelled him to hobble to eternity upon crutches. In principles he was strictly honest; in manners, civil and inoffensive, except when inebriated, as he too often was by the donations of travellers and military officers; on which occasions, he was frequently conveyed home in a single-wheeled chariot, to the no small amusement of boys and adults. Briefly, he was at heart a man of genuine integrity and independence of soul; and, so far poor Purslow has left thousands of survivors who are not his equals.

At Beccles, in the 71st year of his age, Henry Alexander, esq. who formerly commanded the forces of the Nabob of Arcot. By his military skill and daring courage, he early raised himself to rank and affluence; and by his strict integrity through life, he deservedly obtained the respect of all who knew him.

At Weymouth, whither he went for the benefit of his health, the Rev. James Ogilvie, D. D. one of his majesty's chaplains. Those to whom the real worth of this gentleman's character was known, will long lament his loss, and cherish the remembrance of his piety, wisdom, and true christian charity. The doctrine he taught by precept, and practice, was mild, gentle, and persuasive; as far removed from bigotry and superstition, as from the pernicious principles of modern philosophy; which he always zealously reprobated as deadly poison to the mind. The pure religion of the gospel, which he professed, was as a lamp to his feet, through all



all the vicissitudes of life; his sure hope, and consolation, in the hour of death; and now, undoubtedly, the crown of his rejoicing. His benevolence was universal: his charity unostentatious; often extended by an abridgment of his own personal comforts; and fell silently, as the dews of evening. These higher endowments of soul, were accompanied by an excellent, well cultivated understanding, and the most distinguished courtesy of manners. He was brother to the Rev. Dr. John Ogilvie of Aberdeen, the effusions of whose classic pen, are too well known to the amateurs of poetry, to need any eulogium.

At his house in Grafton street, the Most Noble John Denis Browne, Marquis of Sligo, Earl of Altamont, Viscount Westport, and Baron Mounteagle, in the United Kingdom; also a governor of the county of Mayo, and custos rotulorum of the county of Clare. His lordship was born in 1756, succeeded to the family honours and estates in 1780, and in 1787 married Lady Louisa Catharine, daughter of the late Earl Howe. On occasion of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, he was elevated to the dignity of marquis in December, 1800, and in 1806 was created a peer of the United Kingdom. He is succeeded by his only son, Howe Peter, Earl of Altamont, born in 1788.

At Hampstead, aged 80 years, lieutenant-colonel Robert Stewart, who had been many years a martyr to most distressing and complicated complaints, which he bore with the greatest fortitude and resignation. This gentleman entered early in life into the service of his country, in 1754: and in 1755 was particu-

larly distinguished at the battle of the Monongahela, in North America, where he commanded a troop of light horse, raised principally as body guards to the commander in chief, general Braddock. During the course of that bloody action, he had the honour to remount the general four times, having two horses killed under himself; and after the general had received a mortal wound, and the remnant of the army had retreated, he had the good fortune, assisted only by four privates of his own troop (the rest being either killed or wounded) to carry the commander in chief off the field of battle, across a broad river, under a heavy fire from the enemy, thereby rescuing his person from the cruelty of the savages. In the course of that war, he was intrusted with several difficult commands, and had the happiness to give entire satisfaction to the different generals under whom he served, of which the most ample testimonies remain among his papers. Lieut.-col. Stewart lived in great friendship and intimacy for many years, with that truly good and great man the late gen. Washington. At the beginning of the late American war, he endeavoured to remove the very erroneous opinions the ministers of that day had formed of the general's character, and military abilities; but most unfortunately, other advice prevailed. Towards the latter end of the war, he was brought up from Scotland, for the purpose of being sent with overtures to the American general; delays, indecisions, and at length the resignation of the minister finally prevented that measure being resorted to. Lieut.-col. Stewart will be long and sincerely regretted



by all who enjoyed his friendship, as one not only possessed of the best abilities, and great knowledge of the world; but of the most benevolent qualities of the heart: with such polite accomplishments and amiable manners, as are the true characteristics of the well bred and finished gentleman.

Mr. Andrew Oswald. He was the fifth son of the late Andrew Oswald, of Glenhead, in Stirlingshire; he was bred to the honourable and lucrative profession of a writer to the signet, in Edinburgh, and his talents were such, that he might, in a few years, have been eminent, had not his attention been taken up with the politics of the day, which ran very high a few years ago in Scotland; and as he, from principle, espoused the cause of the oppressed and persecuted, had a more general and correct knowledge of public affairs, than many of his contemporaries; and was more capable of expressing himself, clearly and distinctly, on public men and measures, which often confounded, and frequently against their will, convinced his opponents of their error; his superior abilities often created him enemies, for those who have an interest in supporting a corrupt system, very seldom like to acknowledge that they are defeated in argument. When the whig ministers came into power, lord Lauderdale was appointed as governor to India. Mr. Oswald, had then a communication with his lordship, respecting an appointment under him, in that settlement; but another arrangement took place in the ministry, and lord Lauderdale was sent ambassador to France, which completely frustrated Mr. Oswald's

expectations. Soon after that disappointment, he returned to Stirling, where he followed the profession of writer; but his mind being rather unbinged from his hopes of going to India being defeated, he soon left and went to Glasgow, where he staid but a short time, and then returned to Edinburgh. In this unsettled state, and being fond of society, and frequently of convivial company, perhaps, as a consequence of some irregularities, by which he contracted a consumptive habit, which rapidly increased; and by the advice of his friends in Edinburgh, he took a journey by sea to London, in the hope that the change of air and climate, might restore him to health, and to his friends again; but the disorder had taken too deep root to be removed; it baffled the skill of men eminent in the healing art. For four months, (the time he had been in London) he was gradually declining, until he was reduced at last to a mere skeleton. He kept his bed only about nine days, and died the 9th of November, 1809, aged 33 years. Mr. Oswald, was well known and much esteemed, in a very respectable circle of private friends and acquaintance: he was zealously attached to the genuine principles of freedom, and warmly and judiciously defended them in numerous letters and essays, in the periodical journals and in pamphlets under various signatures. The last of his productions, was a series of letters addressed to the Duke of York, in the Sunday Review, under the signature of "Ignotus," written under great debility of body; the last was finished on his death bed, and was a posthumous publication. He possessed a strong memory, had  
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read much, and was particularly conversant with universal history: was a classic scholar, and acquainted with several of the living languages; and as he was very communicative, and full of anecdote, it made him a pleasant and useful companion, and his company courted by some of the first people of Edinburgh. He had travelled a good deal through Scotland, and was acquainted with the history of more families in that country, than perhaps any other man; for what he once read, or heard related, his memory retained.

At Beverley, Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson, of Wold Newton, in the East Riding, and major of the 36th regiment of foot. He was an officer of great industry and abilities, which he had shewn in the districts where he had been employed on the staff; nor was he less esteemed in the domestic circles of private life, by every friend who knew him. Some years ago he married the eldest daughter of H. Osbaldeston, esq. of Hunmanby, by whom he has left one daughter. He lived to finish a very neat house and grounds in the village of Wold Newton, and died as he had completed it, verifying the words of the Satirist—

We plan the edifice and raise the pile,  
Unmindful of the tomb which waits the  
while.

At York, William Burgh, esq. LL.D. in whom that city and the literary world, have sustained a heavy loss. His genius and talents were of the first eminence, and they were always employed in the cause of religion and good government. His religious principles, which were those of the Articles of

the Church of England, were strengthened by mature investigation and research. The cause of religion lay nearest to his heart, nor could he view the progress of error with indifference; and he will be ranked amongst the number of those who contended ably and “earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints.”—The “Scriptural confutation of Mr. Lindsey’s Apology,”—with the subsequent “Inquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the three first Centuries,” evince, at once, the extent of his learning, his indefatigable industry, the soundness of his principles, and his zeal for the truth. It was for the latter of these works that the University of Oxford, in a handsome manner, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law; and they continue to be held in high estimation by the heads of that University, having been lately recommended by a learned prelate to the study of all who are under preparation for the church. Mr. Burgh was the most intimate and confidential friend of Mr. Mason, and furnished the commentary and notes to the celebrated poem of the “English Garden.” He possessed a very extensive acquaintance with the first political and literary characters of his time; but was more particularly in habits of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wilberforce, Bishop Hurd, Sir Joshua Reynolds, &c. Mr. Burgh was nearly related to Mr. Foster, the present chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, and to several families of the first distinction in that country.

At Bawburgh, near Norwich, in his eighty-second year, John Wagstaffe,



staffe, one of the society of friends. He was born at Overton, in Hampshire. At the early age of ten years he was placed as an apprentice to a baker in the metropolis: where, during those leisure hours which even the busiest may create, he laid the foundation of that scientific respectability which he afterwards attained. His education being extremely limited and narrow, afforded no presage of ripening talents. But his ardent attachment to literature enabled him successfully to combat every obstacle opposed to its advancement.—“Genius,” as defined by the biographer of Sir W. Jones, “is the power of application:” this power he possessed in an eminent degree, and the reward of his assiduity, extensive knowledge improved by habitual thought, affords a source of encouragement to the similarly circumstanced in life. At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he settled in Norwich. An indefatigable attention to the concerns of business and the cares of a family engaged the greater portion of his time; his industry and economy securing a praiseworthy independence, and affording an ample provision for the comforts of old age. This, as well as every subsequent period of his life, still afforded a retreat from the avocations of business, and enabled him to pursue his love of science and the liberal arts. Like the Edwin of Beattie, he delighted to wander in the paths of poesy. “Song was his favourite and his first pursuit,” and afforded a peculiar relish to his powers of retirement. One of his poems entitled “Stonehenge,” and inscribed to his friend and neighbour Edward Jerningham, esq. contains

some noble reflections on that venerable pile of ruins, and was well received by the public. Natural philosophy engaged his early and continued attention. From a frequent correspondence with the Bath Agricultural Society, he was elected one of its honorary members, and gratuitously presented with a copy of its works. He was among the earliest and most arduous promoters of the setting of wheat, which now so greatly and beneficially prevails. In various branches of horticulture and planting he was eminently versed, and possessed a well grounded knowledge of botany, entomology and other departments of natural history. His mind, expanded by liberal cultivation, exhibited a brilliancy and compass of imagination, united with a vigour of understanding rarely possessed, and fully exemplified the remark of Dr. Johnson, that “a tradesman, by the economy of time, and a devotion of his leisure hours to study, may become, if not a learned, at least a very useful and sensible man.”

Of his social character, cheerfulness, strict integrity, and active benevolence were leading traits.—His morality was that of the christian dispensation; and his life devoted to virtuous and honourable occupation was rewarded with a peaceful close and a happy earnest of unfading immortality.

At Lymptone, whither he went for the recovery of his health, J. J. Grellier, esq. several years secretary of the Royal Exchange Insurance Office, London. To this gentleman, the Monthly Magazine has been indebted for many valuable papers on political arithmetic, and other important subjects. He

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was an able mathematician, and an excellent writer. For Dr. Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, he furnished a large number of articles, which exhibit a sound judgment, powers of correct reasoning, and a vast store of general knowledge. During the last two years, he was a contributor to the Rev. Dr. Rees's New Cyclopaedia, and perhaps almost one of his last efforts was the drawing up a short article for that work. In the volume that is yet unpublished, will be found among other articles from the pen of Mr. Grellier, one on the docks, that will be read with interest. In the office in which the greater part of his time was spent, he was highly respected for a most diligent attention to the various duties of his station; for his accuracy in business, for his strict and undeviating integrity, and for the amiableness of his manners. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his loss will be long and severely felt. In every relation of life, he was beloved while living, and those who were best acquainted with his virtues and talents, will most and longest revere his memory.

Killed, in the month of October last, in a glorious attempt to repulse a body of French troops who had landed in the Island of Capri, Major John Hamill, of the Maltese regiment. This gallant and heroic officer had only seen his 30th year, when his country was deprived of his valuable services. He was a native of the north of Ireland, and traced his descent from a most respectable Roman catholic family. His fate was attended with circumstances truly affecting—circumstances equally calculated to excite sensations of regret and ad-

miration, and which must render his memory dear to the nation in whose service he bled, and confer immortal honour upon his name.

In the London Road, St. George's Fields, Andrew Robinson Bowes, esq. whose marriage to the Countess of Strathmore, thirty-three years ago (when Captain Stoney), occasioned much bustle in the fashionable world. Pursuant to the will of her ladyship's father, he then took the name of Bowes (as Lord Strathmore, her first husband, had also done), and for a few years the splendour of his establishments, both in Grosvenor square, and at the mansion of Gibside, in the county of Durham, eclipsed those of all his competitors. His political connections were also among the higher class; not only a seat in the lower House, but the dignity of the Irish peerage was destined for him, under the Rockingham Administration: but this bright aspect of his affairs was soon clouded. His friends went out of office, domestic broils between him and his noble consort arose so high, that the law was appealed to; he carried her off, placed her in confinement, and therein was guilty of contempt of Court. Her ladyship made all advantage of this intemperate conduct; he was required to give security for keeping the peace in so large a sum, that he never would ask any friend to be bail for him, and has ever since, for the long space of twenty-five years, been a prisoner in the King's Bench prison. Lady Strathmore had afterwards interest to get a court of delegates appointed, which high court pronounced a sentence of divorce between her and Mr. Bowes. During Mr. Bowes's confinement, his

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demeanor obtained the confidence of the different Marshals of the prison, who rendered it as light as possible. By application to the Court of King's Bench, the demand of heavy bail was withdrawn; but during his long imprisonment his affairs were become too far deranged ever to be settled; he therefore remained a prisoner for debt, but in that situation obtained the privilege of residing any where within the Rules. In all his misfortunes, the Duke of Norfolk, who had been his intimate associate in prosperity, remained his firm friend, and frequently visited him, when a single room, on what is called the State Side of the King's Bench Prison, was Mr. Bowes's bed-chamber, parlour, drawing room, and in short, the only apartment he could have for the accommodation of his family, and to receive his illustrious guest.

In Ely Place, J. C. Saunders, esq. late demonstrator of anatomy at St. Thomas's Hospital, and surgeon to the London Infirmary for curing diseases of the eye.

In York Place, Portman Square, Philip Redwood, esq. late chief justice of Jamaica, and Speaker of the House of Assembly.

In Little Queen-street, Westminster, Mr. P. F. M'Callum; author of *Travels in Trinidad*, and various political publications.

In Charles-street, St. James's Square, John Hoppner, esq. R. A. one of the most eminent portrait painters since the time of Reynolds. He might indeed have merited the praise of being the first, if he had not been so close an imitator of the style of that great master, as it related to the spirit and elegance of his touch, forcible effect of light and shade, picturesque back-grounds,

graceful simplicity of attitude, and especially the richness and harmony of colouring, in which he certainly excelled all his cotemporaries. In some of his best coloured works, such as the *Nymph*, in the possession of Sir J. Leicester, the vivacity, truth, and delicacy of the various fleshy tints, have scarcely been surpassed by any master. But if he could boast of displaying much of the merit, he possessed the faults of his prototype, especially that of incorrect drawing of the human figure, a defect for which not even the colouring of Rubens, or Titian himself, can ever atone.

At his seat, near Rumford, Jackson Barwis, esq. of Walbrook House, London, well known in the mercantile world for his extensive dealings, honour, and integrity; and in the literary world, for his dialogues on liberty, and other publications.

At Somers Town, Mr. Wilde, of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. He was reading, and complained of a sudden pain in the back part of his left hand, which instantly ran up his arm, and only allowed him the opportunity of requesting to be put to bed, which was scarcely done when he expired.

At Woolwich, Dr. Rollo, surgeon-general to the artillery.

At Copford, Essex, Dr. Kelly, L. L. D. a native of the Isle of Mann, upon which he reflected no ordinary degree of honour, by his abilities, his acquirements, and his truly exemplary conduct, as a divine and a scholar. He prosecuted his classical studies under the late Reverend Philip Moore, of Douglass; whose indefatigable coadjutor he afterwards became, in the important work of revising, correcting, transcribing, and preparing for the press, the



the manuscript translation of the holy scriptures into the Manks language; the impression of which, comprising all the books of the Old and New Testaments, with two of the Apocryphal books, he also superintended at Whitehaven, in the capacity of corrector; to which, on the recommendation of the last mentioned gentleman, he was appointed by the society for promoting christian knowledge; the patrons of that impression, as of every subsequent religious work connected with it. Dr. Kelly also superintended the printing of an edition of the Book of Common Prayer, and Bishop Wilson's Treatise on the Sacrament, all in the Manks language; and, in the course of his labours in this vineyard, he had transcribed all the Books of the Old Testament, three several times, before he had attained his twenty-second year! On the completion of this charitable work, begun by Bishop Wilson, who, like Bede, by his piety and virtue, acquired the appellation of venerable; and promoted by the active zeal of his successor, Bishop Hildesley, Mr. Kelly was ordained, upon a title from the episcopal congregation at Air, where he resided, respected by all who knew him, until the Duke of Gordon engaged him to be tutor to his son, the Marquis of Huntley, whose studies he superintended at Eton and Cambridge; and afterwards he accompanied that young nobleman on the tour of the Continent. Soon after his return, Mr. Kelly graduated at Cambridge; and again visited the Continent, with two other of his pupils. In the course of a few months after his return, he was presented with the rectory of Arnleigh, in Essex; and afterwards, to that of Copford, in the same county: the

former of which he resigned some years since. From the time that he entered into the ministry, it might truly be said, that he made the vocation of holiness honourable. He has left behind him a monument of his erudition in the Celtic, in a Grammar of the ancient Gaelic, or language of the Isle of Man, which was expected to be followed by a much larger work, a Manks Dictionary, which was unfortunately consumed in the fire at Messrs. Nichols' some months ago announced as being nearly ready for the press. A large edition, the fourth, of the Book of Common Prayer, printed under the patronage, and by the munificence of, the Bible Society, from the corrected copy of Dr. Kelly, was finished at Whitehaven and sent to the Isle of Man, and only about six weeks ago. Of twenty-seven clergymen, concerned in the translation of the Manks Scriptures since the year 1760, three only are now living. These are the translators of the books of Judges and Ruth; Ecclesiastes; and the Minor Prophets, from Joel to the end.

At Greatness, near Sevenoaks, aged 86, Peter Nouaille, esq. the oldest member of his Majesty's court of lieutenancy in the city of London. This gentleman's grandfather was descended from an ancient family in France, and came over to this country from Nismes, in Languedoc, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz, having sacrificed a considerable property in that country, in common with many others, who, upon that occasion, voluntarily left France for the sake of their religious principles. Mr. N's. father resided at Hackney, and was a merchant of considerable eminence



in the Levant and Italian trade. At the age of twenty-one, Mr. N. having previously been taken into partnership with his father, set out upon a tour through Europe, with a view to establish correspondences, and to acquire general knowledge ; at the end of two years, having travelled through France, Italy, and Sicily, he was obliged to return home without visiting Germany, on account of the continental war, in which England was at that time engaged.—Whilst abroad he gained a perfect knowledge of the French and Italian languages, which he spoke and wrote with the fluency and correctness of a native, acquired a great taste for the fine arts, and brought home with him a valuable collection of pictures and prints, &c. which he continued to augment for many years after his return to this country. In the year 1761, he married Elizabeth, the only daughter and heiress of Peter Delamare, esq. of Greatness, whose ancestors were likewise refugees from France, in 1686. In right of his wife he became possessed of the silk mills at Greatness ; they had been erected upon a very confined scale, and at that period they did not produce above 300*l.* per annum. He, however, soon perceived that great advantages were to be obtained by them, and possessing a profound knowledge of mechanics and mathematics, after expending at least 20,000*l.* in enlarging and improving the machinery, he very considerably increased their produce. Some parts of the machinery which he invented are so ingenious in their construction and movements as to render the silk, prepared by them for different branches of manufacture, far superior to that worked by any others in this country. He first

introduced the manufacture of crapes into England, which before his time, were imported from Bologna ; by his own ingenuity he discovered the process of their manufacture and soon rivalled them in his manner of preparing them. In the year 1778, partly through the imprudent speculations of a near relation, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and partly by heavy losses, occasioned by the failure of a house with which he transacted business, he became a bankrupt.—The unkindness and oppression which he experienced from some of his relatives upon this occasion considerably aggravated, and certainly tended to confirm this misfortune, which might have been averted, had proper time been given him to settle his affairs. He was, however, amply compensated by the countenance and friendly offers of assistance which he received from many of the most eminent merchants in the city, amongst the foremost of whom was his ever valued friend Peter Gaussen, esq. then Governor of the Bank. After the sale of his effects and collections, he prosecuted his business with unceasing energy. The silk mills now became his chief object ; he more than doubled their number, and brought them to so a high a degree of perfection that they produced many thousands per annum, and in a few years he was enabled, as he had hoped to do, from the hour of his misfortune, most honourably to discharge the residue of his debts, which would have been due to the creditors had not the bankruptcy taken place, and which after it had, he could be under no legal obligation to pay. It was a measure, dictated alone by that high sense of honour



honour and integrity, which uniformly directed all his dealings with others. In 1800, having realized an independent fortune, which was then considerably increased by the death of a near relation, he withdrew from business, giving up the manufactory and property connected with it to his son, and retired to Sevenoaks, where he resided till the death of his wife, which took place in 1805. He then returned to pass the remainder of his days with his son at Greatness. About this time his memory began to fail him; it was the only symptom he exhibited of old age, and was probably occasioned by his intense application to studies of an abstruse nature, at an earlier period of life. In the year 1792, when the mania of the French revolution had nearly obtained a footing in this country, and it became necessary for every one to testify their attachment to the constitution, his name appeared almost the first upon the list of those public spirited men, who, at that critical juncture, established the association at the Crown and Anchor. He was blessed with a good, though rather delicate constitution, which had never been impaired by intemperance, or enfeebled by disease; and he had the enviable felicity of attaining to an advanced age without suffering from any of the infirmities which usually accompany that period of life, being able to read the smallest print without the assistance of glasses. He possessed a highly-cultivated understanding, and a considerable portion of general knowledge, refined by an exquisite taste; the upright independence of his character and his high sense of honour, were manifested in every occurrence of his life. He had a

strong sense of religion and piety, and a sensibility and tenderness of feeling that rendered him ever alive to the misfortunes of others. In addition to the many Christian virtues which he exercised, the most prominent feature of his character, was an unbounded liberality and benevolence towards those who needed his support; his purse was ever open to encourage and assist young artists in their professional pursuits. To rescue merit from distress, and to bring into active and useful exertion, talents, which would otherwise have been lost, he was ever foremost to contribute his kindness to all those employed in his service, uniformly shone forth upon every occasion, amply providing for the comforts of those who had grown old in his employ. To the poor he was a kind friend and benefactor, and no one was more deservedly esteemed in the neighbourhood where he resided: the respect which attended him through life was equalled only by the sorrow which accompanied him to the grave. He was buried at Christ Church, Spitalfields, and has left a son, who succeeds him in the business, and one daughter, who was married in 1791 to Edward Ridges, esq.

At Wrattling Park, aged 85, General Hall, colonel of the old buffs, a brother of the late John Hall Stevenson, esq. of Skelton Castle, Yorkshire, and grand nephew of the first Lord Lowther, Viscount Lonsdale. He was one of the oldest officers in his Majesty's service, and aid-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby, at the battle of Minden.

At Harleston, aged 72, Mr. Henry Tilney, master of the Mathematical Academy in that town, which he had conducted for many years, with



with much credit to himself, and benefit to others. In justice to the memory of this worthy man, and to the honour of this academy, we mention, that those two highly-distinguished characters, the Rev. Professor Vince, of the University of Cambridge, and the Rev. Dr. Brinkley, Astronomer Royal at the University of Dublin, received the rudiments of their mathematical knowledge at this well known seminary. Mr. Tilney's great watchfulness over the conduct of his numerous pupils, and scrupulous attention to their improvement, will occasion his memory to be long remembered by them with gratitude, and his death to be lamented with much sorrow.

At Faulkbourne-hall, in the 78th year of his age, John Bullock, esq. one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Essex, and colonel of the eastern regiment of its militia. He was first elected to serve in parliament in 1754, and continued to represent Maldon and Steyning (with a very short interruption) until the general election, in 1784, when, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances of the times, he was elected, without opposition, one of the members for the county of Essex, and to which situation he was five times re-elected. He was an officer in the militia for this county from its first institution, in 1759, and commanded the eastern regiment as colonel for nearly thirty years. He lived and died universally esteemed and respected by all who knew him.

At Highfield Park, General Sir William Augustus Pitt, K. B. a general in the army, colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoon guards, and governor of Portsmouth, aged 82.

At Taunton, in her 88th year,

Mrs. Jones, relict of the Rev. John Jones, formerly rector of St. Peter's, Bristol. This venerable lady possessed a still more venerable companion, a cockatoo, whose age was ascertained to be one hundred and two years. The poor bird was taken in strong convulsions, and expired within a few hours of his mistress.

At Exeter, Joseph S. Dymond, aged 45, an eminent member of the society of Quakers, and a most valuable one of society in general. His life was devoted to the cause of virtue, actively and universally;—though a conscientious believer in the doctrine of Christianity, as set forth by the great predecessor of his community, Barclay; and, though his conduct was strictly in unison with its precepts and principles, there was nothing of that in him which we sometimes meet in his brethren, acting as “a rock of offence, and stumbling block,” creating a suspicion, that the religion of this people were mere form. He was polite beyond all forms of breeding, and officious on all occasions to do good; shewing in his general demeanor, that virtue, under any habit of appearance, demands respect. His last illness was accompanied with great bodily pain, which he supported with fortitude and manly resignation; and he died with the praises of God upon his lips, happy in the assurance of a blessed immortality.

At Edinburgh, Dr. Adam, rector of the high school in that city. He was born in 1741, near Rafford, in the county of Moray, of respectable parents, farmers. He attended the grammar-school there, and by his own efforts, with little aid from the abilities of his teacher, attained a proficiency,



proficiency, in 1758, to fit him for attending the University of Edinburgh. To this he was encouraged by Mr. Watson, then minister of Canongate, and a relation of his mother. In 1761, he was elected on a comparative trial, master of Watson's Hospital. On the illness of Mr. Matheson, rector of the High School, he was applied to for assistance; and, after teaching for some time, was, in June 1768, appointed rector, and ever since has personally discharged the duties of the office. He was twice married very respectably, but had the misfortune to survive all the children of his first marriage, the eldest of whom, Mr. James Adam, late of the Elphinstone East Indiaman, died so recently as the 14th December, at Havitree, near Exeter, where he had gone for the recovery of his health. He is survived by a widow, a son, and two daughters. Dr. Adam was no common character.—Strongly impressed with the importance of his public duties, the ambition of fulfilling them in the most superior manner became his ruling passion. The whole powers of his mind were dedicated with unremitting exertion to this favourite pursuit, and the labours of a most laborious life devoted to its attainment. After the most animated activity, during the hours of teaching, to render his pupils good scholars, and inspire them with the knowledge and admiration of Greek and Roman excellence, the remainder of his time was rigidly devoted to the preparation of works of great labour, which appeared to him wanting for facilitating the attainments of the youth, and exciting a relish for the study of letters. And though very susceptible of pleasure from

the society of friends, and though the fatigue of great exertions required from him, as from other men, some interval of repose, the former was ever considered by him as an indulgence, which it became him to sacrifice; and the latter as a want, which was to be abridged as much as nature would permit: in short, he had imbibed the principles and fervor of the antients, whom he studied, and a Stoic as to all personal indulgence, he was an enthusiast as to importance of his undertakings, and a zealot for their accomplishment. In this way, by the concentration and perseverance of his efforts, he was able to produce works of first-rate utility and merit; and which, though neither distinguished by much originality of thought, nor refined by the nicer touches of discriminating taste, afford a lesson and an example to mankind, of what may be achieved by resolution and well directed industry. His Latin Grammar, though for a time, encountered by prejudice, is, beyond all question, the work best adapted to those for whom it was destined. His antiquities comprehended, within moderate dimensions, state, in good arrangement, and with excellent judgment, nearly every thing of value in the voluminous, tedious, and expensive Commentaries on the Latin Classics, and afford every requisite aid for studying the text with intelligence and satisfaction. His Biography, Summary of History, and Geography, are superiorly calculated to furnish that general knowledge of great characters, and great events, and of the scene of action on which man is placed, which is so apt to apply the torch of Prometheus to well-born minds; and the progress



progress he had made in the preparation of a latin dictionary, which he had destined to form the consummation of his labours, and the depository of the knowledge of latin, which the indefatigable study of fifty years had conferred, suggests an additional and abundant source of regret that the intelligent public must experience from the loss of this valuable man. To his pupils, however, and his friends, and the latter character belonged to all the worthy among the former, that loss will be felt with much more interesting aspects. His kindness, his humanity, his candour, his impartial justice, his warm applause of virtue and merit, his honest indignation at meanness and vice, and the deep and paramount interest he displayed for their improvement, rendered him for life dear to his scholars. And those persons who knew more particularly his private worth, his zealous rectitude, the steadiness of his attachments, and liberality even approximating to munificence, on proper occasions, though, by habit and principle, averse to all wasteful expense, will cherish his memory, as intimately allied with their most pleasing, virtuous, and approved of, recollections.

At Seville, in the 74th year of his age, L. Geronimo De Ustariz Tovar, Marquis of Ustariz, Member of the Supreme Council of War, Assistant of Seville, and Intendant in Commission of Andalusia. He was employed in various public situations for fifty years with the approbation of his country. When Intendant of Estremadura, he introduced a variety of reforms and improvements, the effects of which were soon manifest in the increasing

prosperity of that province; and he had the satisfaction of seeing many of his agricultural, financial, and judicial regulations, adopted by the royal cabinet, and extended to the whole of Spain. From Estremadura he was promoted to the assistantship of Seville. But, unfortunately for his country, the reign of favourites, strumpets, pimps, and parasites, had now commenced; and those practices so recently detected in the appointment of military officers in a country which we will not name, began to be felt in every branch of the Spanish government. He was removed from Seville, to make way for a cousin of the infamous Godoi. In reward for his public labours, he was nominally honoured with a seat in the council of war, but was actually banished to Teruel; though the disgrace of this proceeding was attempted to be disguised by appointing him a commissioner of mines in that quarter. Here he remained many years; neglected by the court, but honoured with the attachment, esteem, and confidence, of the Arragonese. To his popular conduct, and the general admiration of his civic virtues, is chiefly to be ascribed the patriotic stand made by the Arragonese in the present contest. This venerable, but proscribed, reformer, the instant the proceedings at Bayonne were known at Teruel, sallied from his retirement, and, with all the ardour of youth, traversed the province in every direction, to rouse the inhabitants to resistance. He recognized and treated with the utmost respect, the new authority of gen. Palafox, and accepted a seat in the Junta of government. After ten months of indefatigable service in Arragon,



Arragon, he received a royal order from the Supreme Junta to resume the Assistantship of Seville, and his functions as member of the Supreme Council of war. His death, though naturally to have been expected from his advanced years and increasing infirmities, was no doubt accelerated by the incessant labours to which he devoted himself since the commencement of the contest with France. Before, and after his arrival at Seville, every interval which he could snatch from his official duties was employed in digesting a plan of a new constitution for Spain. His papers are said to furnish, upon this subject, an inestimable treasure of historical and political knowledge, applied to the exigencies of his fellow-citizens with all the discrimination of a statesman and philosopher. Far from verifying the assertions of certain persons that the Spanish people have nothing farther in contemplation in this struggle than the expulsion of the French, and the re-establishment of the old government, the Marquis De Ustariz used to take every opportunity of inculcating a contrary sentiment. "We shall have done nothing," he frequently and emphatically observed; "we shall have done nothing, if, before we finish this war, we have not a constitution which shall rid us for ever of tyrants."

At sea, capt. C. W. Boyes, commander of his majesty's ship *Statira*. When in his 16th year, he lost a leg in the battle of the memorable 1st of June; and after a constant prosecution of the most honourable services, he was cut off in the prime of life, after a short illness, in the prospect of the first distinctions of

that profession, which was his pride, and the full attainment of every other happiness; leaving, to lament their irreparable loss, a most afflicted widow and two infant children. His remains were interred with military honours, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 25th November.

At Antigua, in the 23d year of his age, major George Gordon, of the 8th West India regiment, nephew of col. Gordon, military secretary to the Earl of Harington. His career was short, but brilliant. He served in the expedition to Zealand, was aid-de-camp to General Anstruther, in the memorable battle of Vimiera; and commanded, with great credit to himself, the 6th regiment, during the campaign in Spain, which corps was the last of the British army that embarked at Corunna. An higher eulogium cannot be pronounced upon major Gordon, than to say that he was patronised by those great and good men, the late Sir John Moore and General Anstruther, who honoured him with their friendship. Though snatched away at such an early age, he lived long enough to gain the affectionate esteem, as his immature death has occasioned the deepest regret, to all who knew him. He has left a disconsolate mother and sister to deplore his loss.

Of a wound received in a duel with Mr. Powell, of Devonshire Place, Lord Viscount Falkland. The quarrel which produced this fatal meeting, originated in Lord Falkland's addressing Mr. Powell, with whom he was on terms of intimacy by a nick-name, and persisting so to do, after he had taken offence at it, in a large company at Steevens's Coffee-house in Bond-street. Hence ensued the challenge, and the subsequent



sequent duel at Goldar's Green ; where, according to etiquette, Mr. Powell fired first, and inflicted the mortal wound. Lord F. stood for above a minute in his position, and then threw his pistol away without discharging its contents. On arriving in town, and the chaise coming on the stones, it was observed to his lordship, that Powell's house was near at hand ; Lord F. instantly expressed a desire to go thither in preference to any other place, for the world would then be convinced he owed no enmity to his antagonist. Here his lordship languished two days before he expired. Lord Falkland was a captain in the navy, and succeeded to the title of Viscount Falkland on the sudden death of his brother Thomas, in May 1796 ; his patrimonial fortune was very small ; but he was a very dashing officer ; and though he lived in the gayest style, he had realized a very large sum by prize-money. The sister of Mrs. Gibbs the actress, who had succeeded Mrs. Clarke in the establishment of a royal duke, took the name of Carey, whilst she was under the protection of Lord Falkland, then Captain Carey. His lordship married in the West Indies in the year 1803, the daughter of a merchant of the first respectability. She has three sons and a daughter, the eldest boy who succeeds to the title being only five years old. His conduct as a husband and father has been exemplary. He was about forty years old, was distinguished for a fine manly person, and his company was much courted, which occasioned him to mix too frequently in convivial societies : he was lately dismissed from his ship on account of some irregularities arising from too free a circulation of the

bottle at his own table ; but he was about to be restored to a command, a circumstance which had greatly exhilarated his spirits, and perhaps occasioned that levity which has been attended with such severe consequences.

In Cadogan Place, the Dowager-lady Ashburton, relict of the celebrated John Dunning Lord A.

Particulars of the life of Mr. John Home, who died at Merchiston-house, on the 4th of September, 1808, in the 85th year of his age. He was descended of a respectable, and formerly illustrious, family. He was born in the vicinity of Ancrum, in Roxburgshire, in 1724, and received the first rudiments of education at the parochial school, where Dr. Buchan, author of Domestic Medicine, was the companion of his studies. It was Mr. Home's inclination, and the desire of his parents, that he should enter the church. He, therefore, attended the philosophical and theological classes of the university of Edinburgh for several years. But his studies were for a while suspended by the public commotions of the year 1745. On the approach of the insurgents, the citizens of Edinburgh assembled, formed themselves into an association for the support of their sovereign, and the defence of their city. Mr. Home was one of about twenty students of the university who offered their services as volunteers, to act against the common enemy. But intimidated by the number of their opponents, or adverse to the hardships of a military life, the college company soon disbanded. Mr. Home, however, retained his arms, and marched with a detachment of the royal army to Falkirk ; where,  
in



in the battle fought in its neighbourhood, in which the rebels vanquished the king's troops, he was taken prisoner, and confined for some time in the castle of Doune. From this place of captivity he effected his escape, and the battle of Culloden having blasted all the hopes of the Pretender's adherents, tranquillity and order were soon restored. Mr. Home resumed his studies, and was licensed to preach the gospel in 1747. Not long after, Home visited England, for it appears that he was introduced to Collins, the poet, at Winchester, by a Mr. Barrow, who had been his fellow student at the university. Collins addressed to him his "Ode on the Superstition of the Highlanders," considered as the subject of poetry, composed in 1749, but not published till many years after his death. It is evident that Home at this period had exhibited some poetical powers. In the first stanza, Collins delivers a prediction, which was soon after fulfilled:—

"Home, thou return'st from Thames,  
 whose Naiads long  
 Have seen thee lingering with a fond  
 delay  
 'Midst those soft friends, whose hearts  
 some future day  
 Shall melt perhaps to hear thy tragic  
 song."

About the year 1750, he was settled minister of the parish of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, and was the immediate successor of Robert Blair, author of "The Grave." Accustomed to the bustle of a city, and the society of men of letters, Mr. Home found himself rather disagreeably situated, in an obscure village, where he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. From the vicinity of his residence to Edin-

burgh, he was in the practice of frequently resorting to the capital, to enjoy the company of men of talents. Several of these had instituted a society for literary and philosophical disquisition, of which Mr. Home was an original and distinguished member. This institution comprehended several of the most eminent characters of the day. Among others, were enrolled the names of Mr. Alexander Wedderburne, afterwards Earl of Rosslyn, and Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; Ferguson the philosopher; Hume and Robertson, the historians; and Blair, the rhetorician and divine; men, whom it would be superfluous here to panegyrisé. It was about this period that Mr. Home, in his retirement, began seriously to court the dramatic muse. The first tragedy he wrote was *Agis*, founded on a portion of the Lacedæmonian history. He went to London with the manuscript, in hopes of getting it introduced on the stage, but in this he was disappointed, insurmountable objections having been made to the plot. Our poet, not at all discouraged by this failure, conceived the plan of another play, laid the plot in Scotland, and made his hero one of his own countrymen. In presenting this to the London manager, he had the mortification of a second refusal. Notwithstanding the abilities of Garrick, as a dramatist, his opinion of the merit of plays was not infallible. He rejected the tragedy of *Douglas* as being too simple in its fable, and destitute of stage effect. Whether Garrick ever examined at all into its merits, or delegated this office to another, on whose report he formed his decision, cannot now be ascertained. He, however, candidly



didly confessed, through the remainder of his life, whenever the subject was agitated, that no circumstance, in the course of his management, gave him so much concern, as the rejection of this play. By such repeated discouragement, the ardour of Home was by no means suppressed. Being acquainted with the leading characters in Scotland, a ready reception of his play at Edinburgh was secured. At the first representation of Douglas, in the theatre, in Canongate, on the 14th of December 1756, Mr. Home, and several of his clerical brethren were present. Of this circumstance the zealots of the day speedily got notice. That a clergyman should write a play, and that ministers of the gospel should witness its performance, were crimes unheard of in the annals of the church. The hue and cry of bigotry was immediately raised. All that ignorance could conceive, prejudice effect, or malice invent, was tried to suppress the play in its birth. It was violently decried as a production of immoral tendency, and furnishing, by its catastrophe, an encouragement to suicide. The clergy ordered a pastoral admonition to be delivered from their pulpits, on the sin and danger of attending the theatre. The author was summoned to appear before the bar of the presbytery; his friends were peremptorily dragged before their tribunal, some of them dismissed with censure, and others suspended from their office. While such was the state of affairs in Scotland, Douglas having been performed to crowded houses during the greater part of the season, and fully gratifying the most sanguine hopes of the author, it was, through the interest of David Hume,

brought forward on the London stage. Garrick having now discovered his mistake, made unusual exertions to introduce it to public notice and approbation. Hume had, shortly before its representation, published four dissertations, and inscribed them to our author. In his dedication he pronounced so flattering a panegyric upon Mr. Home, and bestowed such unqualified approbation on his play, that the public expectation was raised too high. The consequence was, that the success of Douglas was at first doubtful in the metropolis. It soon, however, became a standard tragedy, and maintains its ground on the British stage to the present day. The clamours of his enemies having not yet subsided in Scotland, Mr. Home, seeing no prospect of overcoming their prejudices, preached his farewell sermon to his congregation, on the 5th of June 1757. The discourse was so pathetic, that it drew tears from most of his audience. To prevent further proceedings in the church courts against him, he gave in the resignation of his charge to the presbytery of Haddington two days after. This body continued to persecute with peculiar vehemence, Mr. Carlyle, one of Mr. Home's most intimate friends, as well for having accompanied him to the theatre, as from its being generally understood that he assisted Home in the composition of Douglas. Although our author himself did not appear at the presbytery, he was not negligent in defence of his friend. He attended the meeting of Synod, and supported his cause with great firmness. In reply to the virulent railings of a bigot, he declared, that if there was any fault, it lay not at the door of his friend.



friend, but at his own, with whom the crime originated, and concluded his observations in the words of the unfortunate Nisus,

*Adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum :  
Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.*

This appropriate quotation made a sensible impression upon some of the judges, and, in all probability, mitigated the sentence against Mr. Carlyle. Instead of receiving a severe reprimand from the presbytery, he might otherwise (to such a pitch had fanaticism arrived) have been suspended, perhaps expelled from his office. Before the conclusion of 1757, Mr. Sheridan, then manager of the Dublin theatre, sent over to Mr. Home a gold medal, with a suitable inscription, acknowledging his singular merit in having enriched the English stage with the tragedy of Douglas. With his living, Mr. Home appears for a while to have abandoned his native land, for he now repaired to London, where he produced several other tragedies, under the patronage of Garrick, who wrote prologues to some, epilogues to others, and warmly interested himself in the fate of them all. They are all indeed greatly inferior to his Douglas. Agis, the first of his dramatic pieces, was finely acted, and assisted by spectacle, otherwise, it is probable, that it would not have been performed a second night. His third tragedy was founded on the cruel treatment which the two Setons, sons of the governor of Berwick, had experienced from the English. At Mr. Garrick's suggestion, the title was altered (and consequently the characters and several local passages) from the Siege of Berwick, to the

Siege of Aquileia, for he very naturally conceived, that any national allusions might tend to foment the jealousy which then unfortunately subsisted between the Scots and English. It was acted in 1759. Some of the passages are very fine, but upon the whole, it is a tame performance. The Fatal Discovery was produced in 1769, and reluctantly permitted during nine nights. Though Alonzo had the advantage of Mrs. Barry's admirable acting, it shared the same fate; the author mentions in his preface, that she received applause greater than ever shook a theatre. Mr. Home's last production, Alfred, lived only three nights. In the year 1760, Mr. Home published a volume of plays, containing, Agis, Douglas, and the Siege of Aquileia, which he dedicated to his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales. His other three tragedies appeared some time after. The whole was collected and edited in two volumes at Edinburgh, in 1798, under the inspection of the late Mr. Woods. Lord Bute having represented Mr. Home to his majesty as a man of talents, his name was placed on the pension list, nearly at the same time with that of Dr. Johnson. He lived in a state of retirement from this period to the time of his death. Nearly half a century after Douglas had been written, when the author had returned to, and was settled in his native country, Master Betty, better known by the name of the young Roscius, commenced his theatrical labours at Edinburgh, in the character of young Norval. The author attended the representation, and declared that, that was the first time he had ever seen the part of Douglas played according to his



ideas of the character when he conceived and wrote it. Mr. Home, at the advanced age of seventy-eight, published his long meditated work, entitled, "The History of the Rebellion in Scotland, in 1745-6," in which he recorded the exploits and remarks of his youth. Of this work it is sufficient to observe, that the principles are just, and the opinions liberal. For a considerable time prior to his death, Mr. Home's mind, as well as body, seemed to be much impaired. He lived in the most secluded manner, so much so, that the house he inhabited had all the marks of a deserted dwelling. So long as he continued to possess sufficient strength, he used to walk for a certain time every day; the most acute phisognomist, however, who met him, could scarcely have traced any remains of the author of Douglas. He seemed to pay no attention to what was passing, and to possess little more than mere existence. In this distressful state, he lingered for many years. A life so little varied by incident as that of Mr. Home, affords few materials for personal character. With a mind well stored with useful and ornamental knowledge, he appears at an early age to have cultivated an acquaintance with the most celebrated literary characters of his time. Fidelity to his friends, and generosity to his enemies, were conspicuous traits in his character. If, in his declining years, his temper appeared to be soured and morose, and his manners harsh and uninviting, we must attribute it to the infirmity of old age, rather than to original disposition. As a clergyman, he attached himself to that party in the

church, who, enlightened in their views, and liberal in their sentiments, present their hearers with a rational view of the doctrines of Christianity. Divesting religion of unmeaning mystery, and checking the spirit of superstitious bigotry, he appears to have performed his ministerial duty with that fidelity and attention which endeared him to his people, and which their conduct at his resignation abundantly testify. As a man of letters, he will be known to posterity by his tragedies, and especially by his "Douglas," which will probably retain a place among the most approved compositions of that class, and will long continue to delight and interest a British audience.

At Ross, Mrs. Flack, the last surviving grandchild of Vanderford Kyrle, esq. kinsman and heir to the celebrated Man of Ross, 76.

At Bath, Mr. Charles Fox, formerly a landscape and miniature painter of Bristol. This gentleman will long be remembered by his friends, for his mild and unassuming manners, and considerable literary attainments. He was born in the year 1749, at Falmouth, at which place he afterwards kept a bookseller's shop. But the greater part of his property being consumed by fire, he was induced to follow the bent of his inclination for the art of landscape and portrait painting. The better to qualify himself for his profession, and to divert his mind from the painful recollection of his misfortune, he accompanied his brother, who was the master of a merchant vessel, in a voyage to the Baltic. Impelled by that enthusiasm which is the characteristic of a superior mind, he made a tour,



tour, alone and on foot, through Sweden, Norway, and part of Russia, taking views of the wild and sublime scenery which the Norwegian mountains, the Kol of Sweden, and the lakes and forests to the north of the Neva, offer to the eye of the enthusiast of nature:

Pine-covered rocks,  
And mountain forests of eternal shade,  
And glens and vales, on whose green  
quietness  
The lingering eye reposes, and fair lakes  
That image the light foliage of the beech,  
SOUTHEY.

Many of Mr. Fox's acquaintance will remember the pleasure they once felt in beholding these beautiful productions of his pencil, and in hearing him read the manuscript account of his travels. He possessed great facility in the acquirement of languages, and pursued with much success the study of oriental literature. His collection of oriental manuscripts was a considerable one, and his poems of Hafiz, Sadi, Jami, Auvari, Ferdusi, and others: "Thirazian gardens, prodigal of blooms," would fill several volumes. About six years ago, he had prepared two volumes of poems from the Persian, for the press. But increasing debility of constitution, disqualified him for the labour of publication, and he continued to add to the number of his former translations, until within a short period of his death. In a recent letter to the writer of this, he says, "that the many *disagreeables* of publication are so very opposite to every inducement of writing, that they cast a damp upon each generous mind, and destroy poetic sentiment. For the hapless author has not only to sustain the shock of caustic illiberality on the

one hand, but of talents prostituted to the interests of certain booksellers, who require every thing to be depreciated in which they have no copy-right on the other." It is to this opinion of the dangers of authorship, that we may attribute the circumstance of Mr. Fox having written so much, yet published so little. In 1797, he published a volume of poems, "containing the Complaints, Consolations, and Delights of Achmed Ardebelli, a Persian Exile," which was well received. This work evinces vigour of thought, beauty of expression, and elegance of sentiment. The notes afford much information on oriental subjects. In 1792, Mr. Fox married Miss Feniers, the daughter of a Dutch merchant, who survives him. To young persons of a literary taste, he was particularly friendly; his fire-side and instructive conversation ever welcomed them. He encouraged them in their pursuits, directed their studies, and relieved their necessities. For several years prior to his decease, he had retired from business, and passed his retirement in the cultivation of that talent for poetry, which he ever valued as the companion of his solitude, the ornament and solace of active life. His heart was warm and benevolent, his conduct virtuous and unoffending, and his fortitude and resignation under long continued bodily indisposition, were manly and exemplary.

At Taunton, aged 70, the Hon. Sir Jacob Wolff, Bart. of Chumleigh, Devon. He was a baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and the elder and only brother of Baron Wolff. Sir Jacob was descended from an ancient and illustrious noble family, who possessed a fief of



the empire in the Dutchy of Silesia, and were by the religious troubles expatriated to Livonia, in the time of Charles 11th and 12th of Sweden, where they were admitted into the ancient corps of nobles of Livonia. Sir Jacob, and his brother the baron, are the only branches who were sent very young to this country, and naturalized. Sir Jacob married the only daughter of the Right Honourable Edward Weston, of Somerby-hall, Lincolnshire, and grand-daughter of the Right Reverend Stephen Weston, D. D. late Bishop of Exeter. He was a true christian, a sincere friend, most benevolent to the poor, and anxious to afford them every aid in his power, both spiritual and temporal. He is succeeded in his title by his only son, now Sir James Weston Wolff.

At Lawrenny-Hall, Pembroke-shire, in the 80th year of his age, Hugh Barlow, esq. M. P. His name was originally Owen, and he married Miss Crespigny, the only daughter of Mr. C. formerly M. P. for Aldborough, Suffolk. He represented the boroughs of Pembroke, Tenby, and Wiston, upwards of 34 years, having been elected in eight successive Parliaments. In promoting both the general and individual interests of his constituents, he was zealous and persevering. The duties arising from his public station, he discharged with fidelity, and his private life was uniformly devoted to the exercise of those rare and estimable qualities which win irresistibly the good opinion and affections of all ranks of society. The spirit of party never even attempted to depreciate his merits. No man possessed more friends—no man better deserved them. He died in a good and honourable old age, esteemed, beloved, lamented.

At Boddewran, in the parish of Heneglwys, in the county of Anglesea, Richard Williams, at the advanced age of 103. He had been blind upwards of six years, but his sight was restored a short time before his death, and he had also four new teeth.

At Newton, King's county, Sir Michael Smith, Bart. late master of the Rolls in Ireland, and many years a Baron in the Court of Exchequer. Sir Michael is succeeded in his honours by Sir William Smith, a Baron of the Exchequer. By Sir Michael's death a pension of 2,700*l.* which he enjoyed as a retired judge, ceases.

At Edinburgh, Isabella, Countess-dowager of Errol, mother to the late and present Earl of E.—Miss Henrietta Hope, daughter of the late Hon. Charles Hope Weir, of Craigie Hall.—James Frazer, esq. principal secretary to the Bank of Scotland.

The Reverend Duncan Mackay, late acting chaplain of his Majesty's troops on the establishment of Madras, in the East Indies. Having returned from India some years ago, with a moderate fortune, he chose to express the respect which he always retained for that ancient seat of learning where he had received his education; his attachment to that district of Scotland, where he was born; and his desire to help forward virtuous and indigent young men of genius, during the course of their academical studies, by founding a new Bursary in the United College of St. Andrew's, and vesting the patronage thereof in his chief, Lord Reay. Having communicated his intention last summer, and corresponded with the College upon the subject, he lately lodged  
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three hundred pounds in the hands of Mr. Walter Cook, W. S. Agent for the College, but he died before the necessary deeds were finished, and he left them to be executed by his trustees.

In Spanish Town, Jamaica, Elizabeth Haywood, a free black woman, at the very advanced age of 130 years. She was a grown girl at the time of the earthquake which destroyed Port Royal, in 1692, and remembers having gone with her mother for a load of the wreck which drifted ashore on the beach near Port Henderson on that occasion.—She was a native of the island, and in her youth belonged to Dr. Charnock, of the above town.

On board the Mary transport, on his passage home from Corunna, Lieutenant-Colonel Symes of his Majesty's 76th regiment, formerly Ambassador to the Kingdom of Ava, and author of an interesting and valuable account of that country.

In the harbour of Gijon, in Spain, the Honorable Captain Herbert, of the royal navy, second son of the Earl of Carnarvon. He was going on shore from the Swallow sloop, with Mr. Creed, son of Thomas Creed, esq. navy agent; but just as they were on the Bar, a violent surf broke over them, filled the boat, and plunged the whole into the sea. The greater part, by taking hold of the boat, kept themselves above water, and supported themselves on oars and planks, till the boats, which immediately put off from the shore, picked them up. Unfortunately, however, they were unable to save Captain Herbert and Mr. Creed, who sunk before they arrived. These two gentlemen went out for the purpose of visiting the country.—Captain Herbert was a gentleman of

respectable literary talents, and had lately published a volume of poems, translated from the northern languages. He married Miss Byng, daughter of the Hon. John Byng, and sister to Captain Byng, of his Majesty's ship *Belliqueux*. His body was picked up a few days after the fatal accident, by the *Unicorn* frigate, and interred at Gijon, with military honours, on the 23d of September last; most of the English there, and many Portuguese of the first respectability, attended the funeral. The body of Mr. Creed has also been picked up, and buried with due solemnity.

At the lodge, Villier's Walk, Adelphi, Mr. Hugh Hewson, 85. He was a man of no mean celebrity, though no funeral escutcheons adorned his hearse, or heir expectant graced his obsequies. He was no less a personage than the identical Hugh Strap, whom Dr. Smollet has rendered so conspicuously interesting in his *Life and adventures of Roderick Random*, and for upwards of 40 years had kept a hair-dresser's shop in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields. He was a very intelligent man, and took delight in recounting the adventures of his early life. He spoke with pleasure of the time he passed in the service of the doctor, and it was his pride, as well as boast, to say that he had been educated in the same seminary with so learned and distinguished a character. His shop was hung round with Latin quotations, and he would frequently point out to his customers and acquaintances the several scenes in *Roderick Random* relating to himself, which had their foundation, not in the doctor's inventive fancy, but in truth and reality. The meet-



ing in a barber's shop at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the subsequent mistake at the inn, their arrival together in London, and the assistance they experienced from Strap's friend, were all of that description. We understand, the deceased has left behind him an interlined copy of Roderick Random, pointing out these facts, shewing how far they were indebted to the genius of the doctor, and to what extent they were founded in reality. He could never succeed in gaining more than a respectable subsistence by his trade, but he possessed an independence of mind superior to his humble condition. Of late years he was employed as keeper of the Promenade, called Villier's Walk, and was much noticed and respected by the inhabitants who frequented that place.

In Bruton-street, the Earl of Orford, of Woolerton, Norfolk. His lordship was the nephew of the famous Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford. He sat many years in the House of Lords as Baron Walpole, of Woolerton. He married Lady Rachel Cavendish, daughter of William, third Duke of Devonshire, by whom he had several children. On the death of the late Horace, Earl of Orford, he succeeded to the Barony of Houghton, the Earldom becoming extinct; but during the late administration he was created Earl of Orford. His lordship's eldest son, Lord Walpole, (now Earl of Orford) sat many years as member for Lynn, in which representation there is now a vacancy. General Walpole, who concluded the treaty with the Maroons in Jamaica, who was the second to Mr. Tierney in his duel with Mr. Pitt, and who was also one of Mr. Fox's secretaries,

is the younger son of the late earl. His lordship was in his 86th year. So long as true nobility, nobility of mind and conduct, no less than of birth and station, shall be considered as deserving the best regards and esteem of men, so long will such characters as that of the late venerable Earl of Orford be had in respectful remembrance. By no means implicitly assenting to the "world's false estimate of things," he appreciated no higher than they deserved the gifts of rank and fortune, but used them with munificence for honourable and useful purposes. Those qualities which are the most shining ornaments of elevated station, piety without ostentation, liberality of mind, kind attention to the wants and wishes of others, extended bounty, an hospitality rarely equalled in these times, and an independent public spirit, were the distinguished features of his lordship's character. He lived revered and happy to an advanced age, with honour and integrity inviolate; and died universally lamented.

At Ramsgate, in his 78th year, the Right Honourable John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Viscount Fincastle, &c.: his lordship was descended in the female line from the royal house of Stuart, and his ancestors were related to most of the crowned heads in Europe: he married Lady Charlotte Stewart, sister of the late Earl of Galloway, and by that marriage has left issue three sons and three daughters: his eldest son George, Lord Fincastle, now Earl of Dunmore, is married to Lady Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton: one of his daughters, Lady Augusta, was married to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, at Rome, in November



venember 1793, and had a son born January 15, 1794; but a suit was instituted in Doctors Commons, by his majesty's orders, and the marriage was declared null and void in the following August, and Lady Augusta has since taken the name of D'Ameland; another daughter, Lady Susan, has been twice married, and has lost both husbands.—Mr. Thorpe, and Mr. Drew; the other surviving daughter, Lady Virginia, was named at the request of the assembly of Virginia, of which province the earl her father was governor, and was certainly the most zealous and active of his majesty's governors during the whole of the revolutionary war.

French Lawrence, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, Chancellor of that diocese, Judge of the Cinque Ports, and Member of parliament for the city of Peterborough. Dr. Laurence received his first education at Bristol; whence he was removed to the college at Winchester: he then became a member of Corpus Christi college, (of which college he was afterwards fellow,) proceeded MA. June 21, 1781, and was created DCL: October 19, 1787: his professorship he obtained in 1796, on the decease of Dr. Wenman. The active part which he took in the memorable contest for Westminster, in the year 1784, in writing for Mr. Fox, particularly in the opposition newspapers of that period, was the cause of his introduction to public notice; although his subsequent literary exertions were of a very different kind, he was the author of many election ballads, which at that time were highly popular with the party. As some recompense for his zeal and his services,

the party patronized the publication of the Rolliad, of which he was, indeed, one of the authors as well as The Probationary Odes, and these works proved a source of considerable emolument to him. Dr. Laurence then began to be ambitious of a seat in the House of Commons, and for that purpose, as well, indeed, as from a high admiration of Mr. Burke, attached himself particularly to that great ornament of the British senate, by whose interest with Earl Fitzwilliam, the doctor was gratified in his desire of parliamentary honours. From this time he considered himself rather as the adherent of Mr. Burke, than as an implicit follower of the party with which that great man had hitherto acted; and when the French revolution induced Mr. Burke to withdraw himself from Mr. Fox and his friends, who had, as some persons thought, so rashly committed themselves in the eyes of mankind, by hailing that dreadful political explosion as an event calculated to promote the happiness of mankind, Dr. Laurence traced the steps of Mr. Burke, and remained inflexibly attached to that gentleman and his principles till the world was deprived of his great talents. The doctor, however, had for some time wisely considered, that politics afforded but an uncertain means of support, and therefore directed his attention to the civil law, and, by his practice in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts, gradually acquired a considerable fortune. Mr. Burke had indeed derived great advantage from the doctor, during the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, as he was indefatigable in exploring and arranging the documents necessary in that arduous and complicated



cated transaction. The public are indebted to the doctor for a complete edition of the works of Mr. Burke, which will for ever remain a monument of the vast talents and varied acquisitions of that extraordinary man. Dr. Laurence possessed extensive knowledge; and his abilities, if not shining, were solid. In parliament he had no pretensions to the fame of oratory, but his speeches were characterized by good sense. His death was occasioned by a decline, in about the 60th year of his age. The following eulogium was pronounced by Mr. Whitbread in the debate on the Orders in Council, on the 6th of March. "Now Dr. Laurence is dead, I am sure there is no one in this house but will do justice to his memory. Now that party-animosities is silent, let justice, let gratitude, let a sense of our dignity, as a house, awaken, and let us acknowledge with one common voice, that we have lost a man whose like we shall not soon see again. Would to heaven that his skirt only had fallen amongst us, I should then not have feared, under its influence and inspiration, to have opposed myself to the learned advocates whom I see ranged against me."

In Grosvenor square, the Duchess of Bolton, 75. She was the youngest sister of the late Earl of Lonsdale, and was married to Lord Harry Powlett, then captain in the British navy, but whose exploits, while in that service, did not entitle him to rank with our naval heroes. Lord Harry was at the siege of Carthage, in South America, in 1743, where Smollett has consigned his memory to posterity, though not in the most brilliant or

flattering colours. He is the Captain Whiffle of Roderic Random. By the death of his elder brother he succeeded early in the present reign to the dukedom of Bolton, which became extinct some years ago, in his person. He left only two daughters, the eldest of whom, Lady Catherine Powlett, married the present Earl of Darlington. The Duchess of Bolton, her mother, survived her, and has left the greater part of her fortune, which was considerable, to the Honourable Frederic Vane, Lord Darlington's second son,

In the sixty-sixth year of her age, Anna Seward, a lady distinguished for her talents in various works of literature. She was the daughter of the late Rev. Thomas S. rector of Eyam, Derbyshire, prebendary of Salisbury, and canon residentiary of Litchfield. From this parent she received an excellent education. She early discovered symptoms of a rhyming propensity, and becoming acquainted with the late Lady Miller, of Bath Easton, was a frequent, and sometimes a successful candidate for the myrtle wreath of the poetic institution of that villa. Her first regular publication was a beautiful elegy on Captain Cook, which together with an ode to the Sun, a Bath Easton prize poem, was published in a quarto pamphlet in 1780. The following year she produced a monody on her gallant and amiable friend, Major André; and it is said that Dr. Darwin, speaking of this poem, and that on Captain Cook, used to style her the inventress of epic elegy. Her subsequent productions have been, a poem to the memory of Lady Miller; Louisa, a poetical novel; an Ode



Ode on General Elliot's return from Gibraltar; Llangollen Vale, with other poems; Sonnets and Horatian Odes; and a Life of Dr. Darwin. The liberal attainments of Miss Seward, and her devotion to the Muses, long rendered her name celebrated in the lettered world; whilst her amiable manners, hospitality, and highly cultivated conversation, caused her to be universally sought after, and respected. Perhaps no person ever possessed, in a greater degree, the colloquial powers of pleasing, than Miss Seward. To a minute and accurate acquaintance with the English classics, she added an inexhaustible fund of local and literary anecdote. Naturally eloquent, she communicated her knowledge in the choicest, and most energetic language. The animation of her countenance, and the brilliant lustre of her eye, gave a most forcible expression of feeling and intelligence to her words and actions. Conscious of her ability, she freely displayed herself in a manner equally remote from arrogance and affectation. Her mind and information were accessible to all; and no one ever parted from her dissatisfied with himself, or without the desire to renew his visit. In familiar conversation she greatly excelled; and in reading, more particularly poetry, she was uncommonly spirited and correct. Her doors were at all times open with liberal hospitality, and to diffuse cheerfulness and happiness over her domestic, and social circles, was the endeavour of her life. Of infant genius and merit, wherever she met them, she was the warm encourager, and zealous friend. Her hand was ever extended in active benevolence towards the dis-

tressed, and her heart most readily paid the tribute of overflowing pity to the tale of misery. In her intercourse with society no woman had less pride. At the table of the respectable tradesman, she was as easy, affable, and entertaining, as at the most sumptuous board of the nobleman. Politeness in her was an inherent quality, not an acquired habit; and her natural humanity was such as to prompt her to acts of kindness, even towards persons who had forfeited her esteem. Such, divested of the fulsome praise, which designing flatterers lavished upon her writings and genius, was the amiable and intelligent Miss Seward. Her merits were peculiarly her own; the spontaneous offspring of a good heart, and a liberally endowed mind. Her errors arose from a glowing imagination, joined to an excessive sensibility, cherished, instead of being repressed, by early habits and education. At the time Dr. Darwin came first to reside at Litchfield, Miss Seward was about thirteen or fourteen years of age. The circle which the doctor drew around him, for ten or twelve years from that period, was composed of young men of acknowledged talents, and of ardent speculative minds; whose spirits, too buoyant for the beaten track of knowledge, soared to explore the yet untrodden paths of science, and give new systems to an astonished world. To turn aside the smooth current of nature, and to despise established usages, were the principles upon which they conducted their researches. Their visionary pursuits were dignified with the application of philosophy; but were evidently more calculated to gratify their own passions and propensities, than to promote the improvement



provement of mankind. Variety and originality were the objects of their adoration, to which they sacrificed without remorse, reason, and common sense. Among those persons were Mr. Day, (who from Miss Seward's own account of him, was a capricious wild enthusiast;) Mr. Edgeworth, and Sir Brooke Boothby.—Doctor Darwin promoted and encouraged their idle schemes, and gave consequence to their speculations, by the reputation of his genius, and the variety of his talents. In this coterie, Miss Seward's early impressions were formed. In the daily habit of hearing new, and ingenious hypotheses, she became enamoured of novelty, and sighed for the meed of fame; in which she was encouraged and flattered by the gallantry of her admirers. Possessed of an active and ductile mind, and a romantic disposition, she fed with avidity upon the intellectual variety thus placed before her. To poetry she had been fondly attached from her childhood, and her warm imagination naturally became emulous of distinction in her favourite pursuit. But Miss Seward's genius was not of a class to strike out new models of poetic excellence; and her natural good taste had been perverted. She was deficient in fertility of invention; and wanted new and forcible combinations of thought, to accomplish such a task. All her attempts at originality evaporated in turgid obscurity, and pompous inflation. We frequently meet in her poetry with nervous lines, and sometimes with beautiful stanzas; but neither the pleasing vein of easy flowing verses, nor the more happy inspiration of graceful energy, ever accompany her long. We seldom see her

thoughts clothed in the dignified simplicity of nature, but usually find them loaded with factitious and ill-assorted ornaments. Her prose bears pretty much the same character with her poetic compositions. They abound in sparkling sentences, poetical images, and high sounding epithets; but want arrangement and precision. It is understood that she has left the whole of her works, as a legacy, to Mr. Scott, the northern poet, with a view to their publication in a collected edition, with her life and posthumous pieces; several of which the present writer has heard her name. But of all her works, her epistolary correspondence must be the most desirable. She had all her life an extensive acquaintance, and especially with men of literature. Her talents and disposition peculiarly fitted her for a species of writing free from the trammels and constraints of regular composition. It is from this source that the nature of her genius, and the powers of her mind, may be fairly appreciated; where, although intermixed with much tinsel and alloy, will doubtless be discovered no common portion of sterling metal. In her remarks upon the writings of her contemporaries, always a favourite topic of communication with her friends, she will be found to display much acute and genuine criticism. Her judgment in the selection of the poetic beauties of others, was for the most part chaste and correct; qualities which in her own compositions seemed to be sacrificed to empty sound and vain show. Had the taste, and exquisite feeling, of this lady, been reared and cultivated with care and prudence, it is highly probable that she would have



have ranked among the first favourites of the Muses ; instead of which, the candid and unprejudiced must acknowledge that her poetic fame cannot long survive the remembrance of her friends, and the partiality of her personal admirers. That a mind formed like Miss Seward's should be more liable to act from the impulse of feeling, than from the steady dictates of reason and principle, cannot be matter of surprise. A woman independent in fortune, and fascinating in manners, is more likely to be surrounded by flatterers than friends ; and if the blandishments of the former found too easy an admission to her heart, it is a weakness which she shared with nine-tenths of the human race. And perhaps those who lamented the readiness with which she admitted the specious and designing to her friendship, will allow that, placed in her situation, few women would have conducted themselves with greater circumspection.

On Sunday the 26th of March, aged 21 years, Miss Shuckburgh, daughter of Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, baronet, of Shuckburgh Park. The following are the circumstances relating to the very melancholy death of this truly amiable and accomplished young lady: Lieutenant Sharp, of the Bedfordshire militia, with the other officers of that regiment, quartered at Daventry, frequently visited at Shuckburgh Park, during which visits, Mr. Sharp formed or professed to have formed an attachment for Miss Shuckburgh. As soon as the baronet perceived that Mr. Sharp's attentions to Miss Shuckburgh wore the appearance of particularity, he enquired into his character and con-

nections, and finding neither such as he approved, he communicated the intelligence he had received respecting them to his daughter, and immediately desired Mr. Sharp to discontinue his visits at the park, as he would no longer be received there. Miss Shuckburgh also wrote to him to the same effect, and desired him to return her letters. From that moment he seems to have conceived the dreadful idea of destroying her and himself, for his answer to her was "You shall have your letters and I will have revenge—revenge is sweet, and revenge arising from disappointed love is most inveterate." Defeated in his hopes of obtaining the object of his wishes, he by excessive drinking worked himself up to the highest pitch of frenzy, during which he meditated the horrid deed which he afterwards perpetrated. As an interchange of letters was to take place, it was agreed between them that they should be left in a summer-house a short distance from the mansion. About half past seven o'clock in the morning, Miss Shuckburgh was observed by the butler to go out of the house with a parcel of letters in her hand, which excited his curiosity and induced him to watch her. She went towards the summer-house, and he took a circuitous way to the same spot. As soon as he got to the door he heard two voices, and the first words which he distinctly heard were those of Miss Shuckburgh saying, No—no—no, in answer, as he supposed, to a proposal of elopement. A pistol was immediately fired and one fell—the butler was about to open the door, when in the space of two seconds another pistol was fired and the other fell ;  
the



the butler then alarmed the family, and on opening the door, Miss Shuckburgh and Mr. Sharp were found lifeless on the floor. The two letters of the 24th and 26th of March, addressed by Mr. Sharp to Miss Shuckburgh, found unopened in the summer-house after the shocking event, prove beyond all doubt that the interview which ended in this sad catastrophe was on Miss Shuckburgh's part fortuitous; that she had not the least expectation of seeing Mr. Sharp, but went solely for the purpose of leaving the letters she had received from him, and of carrying away those she had written. They were as follow:

"Friday, March 24, 1809.

"Caroline! O my beloved Caroline! I can but a short time longer endure your cruel scorn; prepare to hear the worst of me, and take care of yourself. Oh! by heavens! how loth I am to die, but you compel me to leave you; for, was ever the time to come when you would have no parents to oppose your will, I dare not, cannot think you would make me happy. I wish once more to read your dear letters, and then, on my honour, I will bring them to the cave to-morrow night, and shall expect to find mine in the same place on Sunday night. If you love me, tell me where you are going on Monday with Frank and your dear father. Your professions of love are as ardent as I could possibly wish; would to God that your actions were as convincing; then, indeed, I should be happy. Caroline, my fate is certain; I am sorry you will not let me live; I am no child in my determination; when once fixed, it is

immoveable; I have no earthly things to live for, for you will never be mine, so I will seek another and a better world. I can now again scarcely believe you love me, as you will not trust me with your sweet letters, but I shall soon be insensible to every thing; and on my word you may depend on my putting them at the cave some time to-morrow night. When I am dead, read them over, and judge of my delight when I received them; and of my anguish to be obliged to give them up. My preparations to quit this world take up so much of my time, that I cannot say more, than God bless you! and may he for ever protect you from the miserable awful end of your truly faithful and affectionate, though wretched,

PHILIP A. S.

"I implore and supplicate your prayers; and most fervently and sincerely will I pray, in my last moments, that you may never feel the least remorse of conscience, as the cause of my suicide, for it was in your power, and your's only, to save me, but you treat with disdain all my arguments. Adieu, for ever adieu.

P. A. S.

"I came so fully assured of seeing you last night, that I was not prepared to die, or indeed I should. I acknowledge you have good grounds to treat my threats so slightly, but the time will come when you may see my resolution is not to be shaken. What would have been your feelings (if you have any feelings), had you found me with my brains blown out at the cave this morning, which certainly would have been the case, had I not put such confidence in your coming to meet me? Oh! for shame,



shame, Caroline! so long as the gentlemen were over their wine, not to spare me one short moment, to make my death easy; but I forgive you, nor will I repine at my unhappy lot. Had you seen my brains scattered on the earth, you could have taken my letter from my cold hand, and read it with composure, without shedding a pitying tear.

“P. A. S.”

Extracts from the letter, dated Sunday Morning, two o'clock, March 26, 1809.

“Now that I have settled, as well as my agitated mind will allow me, all my earthly affairs, I will devote my last sad moments to my ever and for ever beloved Caroline, provided the contents of your letter, I expect, to find at the cave, does not compel me to kill you, as well as myself, which I hope in heaven it will not. I came firmly resolved to die; I have exerted all my energy to live; but without you it cannot be; all my religion and fortitude I had used to possess, has now left me; and indeed I am a wretched mortal; and yet I feel not the least fear of death, but can with pleasure and composure quit this life, for it is impossible I can suffer more; and if you doubt me still, which I shall believe you do, if you say one other word about your letters, I think I shall be tempted to take you with me, to that other and that better world you talk so much about; where we shall be united, never, never to part; then, indeed, we shall enjoy that bliss your cruel parents deny us here; but I fervently hope your letter will be kind, and give me another solemn vow never to be another's, then I can die alone and

contented; but if you give me room to suspect that you will ever become any one's wife but mine, the thought will be certain death.”

“I am contented to die, and fervently do I hope you may be able to live, and live happy, and sometimes think of me. I have from my heart and soul forgiven all who have injured me, and hope they will grant me their forgiveness. I feel not the least resentment against any one, and I feel I can die happy.”

A short note, containing only the following expressions, was found in Mr. Sharp's pocket, after his death:—“Caroline, Caroline, shame, shame upon you; not one kind line at parting, cruel, cruel girl, adieu for ever!” But it is supposed that on seeing her come at a distance, he hastily thrust it into his pocket, and wrote in pencil the following words, which were found lying in the room:—“I cannot live, and feared I should not have had resolution. I shall do it with more composure than I could have possibly expected.”

The letters written to Miss Shuckburgh were scattered about the room; those written by her were sealed up under cover directed Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, and placed in a cupboard in the summer-house. The pistol with which Mr. Sharp shot Miss Shuckburgh, he threw to the opposite end of the room; that with which he destroyed himself lay close by his right hand; he had two other loaded pistols, one in his pocket, and the other was placed by the letters in the cupboard—he had also six bullets in his pocket. The coroner's inquest was held the next day, and a verdict was returned of lunacy respecting Mr. Sharp, and that Miss Shuckburgh



burgh died by his hand. She was not at all disfigured by the shot, there being no appearance of it but the small perforation where the bullet penetrated, which was on the left side of her head. A more angelic corpse was never seen, as in life, so in death, her countenance exhibited a smile of complacency. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Shuckburgh, on Monday the 3d of April. The amiable and virtuous life of this young lady, is the only source of consolation which her distressed family and friends have under this extraordinary and most afflictive occurrence.

At Tackbrook, in the 101st year of his age, Thomas Smith, esq. His benevolence to the poor caused him to be sincerely regretted by all those who knew him. He retained his faculties to the last moment, and used to walk twenty miles a-day to superintend his farms, and performed that arduous task in the week preceding his death.

At his house, in Cavendish-square, aged 73, George Simon Harcourt, Earl Harcourt, and Viscount Nuneham, of Nuneham-Courtney, in Oxfordshire.

At Dover, John Bazely, esq. Admiral of the Blue. Though fortune did not favour this gentleman with so many opportunities of displaying his skill and prowess as she afforded some of his brave contemporaries, yet his services were of an active and advantageous nature, and claim for him the gratitude of his country.

In Guy's Hospital, William Cummins, formerly belonging to his majesty's ship *Isis*. Several years ago, according to his own account, this man swallowed six of his mess-

mates' knives in a drunken frolic, and that, feeling no immediate bad consequences, he had on two subsequent occasions, swallowed twelve or thirteen more. For these two years past he had applied, at frequent intervals, for admission into various hospitals, and he was uniformly dismissed as an impostor, upon telling his strange story. He was received into Guy's only a few weeks ago, after having been stripped and minutely examined by Dr. Babington and Mr. Ashley Cooper. On opening the body, a portion of iron, four inches long, was found loose in the *abdomen*; and another was making its way through the *Ischiatic notch*. In the stomach were several portions of iron; one lining of a small pocket knife; two small ornaments of a knife handle, apparently of silver; and a naval captain's uniform button. Of the pieces of iron, twelve are distinctly the remains of blades, and two others may possibly be considered so. The remaining fragments are portions of the springs and linings of the knife handles, some of them tapering to a point, and as sharp as a pin. The blades are all corroded, longitudinally, giving the appearance of several parallel grooves, running lengthways. The silver appears to be uninjured. He swallowed the knives in 1805, and voided some of them in 1807. When the fact was publicly made known, it did not obtain general belief, though most respectably supported; but his death, connected with these circumstances must destroy every doubt.

At Thorndon Hall, the Right Honourable Robert Edward, Lord Petre, Baron of Writtle, 45. His lordship succeeded his father in  
1801,



1801, but being a Roman catholic, he never took his seat in the legislative assembly of the nation. Hence he had the more time to bestow on agricultural pursuits, to which he was particularly attentive. Urbanity of disposition, unaffected politeness and affability of manners, added dignity to his rank and conciliated the estimation of the distinguished circle in which he moved.

In Craig's court, Charing Cross, David Pitcairn, M.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. Fellow of the College of Physicians of London, and Physician extraordinary to the Prince of Wales. He was the eldest son of the gallant major John Pitcairn, of the marines, who was killed in the attack upon Bunker's Hill in June 1775, and Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Dalrymple, esq. of Annefield, in the county of Dumfries. His paternal family was one of the most antient in Fifeshire, deriving its name from a landed possession called Pitcairn; Nisbett in his heraldry says, that he has seen a charter to it dated in 1417. In the course of time, one of the family acquired by marriage the estate of Forther, in the same county; after which the lands of Pitcairn went off with a younger son, from whom was descended Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, of Pitcairn, justly famed as a physician, poet, wit, scholar, and mathematician. Of the elder branch Dr. David Pitcairn became the representative upon the death of his uncle, the well known Dr. William Pitcairn who had practised physic here for nearly half a century, and had been many years President of the college of physicians. Dr. David Pitcairn was born on the 1st of May, 1749, in

the house of his grandfather, the Rev. David Pitcairn, minister of Dysart, in the county of Fife. When about nine or ten years old, he was sent to the high school at Edinburgh, where he remained four years; after which he went to the university of Glasgow, and prosecuted his studies there till he arrived at the age of twenty. At this period of his life he used to spend much of his leisure time with the family of the Rev. James Baillie, minister of Bothwell, in the county of Lanark, and father of the present Dr. Mathew Baillie, of London, and of the celebrated dramatic writer Miss Joanna Baillie. During this intercourse commenced an affectionate intimacy between Dr. Pitcairn and Dr. Baillie; which afterwards, as the difference of their years became less in proportion to their whole ages, gradually changed into the warmest friendship, that continued ever after. It being now determined that he should be a physician, he went in 1769 to the university of Edinburgh, and studied medicine there for three years, under the immediate direction of the illustrious Cullen. In 1772 he came to London, and attended the lectures of Dr. W. Hunter, and Dr. G. Fordyce. About the same time also, that he might attain an English degree in physic, though he was then nearly 23 years old, he entered at Bennet's college Cambridge. In 1780, several years before he received his Doctor's Degree, he was elected physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and about the same time may be placed the commencement of his private medical practice. In 1792, he was chosen physician to Christ's Hospital; and in the following year, his private practice



practice being now considerable, he resigned the office of Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. His office at Christ's Hospital demanded but little of his time, and was therefore retained by him several years longer. By the death of Dr. Warren, which took place in June, 1797, Dr. Pitcairn was placed at the head of his profession in London. One or two other physicians possibly derived as much pecuniary emolument from the practice of medicine as himself; but certainly no other was so frequently requested by his brethren to afford his aid in cases of difficulty. But this prosperous state did not endure long. In the autumn of the same year he fell from his horse, and bruised his side.—Shortly after, his heart began to beat with violence, and his attention was more particularly directed to this symptom, as it had occurred in one of his brothers, likewise in consequence of a fall, whose heart, after death, was found considerably enlarged. He continued, however, to follow his profession till February, in the following year, when he was attacked with an hæmorrhage from his lungs. From this he recovered, after some time, so far as to be enabled to resume the exercise of his profession; but the same disease having recurred in summer, he embarked in September for Lisbon. During a stay of more than 18 months in Portugal, he had no return of the hæmorrhage, in consequence of which he ventured to come back to this country in May, 1800. He was still feeble; and his heart was still beating too forcibly; he for some time, therefore, declined altogether engaging in medical practice. Afterwards, as his health improved, he began to receive pa-

tients at his house; then to meet other physicians in consultation at the houses of their patients; and at length, after an interval of several years, to undertake the entire care of sick persons at their own homes; except during four months in the latter part of the year, which he spent almost wholly in the country.—In the mean time, however, the palpitation of his heart continued; on which account he, for a long time, lived very abstemiously, drinking only water, and abstaining almost entirely from animal food. But, as the beating did not increase, and no other sign of a diseased heart existed, and as he found a vegetable diet to produce in him much flatulence, about a year or two before his death he began to eat moderately of animal food once a day, and to take sometimes after dinner a single glass of wine diluted with water. Under this change of regimen his appearance altered considerably, and during the last six months of his life, he frequently received the congratulations of his friends on the improvement which his health had undergone. Disregarding the advice given by one of the masters of his art, “*si plenior aliquis, et speciosior, et coloratior, factus est, suspecta habere bona sua debet,*” he seemed to look upon his increased strength as a permanent acquisition, and as chiefly valuable from enabling him to bear an increase of professional labour. In the course of the month of March, for instance, he rose several times from his bed soon after midnight, and travelled between twenty and thirty miles before morning, to visit a patient. From these exertions, however, he appeared to suffer no immediate injury. But about the beginning



beginning of April, he found that he was heated by his single glass of wine, though diluted largely with water, and therefore discontinued it. On the 13th he felt a soreness in his throat, but he thought so lightly of it, that he continued his professional visits during that and the two following days. In the night of the 15th, his throat became worse, in consequence of which he was copiously bled at his own desire, and had a large blister applied over his throat; but the irritation occasioned by the latter remedy was so distressing to him, that it was removed before its intended effect was fully produced. On the evening of the 16th, Dr. Baillie called upon him, without knowing that he was ill; and having heard the history of his ailment, and an account of the remedies employed, he entirely approved of what had been done. At this time Dr. Baillie observed no symptom which indicated danger.—The disease becoming more violent in the course of the night, a considerable number of leeches were applied to the throat early in the morning. Dr. Baillie visited him at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. His countenance was now sunk, his pulse feeble and unequal, his breathing laborious, and his voice almost lost, from the swollen state of the parts concerned in its formation. In this state he wrote upon a piece of paper, that he conceived his windpipe to be the principal seat of the disease, and that this was the croup.—Mr. Home was also present; and it was agreed that an attempt should be made to give relief by wounding the tonsils. This was accordingly done; some blood issued, but nothing purulent. Both the patient, however, and those about him, con-

ceived that he had derived benefit from the operation. Dr. Baillie saw him again between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and thought his situation much improved; for the pulse was now equal and more firm, and his general appearance indicated less debility and distress.—Under this persuasion he left him, having previously agreed to return at ten in the evening, when he was to meet in consultation Mr. Home, and another Physician, who had long time been intimate with his patient. A little before Dr. Baillie had paid the visit just mentioned, a slight drowsiness had come on, and this symptom rather increased after his departure. But nothing more remarkable occurred till near eight o'clock, when the patient's breathing became suddenly more difficult.—About 20 minutes after this he died. The body was examined the second day after his death by Mr. Home, Dr. Baillie, and Dr. Wells. The throat and tongue were found much inflamed and swollen. The inner membrane of the windpipe was also found inflamed, but altogether free from that præternatural coating which occurs in croup. The heart and lungs were entirely sound; but the great artery, close to its origin, was somewhat diseased; sufficiently, perhaps, to occasion in a person of an irritable frame an increased force in the pulsation of the heart, though apparently not in such a degree as to affect the duration of life. On the 25th, his corpse was deposited in a vault in the church of St. Bartholemew, near Smithfield, which contained the remains of his father and uncle. Dr. D. Pitcairn had five brothers; one of them died young; three others, all of them officers in his Majesty's service, died after



after they were men; the youngest, a counsellor at Law, survives him.— He had four sisters, all of whom have been married, and are alive. His mother also still lives, and is in her 79th year. In 1781, he married Elizabeth the only daughter of William Almack, esq. of London, and a niece of his preceptor, Dr. Cullen, but had no issue. She likewise survives him. His person was tall and erect, but of late years rather thin; his countenance during youth was a model of manly beauty, and even in advanced life was remarkably handsome. While a boy, he was noted for possessing a grave and manly manner, connected with much sweetness of disposition.— These qualities, added to considerable bodily strength and courage, gave him great influence over his play-fellows. But, though of a studious turn, he did not acquire knowledge at school as quickly as some of his companions. His memory, however, was strong, and his judgment sound; whatever, therefore, he learned was retained, and well assorted; so that in time he excelled most of those who had once been regarded his superiors. His knowledge of history and geography, from the strength of his memory, was particularly accurate. Few persons ever gained, without any direct effort to this end, so extensive an acquaintance with the various orders of society. His education began at the largest school in Great Britain. He afterwards studied for several years at each of the great universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Cambridge, and attended the principal lectures upon medicine in London. While a young man in London, he lived with his uncle, who had many friends, and frequent-

ly entertained them at his house.— He resided many years in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and, while there, associated daily with gentlemen of the law. He was early admitted a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; and hence knew many learned men in addition to those of his own profession. He was fond of country sports, and athletic games; particularly the Scottish one named Golf, which carried him among other sets of men. He had a taste also for the Fine Arts; in consequence of which, he became acquainted with many of the professors of them; and his employment as a physician in the largest Hospital in the kingdom, and in private, made known to him a very great number of persons of every rank and description in life. From such opportunities, and an original turn for the observation of character, he obtained a most extensive knowledge of human nature, and an infinite fund of stories and anecdotes which, when at ease among his friends, he used to relate in the happiest way. None of his stories, however, related to himself; indeed, he scarcely ever spoke of himself to his most intimate friends; no doubt, from a wish to avoid a fault he saw so frequently committed by others. In conversation he shunned dispute. When he dissented from others, he either declared his opinion in a few words, or remained altogether silent. With literary men his value as a companion was considerably increased by his judgment in selecting, and lively mode of repeating passages from new works of taste, most of which he read immediately after they were published. But, though he had lived so much in society, he never entirely lost a natural



ral shyness of manner, which was more observable at some times than at others. This was often imputed by those who did not know him to pride; though, in truth, it seemed to arise from a diffidence of his own merit. As he advanced in years, his manners became less reserved to strangers; for to his friends they had always been frank and affectionate. His feelings were warm, and he was sometimes betrayed by them into little improprieties; but this disadvantage was greatly outweighed by the energy which was hence given to his character, and the interest which he took in the happiness of others. It may be regarded, perhaps, as no inconsiderable title to praise, that he behaved with the utmost kindness and generosity towards his numerous relations. But his endeavours to serve, were not confined to these. He was ever ready to assist his friends in their pursuits, not only by his advice, but by his influence with others, and the sacrifice of his time; to say nothing of other aids which he frequently furnished. Like other men of warm tempers, he was apt to bestow upon his present pursuits more than their due importance; and, as increase of years and professional employment, together with great varieties in the state of his health, necessarily produced alterations in his views of life, he was hence thought by some to be of a changeable disposition. But this was never said, respecting his attachment to persons. He continued to the last, loving to his first friends, and was, in return, most cordially beloved by them. His manner, as a physician, was simple, gentle, and dignified, and always sufficiently cheerful to encourage hope, without offending

by its incongruity with the scene about him. From his kindness of heart, he was frequently led to give more attention to his patients than could well be demanded from a physician; and as this evidently sprung from no interested motive, he often acquired considerable influence with those whom he had attended during sickness. No physician, indeed, of his rank in London, perhaps, ever exercised his profession to such a degree gratuitously. His behaviour to other physicians was highly candid and liberal, and he most studiously avoided the slightest appearance of interfering in their professional concerns. Such conduct is no doubt, recommended by its ultimate utility; but in him it arose from a native sense of honour, that appeared in every other transaction of his life. As he attended very carefully to the symptoms of diseases, in the order and degree in which they occur in nature, he had, from this source, and the excellence of his memory, acquired great practical knowledge of his profession. He had, in consequence, also made many original observations upon the history and treatment of diseases. He was, for instance, the first who took notice of the connexion between Rheumatism of the external parts of the body, and a certain affection of the heart, which he hence called rheumatism of that organ. Since it was mentioned by him, numerous examples of it have been seen by others, which puts the justness of the observation beyond doubt; though no trace of it exists in any author prior to Dr. Baillie, to whom he had communicated it. He never published any of his observations himself; but several, besides that which has just been spoken



ken of, have been given to the world by others. He never long enjoyed very good health from the time of his commencing to practice physic in London. For, not to repeat what has already been said, respecting his disorders, he was, during many years of the first part of his residence here, much subject to violent head-achs. He twice laboured under severe agues; and suffered several attacks of inflammatory sore-throat. But none of his ailments made any considerable permanent impression upon his external appearance; for immediately before his death no person would have supposed, from seeing him, that his health had ever been bad, or that he had attained the age of nearly sixty years.

At Newcastle, Mr. John Gray, 81.—This man was an instance of the diversity that exists in human constitutions. For the last 50 years his beverage was Holland Geneva. He drank it without water, sometimes in copious libations, yet continued healthy until within a few weeks of his death.

At Stitchill, Berwick, in his 84th year, Sir James Pringle, of Stitchill, bart. master of the King's Works, who represented the county of Berwick, from 1769 to 1779. He was son of Sir Robert Pringle, of Stitchill, bart. nephew of Sir John Pringle, M. D. F. R. S.; and married Elizabeth, daughter of Norman Macleod, of Macleod, by whom he had several children, one of them married to George Baillie, of Jerviswood, M. P. for Berwickshire; and is succeeded by his eldest surviving son, now Sir John Pringle, bart.

At York, in his 80th year, Alexander Hunter, M. D. F. R. S. L. &

E. and Physician to the York Lunatic Asylum. He practised nearly 50 years in this city with the highest eminence and credit in his professional character, his knowledge of which was the result of science, skill, and well founded experience. His goodness as a man—his urbanity and gentlemanly manners—his practice of every real and social virtue—the manly and pleasing manner with which he gave his advice, whether as a physician, a friend or a Mentor—his encouragement of the arts, or whatever appeared to be beneficial to mankind—will ever embalm his memory in the hearts of his friends, and of all those who had an opportunity of knowing him; while his family and connections will long have to regret the loss of a tender husband, an affectionate parent, a kind relative, and an indulgent and liberal master. In the world of letters he was highly esteemed, being author and annotator of several works of great merit, among which were his editions of "Evelyn's Sylva," 2 vols. 4to.; "Georgical Essays," 6 vols. 8vo. &c. &c. In his leisure hours he used occasionally to amuse himself with composing miscellaneous pieces, such as "Essays on cases of Insanity," on "Agriculture," &c. &c. and which were always well received by the public. His remains were interred in the church of St. Michael le Belfrey, attended by a numerous and very respectable body of his friends and fellow citizens.

At Birmingham, George Croft, D. D. formerly fellow of University College, Oxford, preacher of the Bampton Lectures, in 1786, Vicar of Arncliffe, and Rector of Thwing, Yorkshire, late head master of Brewood School, Staffordshire



shire, and for the last 18 years, Lecturer of St. Martins, Birmingham. To great classical learning, he added a considerable knowledge of the Hebrew, the Syriac, and some modern languages, and an extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical law. He was a zealous supporter of the Constitution, in Church and State, and made himself known in the literary world, by several publications on theology, politics, and ethics.—By all who knew him in private life, he was highly esteemed for his integrity, his hospitality, his constancy, his ardour as a friend, his kind and anxious attention to the poor, and his most amiable disposition as a husband and a father.

At Mymensing, an eastern district of Bengal, on the 28th of April, in the 25th year of his age, Henry Townly Roberdeau, esq. register of that zillah upon the Honourable Company's civil establishment. He was the son of Mr. Roberdeau formerly of Kennington, and nephew of the late Alderman Le Mesurier. He was a young gentleman of distinguished and most promising literary attainments, and had attracted favourable notice in India, for his poetical talents. Eminently qualified by study, judgment and assiduity in the judicial line of the Company's government, he had risen in rank at the earliest possible period; and was, for his superiorly-meritorious conduct, on the eve of being farther rewarded by a promotion which would have effected his return to England with a liberal fortune, at a very early age. Inured to the climate from before his sixteenth year, he had been blessed with perfect health until attacked by the fatal fever, which in ten days terminated the fairest prospect and the

fullest hope, ever fostered by success and merit! His private virtues were fully consonant to his more public traits of character. To a suavity of manners, and a condescending urbanity not to be exceeded, he united the strongest filial affection and fraternal kindness, which were evinced by an almost-fatherly protecting attention to his two younger brothers (both upon the Company's Bengal establishment,) the elder of whom being officially stationed with him, had the mournful satisfaction of performing towards him the last duties of mortality. His afflicted relatives in England (who partook of munificent tokens of his regard) can only alleviate their deep-felt sorrow for his untimely loss, by the indelible and soothing remembrance of his many virtues; and with the full and most heart-reviving persuasion, that for so much excellence "There is another and a better world."

At Walthamstow, in his 81st year, David Barclay, esq. the only surviving grandson of Robert Barclay, of Urie, author of the celebrated Apology for the Quakers. He was bred to business in the city of London, and was long at the head of a most extensive house in Cheapside, chiefly engaged in the American trade, and the affairs of which he closed at the commencement of the revolution. He was, at that time, as much distinguished by his talents, knowledge, integrity, and power, as a merchant, as he has been ever since in retirement by his patriotism, philanthropy, and munificence. We cannot form to ourselves, even in imagination, the idea of a character more perfect than that of David Barclay. Graced by nature with a most noble form, all the qualities of his mind and the heart corresponded



responded with the grandeur of his exterior. The superiority of his understanding confirmed the impression which the dignity of his demeanor made on all; and though, by the tenets of his religious faith, he abstained from all the honours of public trust, to which he was frequently invited by his fellow citizens, yet his influence was justly great on all the public questions of the day: his examination at the bar of the House of Commons, and his advice on the subject of the American dispute, were so clear, so intelligent, and so wise, that, though not followed, Lord North publicly acknowledged he had derived more information from him than from all others on the east of Temple-bar. It was the revolution that determined him to wind up his extensive concerns, and to retire; but not as busy men generally retire—to the indulgence of mere personal luxury. His benevolent heart continued active in his retreat. He distributed his ample fortune in the most sublime ways. Instead of making all those persons whom he loved dependent on his future bounty, as expectants at his death, he became, himself, the executor of his own will, and by the most magnificent aid to all his relatives, he not only laid the foundation, but lived to see the maturity, of all those establishments which now give such importance to his family. Nor was it merely to his relations that this seasonable friendship was given, but to the young men, whom he had bred in his mercantile house, and of whose virtuous dispositions he approved. Some of the most eminent merchants in the city of London are proud to acknowledge the gratitude they owe to David Barclay, for the means of their first introduction into life, and

for the benefits of his counsel and countenance in their early stages of it. It is a proof of the sagacity of his patronage that he had very few occasions to repent of the protection he had conferred. And the uninterrupted happiness he enjoyed for many years, in the midst of the numerous connections he had reared, held out a lively example, and a lesson to others, of the value of a just and well directed beneficence. His virtue was not limited to his relatives, to his friends, to his sect, to his country, or to the colour of his species—he was a man of the warmest affections, and therefore loved his family and friends—he was a patriot, and therefore preferred his own country to all others; but he was a Christian, and felt for the human race. No man, therefore, was ever more active than David Barclay, in promoting whatever might ameliorate the condition of man—largely endowed by Providence with the means, he felt it to be his duty to set great examples; and when an argument was set up against the emancipation of the negroes from slavery, “that they were too ignorant and too barbarous for freedom,” he resolved, at his own expence, to demonstrate the fallacy of the imputation. Having had an estate in Jamaica fall to him, he determined, at the expense of 10,000*l.* to emancipate the whole gang (as they are termed) of slaves. He did this with his usual prudence as well as generosity. He sent out an agent to Jamaica, and made him hire a vessel, in which they were all transported to America, where the little community was established in various handicraft trades; the members of it prospered under the blessing of his care, and lived to shew that the black skin inclosed hearts as full of gratitude,



gratitude, and minds as capable of improvement, as that of the proudest white. Such was the conduct of this English merchant! During all this course of well-doing, his own manners were simple, his hospitality large, and his charities universal. He founded a house of industry near his own residence, on such solid principles, that, though it cost him 1500*l.* for several years, he succeeded in his object of making it a source of comfort, and even of independence, to all the well-disposed families of the poor around. The numberless individual acts of his benevolence, though discriminate, was never degraded by the narrowness of a religious distinction. Mr. David Barclay was twice married—he had but one daughter by his first marriage, who was married to Richard Gurney, esq. of Norwich. She was a most beautiful and benevolent woman, every way worthy of such a father. She died some years ago, leaving issue, Hudson Gurney, esq. and the wife of Sampson Hanbury, esq. —Nothing could surpass the tranquillity of his last moments. He was composed, cheerful, and resigned. He had no struggle with life; he rather ceased to live than felt the pang of death.

At Chelsea, Sir William Henry Douglas, bart. vice-admiral of the blue. 81. He is succeeded in his title by his brother, a lieut.-col. in the army, and commandant of the Royal Military College at High Wycombe.

In Jermyn-street, aged 86, Sir George Baker, bart. M.D. F.R.S. and physician in ordinary to his Majesty. He was formerly of King's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1745, M.A. 1749, M.D. 1756.

At Dawlish Villa, Walsh Porter, esq. of Farm-Combe, Worcestershire, a gentleman well known in the fashionable world, and the author of two or three dramatic pieces. Mr. W. Porter married the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Scrope, of Castle-Combe, near Bath. He had on the evening preceding his death, desired his valet to order the post chariot to be got in readiness by five o'clock on the following morning. The man attended his master's order, and on entering the room found him dead in his bed. His death is supposed to have been produced by the bursting of an abscess which had been formed in the liver.

At Clifton, near Bristol, in his 90th year, J. P. Hungerford, esq. of Dingley, a deputy lieut., and many years an honourable, independent, and able representative in parliament for the county of Leicester, to which dignified station he was first elected in the year 1775, after one of the severest contests ever remembered.

At Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, aged 84, John Goldie, esq.; a man, for acuteness of apprehension, and eccentricity of ideas, equalled by few. The last forty years of his life were almost entirely spent in the study of the science of astronomy, in which he is said to have corrected several prevailing errors. His book upon the subject was almost ready for going to the press when he died; and it is to be hoped his friends will put it into the hands of some person, who will give it soon to the public. He published some years since, a voluminous work, intitled, "The Gospel Recovered;" and a few months after his death, "A Treatise upon the Evidence of a Deity;"



Deity;" in which he confutes all atheistical doctrines, and ably proves the existence of a God. This work will remain a testimony of his great power of reasoning and extensive information.

In the Island of Jamaica, Lieut.-gen. Villettes. This officer was descended from one of the most ancient families in France. His ancestors were Lords of Montdidier in Languedoc, in the thirteenth century, and many of them held considerable offices under different monarchs. During the civil wars, they were much distinguished for their exertions in favour of the Hugonots; and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes they withdrew from France and settled in this kingdom. The father of the late lieut.-gen. was educated in the diplomatic line, and was many years minister plenipotentiary to the late and the present king; first at the court of Turin, and afterwards with the Helvetic Cantons. He withdrew from public life in the year 1762, and resided at Bath till 1776; when he died, in the 75th year of his age. His second son, William-Anne Villettes, was born at Bern, on the 14th of June, 1754. He received the early part of his education at a private school near Bath, and the latter part of it at the University of St. Andrew's. A mildness of disposition, and a regular performance of whatever it was his duty to do; qualities, which through life were distinguished features of his character, were remarkable even at this early period. It was observed at the school, that he never received a blow, either from his master, or any of his school-fellows; nor was he ever known at the university to have experienced a reprimand from any of the professors,

or to have been engaged in a quarrel with any of his fellow-students. His father originally intended him for the bar, and he was accordingly entered at Lincoln's-inn, and kept two or three terms; but his ardour for a military life was so great, that Mr. Villettes at last gave way to his son's inclinations, and obtained for him, in the year 1775, a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of dragoons. In this respectable corps, Villettes continued till he rose to the rank of major. In this, as in every other part of his life, a punctual discharge of the duties of his station was constantly observed. By this he obtained the approbation of his superiors, and by his amiable manners he secured the esteem and good will of his equals and his inferiors. During a great part of this period, Capt. Villettes attended Sir W. Pitt (then commander of the forces in Ireland) as his aid-de-camp and secretary. The character of that venerable officer requires no panegyric; and it certainly was an honour to Villettes, that he lived several years in his family, not only as his secretary, but as his confidential friend. His attachment to Sir William Pitt was, indeed, that of a son to a parent; and, like all other attachments that he formed, continued invariable to the end of his life. In the year 1792, Major Villettes quitted the dragoons, and was appointed lieut.-col. of the 69th regiment of foot; which, in consequence of the breaking out of the war in 1793, was sent to the Mediterranean, serving as marines on board a division of the fleet under the command of Lord Hood. From this service Col. Villettes was exempt, as a field-



field-officer; but when Toulon was given up to the allies, he left England to take the command of his regiment, then forming a part of the garrison. His services there were much distinguished by General O'Hara, and his successor, Gen. Dundas. The heights of Faron were entrusted to him; and during the time that he commanded in that important station, his vigilance was such, that he never retired to rest till day-light appeared. All attempts at surprise were accordingly frustrated, and every thing remained secure; the strength of the position scarcely exposing it to any other danger. At length, the French army being increased, after the reduction of Lyons, the danger to which Toulon became exposed was proportionably greater, and Col. Villettes was called to a station of still more importance, and requiring the execution of greater military talents. This was the defence of Les Sablettes, a narrow isthmus, by which the peninsula that forms the south side of the road of Toulon is connected with the main land. As long as this post was in our possession, the whole peninsula was secure, and the ships could remain in safety in the road; but if this had been lost, the various batteries on the peninsula might have been turned upon them, the shipping must have removed into the bay, and the subsequent embarkation of the troops and the inhabitants would have been rendered impracticable. At this post Colonel Villettes commanded; having under him 700 British, and 800 Neapolitan troops. On the 16th of December, Faron was taken by surprise (but not by the fault of any British officer); and Fort Mulgrave,

the nearest port to Les Sablettes, was carried by storm. These disasters rendered the evacuation of Toulon unavoidable. The Neapolitan troops, under the command of Colonel Villettes, behaved very well as long as they were exposed to no danger; but when they saw that Fort Mulgrave was lost, and the French appeared ready to attack them, they retired in a body, got into their boats, and embarked on board their ships. Notwithstanding the desertion of so great a part of his force, Col. Villettes kept up so good an appearance with the remainder, that Les Sablettes, and, of course, the whole of the peninsula, continued in our possession till the evening of the 18th; when the evacuation of Toulon being complete, he received orders to withdraw his troops. This service, though rendered very difficult by the proximity of the enemy, was nevertheless effected during the night; and the troops were marched to the other end of the peninsula, where they were embarked in boats, which conveyed them, without loss, on board the fleet. The next service in which Col. Villettes was engaged, was the conquest of Corsica. He acted here in his proper station at the siege of St. Fiorenzo; and afterwards in a more distinguished manner, at that of Bastia. Lord Hood having proposed to the commander of the land forces the attack of this latter place, and the measure being deemed inexpedient by that officer, his lordship resolved to undertake the siege, without the assistance of any troops but those who were originally given him as marines. After a close blockade of forty days, Bastia was taken, and Lord Hood grate-



gratefully acknowledged the essential assistance which he received on that occasion from Col. Villettes. The merit of this service will perhaps be more fully appreciated, when it is known, that the force which Col. Villettes commanded, was composed of no more than 1000 British soldiers, 250 landed seamen, and 1200 Corsicans; which last were fit only to scour the country. The garrison, on the other hand, consisted of 4000 French regulars, and about as many of the armed inhabitants. Even after the surrender of the place, the difficulties of Col. Villettes' situation did not cease. With his small force, he was to guard 6000 prisoners; and this arduous task was continued several days, the state of the weather rendering it impossible to send them away in a shorter time. For this important service Colonel Villettes was rewarded, by being appointed Governor of Bastia; and a vote of thanks to him being proposed in the House of Commons, it seemed to be a subject of regret with every person, that some circumstances of parliamentary etiquette rendered it impossible to accede to the motion. In the year 1796, an intermittent fever, of a very bad kind, which is common in Corsica, obliged Col. Villettes to resign the government of Bastia, and return to England; and the following year, Portugal being threatened by the French, he was sent to that country, and served in the army commanded by his friend Sir Charles Stuart, about a year and a half; when, the danger being for the present removed, the British troops were withdrawn, and Col. Villettes came back to England, where he was promoted to

the rank of a major-general, on the 18th of June, 1798. About this time, General Villettes was appointed comptroller of the household of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and his royal highness continued to honour the general with his confidence as long as he lived. In 1799, General Villettes was sent to Corfu; it being then in contemplation to raise a corps of Albanians for his majesty's service. Of the inexpediency of this measure the general was soon convinced; and however advantageous the adopting it might have proved to himself, he strongly advised the contrary, and the plan was accordingly relinquished. The mutiny which some years afterwards took place at Malta among troops of a similar description, fully proved the justness of his opinion. When his presence was no longer necessary in Corfu, Gen. Villettes was sent to Malta; where he acted for some time as second in command to Gen. Pigot; and, after his departure in 1801, as commander in chief of the forces, in which important situation he remained till the year 1807. Those persons who recollect the stipulations concerning Malta in the treaty of Amiens, the discussions which arose during the peace in consequence of those stipulations, and the value attached to this island by all parties since the renewal of hostilities; and who, at the same time, consider the situation of Malta, with respect to Naples, Sicily, Egypt, and indeed the whole of the Mediterranean and the Levant, will readily conceive that there were few situations, in which a firm, temperate, and judicious conduct could be more requisite than in the commander of the forces



forces in that island. It may safely be asserted, that few men were superior to Gen. Villettes in the qualities from which such a conduct originates. His judgment was so good, that, though he seldom stood in need of advice, yet, on every proper occasion, he was ready to listen to it; to adopt it with candour, if he judged it to be right; or to adhere to his own opinion, if he saw no just grounds for abandoning it. His firmness in pursuing the line of conduct, which he thought it his duty to adopt, was equally remarkable; and to these qualities were united a temper the least irritable, and manners the most conciliatory, that can be well imagined. The favourite maxim of "*Suaviter in modo, Fortiter in re,*" has perhaps seldom been more perfectly exemplified. Many instances occurred during his command in Malta, in which these qualities were exerted, and executed with the very best effects. When Tomasi, the French-elected Grand Master, laid claim to the island; when a French agent sought an occasion of quarrel, and endeavoured to raise a disturbance in the theatre, as had been done successfully at Rome, Naples, and elsewhere, when a most alarming mutiny took place among the foreign troops in Fort Ricosoli; on all these, and on many other occasions, the firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of Gen. Villettes was successfully employed.—In the year 1807, the personal and professional merit of this officer, his perfect knowledge of most of the European languages, and his long acquaintance with the military systems of the continental powers, pointed him out to his Majesty's government as a proper per-

son to command the foreign troops who were to form a part of the army intended to be sent to the Baltic, under Lord Cathcart. Gen. Villettes was accordingly re-called from Malta; but, though he obeyed the summons with the utmost promptitude, it was found impossible for him to arrive in England in time to take any share in the northern expedition. That expedition was accordingly dispatched under other commanders, and Gen. Villettes was, soon after his arrival, appointed to a situation still more honourable, but eventually fatal to him. It was in the month of September, 1807, that this officer, now a lieut.-gen., returned to England, a country in which he had passed so small a portion of his life, as to be much less known in it than his worth deserved. He was soon after appointed colonel of the 64th regiment of infantry; and his talents were not suffered to remain long unemployed. A proper person was wanted to be commander of the forces, and lieut.-governor, of Jamaica. Many circumstances in the situation of that island rendered it necessary to be particularly careful in the appointment of a general officer suited to that important trust. Gen. Villettes was selected for this purpose; and it would, perhaps, have been difficult to have found a man more capable of fulfilling the duties of the station to the satisfaction of government, and for the benefit of the colony. He was accordingly appointed lieut.-governor and commander of the forces in Jamaica, with the rank of a general in that island, in the latter end of the year 1807. Highly honourable as this appointment was, Gen. Villettes would willingly



lingly have declined it. His constitution, which was never very strong, had been much impaired by bilious complaints; and having been absent from England during almost the whole of the last fourteen years, he would gladly have remained some time in this country. The last day before he embarked at Spithead, was spent at the house of the earliest friend of his youth, to whom, in confidential conversation, he expressed his belief, that the climate of Jamaica would not agree with him; "but," he added, "I would not object to going there on that account; for if I were ordered to march up to a battery, I should do it, though I might be of opinion that I should be killed before my troops could carry it; and, in like manner, I think I ought not to hesitate as to going to Jamaica, if his Majesty's service requires it, though I may be of opinion that I shall fall a victim to the climate." But little is known in England of what happened in Jamaica during the short period that Gen. Villettes lived after his arrival in that island. It is, however, well known, that his amiable disposition, and that firm, but conciliatory conduct, which always formed so remarkable a part of his character, soon engaged the confidence and esteem of the whole community. In the month of July, 1808, he undertook a military tour of inspection through the island. Neither the bad state of his health, nor the unfavourable weather, could induce him to postpone doing what he considered to be his duty. Gen. Villettes left Kingston on the 3d of July, and proceeded as far as Port Antonio, where he inspected some of the troops. He set out from thence on the 11th, to go to Buff

Bay, in the parish of St. George, to inspect a battalion of the 60th, which was stationed there; but in this journey he was seized with a fever, which, on the third day, put a period to his life. He died on the 13th of July, at Mrs. Brown's estate, named Union; retaining in his last moments the same serenity of mind for which his whole life had been so remarkably distinguished. The regret expressed on this occasion by all descriptions of persons in Jamaica, far exceeded what could have been supposed possible, when the short period that General Villettes had resided among them is taken into consideration. His body was interred near Kingston, in the parish of Half-Way-Tree, in which he resided. The funeral was attended by the Duke of Manchester (the governor of the island), as chief mourner, and was conducted with all the military honours so justly due to the rank and merit of the deceased. Few men have possessed, in a degree superior to General Villettes, the talent of acquiring the good will of almost all, the ill will of scarcely any, who knew him. The chief reason was, that he felt good will towards all, and his conduct was suitable to his feelings. His friendship, though by no means restricted to a few, was far from being indiscriminate; but any person who once really enjoyed it, was sure that it would never be withdrawn. On the application of three friends of the late Lieutenant-general Villettes, the dean and chapter of Westminster have consented that a monument should be placed to the memory of that much lamented officer, near the monument of his late friend, the Hon. Sir C. Stuart. Mr. Westmacot



cot is employed as the sculptor; and the following inscription is to be engraved on the marble:

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut.-Gen. William-Anne Villettes, (second son of Arthur Villettes, esq. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, and to the Helvetic Cantons,) who, during a period of thirty-three years, rendered essential service to his country, at Toulon, in Corsica, at Malta, and in many other places. In consideration of these services, he was appointed Colonel of the 64th regiment of Infantry, and Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces in Jamaica; but, while engaged in a tour of military inspection in that island, he was seized with a fever, and died near Port Antonio, on the 13th of July, 1808, aged 54 years.—A worthy member of society was thus taken from the public; a valuable officer was lost to the King's service; and the Island of Jamaica was deprived of a man well calculated to promote its happiness and prosperity. His residence there was indeed short; yet his manly but mild virtues, his dignified but affable deportment, and his firm but conciliating conduct, had secured him the confidence and esteem of the whole community.

"The sculptor'd marble shall dissolve in dust,

And fame, and wealth, and honours,  
pass away;

Not such the triumphs of the good and just,

Not such the glories of eternal day."

At Cronroe, I. Ambrose Eccles, esq. a character of the highest respectability. A profound scholar, a perfect gentleman, he was an ornament to society. As a critic he was distinguished amongst the commentators on Shakespeare. On the

qualities of his heart, it is not, at present, intended to expatiate. We shall only observe, that perhaps a purer spirit never stood before the throne of the Almighty than that of the subject of this article. Perhaps a better husband, a better father, and, in every respect, a better man never existed. But full justice will, we trust, yet be done to his memory. Nothing more is now intended than an hasty sketch of his life and character. After a regular course of education, in the college of Dublin, he went to the Continent. Here his stay was not long. From France he proceeded to Italy, but ill health limited his tour in that interesting country. From Rome he returned to Florence, where he studied the Italian language, with great assiduity and success, under a celebrated professor. But he was soon compelled by the state of his health, to return home. On his way, he paused in London, where he contrived to reside sometime, associating with some of the remarkable literary characters of the day. With the late Dr. Johnson he boasted no intimacy, but he had met him at Tom Davies's, and paid the most respectful attention to his conversation. Some of his opinions and remarks, which had impressed themselves deeply upon his memory, he used to take pleasure in repeating. Revering Tillotson, he was surprised to hear the doctor call him "a pitiful fellow." But he was still more astonished to hear him acknowledge, "long after he had been employed in preparing his Shakespeare for the public eye, indeed a very short time before it issued from the press, that he had never yet read the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher." Preface to the plays, Lear

and



and *Cymbeline*, Dub. 1793. During his residence in London, the theatre engaged much of his attention, and his passion for that elegant amusement grew with his years. "He followed the best performers from theatre to theatre, and studied the best dramatic writers. From an admirer he became a critic. Idolizing Shakespeare, he often lamented that his dramas had suffered in their structure, from the ignorance or carelessness of the first editors. This determined him to attempt a transposition of the scenes, in a few places, from the order in which they have been handed down by successive editions. This," he continues in the modest preface to his edition of *Lear*, "will doubtless be thought by many a hardy innovation, but if it be considered in what a disorderly and neglected state this author's pieces are reported to have been left by him, and how little certainty there is that the scenes have hitherto preserved their original arrangement; the presumption with which this attempt is chargeable, will admit of much extenuation, and it were, at least, to be wished that no privilege of alteration more injurious to Shakespeare, had ever been assumed by any of his editors." What he attempted, he has accomplished with great ingenuity and much taste in his editions of the following plays;—*Lear* and *Cymbeline*, Dub. 1795, and the *Merchant of Venice*, Dub. 1805.\* To each play he has assigned a separate volume, containing, not only notes and illustrations of various commentators, with remarks by the editor, but the several

critical and historical essays that have appeared at different times, respecting each piece. To *Cymbeline* he has added a new translation of the ninth story of *Second Day* of the *Decameron*, and an original air, which accompanies the words of the elegy on *Fidele's* death, composed on purpose for his publication, by Sig. Giordani. These editions will yet be considered as a valuable accession to the critical labours of the commentators of our immortal bard. According as they are better known, they will rise in estimation. The praise bestowed on them, by the author of an *Essay on the revival of the drama in Italy*, note 8, p. 270, is only justice to their merit. "As you Like it," was prepared for the press upon the same plan, but it sleeps with the editor, to whom we shall now return. His person was tall, well proportioned, and majestic. His countenance beamed benevolence. His manners were soft, easy, and polite. His mind was richly stored with classic lore, and every moral virtue. His conversation was a stream of elegant information, occasionally enriched with just criticism and solid argument. Graced with every accomplishment himself, his family became highly accomplished under his direction. Of the fine arts, music, (which he has so ably defended in a note on the "*Merchant of Venice*," p. 236, 239,) was his favourite. Accordingly it was particularly cultivated in his family, who seems to inherit not only his accomplishments, but his virtues. To this slight sketch of his charac-

\* All these publications appeared anonymously. They were published in London by Lackington and Allen, and Longman and Rees.



ter, we shall only add, that he closed an useful life at an advanced age, at his beautiful seat of Cronroe, where he had long resided in elegant hospitality, ministering to the comforts of his surrounding tenantry, and exhibiting in his public and private conduct, in his studies and in his amusements, a model worthy the imitation of every country gentleman.

At Philadelphia, on the 9th of February last, aged about 86 years, James Pemberton, esq. of the society called Quakers; by which, no less than by the community at large, he was eminently distinguished for the upright discharge of his religious and civil duties. He was long the colleague of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in representing that (his native) city, in the general legislature of Pennsylvania, previous to the revolution; and after it, he succeeded the philosopher as president of the society, instituted for promoting the interests of the enslaved Africans; which, with various other benevolent objects, engaged a large proportion of his time, more than half a century. On the 13th, at the interment of his remains, the respect felt for his memory was manifested by a very numerous attendance of his fellow citizens, of all ranks and denominations. His temperament, and regular habits, contributed to preserve, almost to the last, the unimpaired enjoyment of his intellectual faculties, with a capacity for exerting them; and his closing moments evinced the peaceful retrospect of a well-spent life.—“Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.”

Sir Charles Corbett, 57 years a Citizen and Livery-man of the Sta-

tioners' Company, 78. A melancholy event occurred at his funeral; when his friends were assembled to follow him to his grave, his second son, a young man in the vigour of life, broke a blood-vessel, and fell suddenly a corpse, among the company. The funeral of the father was delayed, and they were both interred in one tomb, in the Churchyard of St. Anne's, Westminster. A subscription has been commenced for the family, who have been deprived of their paternal inheritance of 10,000*l.* per annum, and reduced to such indigence, that the present baronet, although heir to some of the best estates in the kingdom, is in an inferior station in the East India warehouses.

At Woolwich, in his 49th year, Colonel John Harding, of the Royal Artillery. At Copenhagen, under Sir Thomas Blomefield, and in the Spanish campaign, under Sir John Moore, where he had the command of the artillery, he proved himself a soldier, “and a ripe and good one.” He stood high in the estimation of two successive Masters of the Ordnance, the Earls of Chatham and Moira—they knew his worth and will lament his loss. To his friends he was deservedly endeared, for of him truly may it be said, as it was long ago of a man of eminence in another profession—“He affirmed, and you believed him; he promised, and you trusted him; you knew him, and you loved him.” He has left a widow, a son (George Judd), who is a captain in the Royal Engineers, and three daughters.

In Great Cumberland-place, the Most Rev. his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, Earl of Normanton, &c. &c. His Grace's decline was rapid: he kept



kept his bed but three days previous to his dissolution. As a scholar, a prelate, and a statesman, his Grace stood pre-eminently high. He was in his 73d year, and is succeeded in his titles by his eldest son, Viscount Somerton, now Earl of Normanton.

At Scottlethorpe, Mr. Samuel Clay, who for 30 years was celebrated throughout that neighbourhood as a conjuror, and practised his art with great success. If any thing could excuse the credulity of those whom he deceived, his superior cunning, and the very extraordinary and impressive figure of the man, might perhaps be pleaded. He was born at Scottlethorpe, and was a short time apprenticed to a baker there; but having had a little education, he disdained that pursuit, and led an idle half-studious life in his father's cottage, on the Grimsthorpe domain; to which cottage, on the death of his father, he succeeded. By that time the recluse life of the man had occasioned some conversation, and he was regarded with a degree of terror by the children of the neighbouring villages. He stood six feet in height, was remarkably erect and thin, with "eyes severe and coat of formal cut, full of wise saws he was and modern instances;" and his loins were usually girt with a belt, his waistcoat was of goat or dog-skin, and ever at the "witching time o' night" he prowled abroad! In a little while his fame became very general, and silly people from considerable distances resorted to his habitation, to have their difficulties dispelled, and take the benefit of his occult studies: almost innumerable are the instances adduced in which this *cunning man*

hit upon expedients to relieve and satisfy his ignorant votaries. Being consulted by a man who had lost some traps for catching vermin in the purlieus of Grimsthorpe Parke, the astrologer told him he would, by the *second sun-rise*, discover the person who had stolen them! He employed the interval in making enquiries; and having suspicion of the offender, he went to a field in which the man was at work, and, accosting him with all the confidence and severity necessary for his purpose, "You stole ——'s traps," said he. The appalled offender, smitten with his guilt, and with the *impossibility* of deceiving his accuser, confessed the fact, and told where he had secreted the stolen articles. "I charge you," concluded the conjuror, "move them not from the spot in which they lie, nor speak of the confession you have made to me, on pain of the most terrible torments my skill is able to inflict." The man who had sustained the loss, called again at the time appointed, and, by the direction of Sam. Clay, to a particular part of the offender's cottage, recovered his property. Of course the amazing skill of the conjuror was trumpeted in all quarters. A few years ago, however, having, we suppose, misplaced one of his spells, he was reduced to the dire necessity of declaring, by advertisement, that HE WAS NO CONJUROR! and of begging pardon of an innocent person whom he had charged with theft! This circumstance had but a slight and temporary effect upon his reputation, and he died in full credit as a magician, in the 50th year of his age.

At Stamford, Mr. Daniel Lambert, whose extraordinary dimensions have for some years rendered him



him an object of curiosity. He had travelled the day preceding his death from Huntingdon, and on his arrival in the evening he sent a message to the office of the Stamford newspaper, requesting that, as "the mountain could not wait upon Mahomet, Mahomet would go to the mountain"—or, in other words, that the printer would call upon him, and receive an order for executing some handbills, announcing Mr. Lambert's arrival, and his desire "*to see company.*" The orders he gave upon that occasion were delivered without any presentiment that they were to be his last, and with his usual cheerfulness. He was in bed—one of large dimensions—"Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa"—fatigued with his journey; but anxious that the bills might be quickly printed, in order to his seeing company next morning. Before nine o'clock, on that morning, he was a corpse. He was in his 40th year, and upon being weighed a few days before his death, by the famous Caledonian balance (in the possession of Mr. Ring, of Ipswich) was found to be 52 stone 11lbs. in weight, (14lbs. to the stone) which is 10 stone 11lbs. more than the celebrated Bright, of Essex, ever weighed. He had apartments at Mr. Berridge's, the Waggon and Horse's Inn, St. Martin's, on the ground floor—for he had been long incapable of walking up stairs. His coffin, in which there was great difficulty to place him, is 6 feet 4 inches long, 4 feet 4 inches wide, and 2 feet 4 inches deep: the immense substance of his legs makes it necessarily a square case. This coffin, which consists of 112 superficial feet of elm, was built upon two axle-trees and four cog

wheels; and upon these his remains were rolled into his grave, which was in a new burial ground at the back of St. Martin's church. A regular descent was made, by sloping it for some distance. It was found necessary to take down the window and wall of the room in which he lay to allow his exit.—The following particulars of this remarkable man may be relied on as authentic, having been taken from his own mouth. Mr. Daniel Lambert was born on the 13th of March, 1770, in the parish of St. Margaret, at Leicester. From the extraordinary bulk to which he attained, the reader may naturally be disposed to enquire, whether his parents were persons of remarkable dimensions? This was not the case, nor were any of his family inclined to corpulence, excepting an uncle and aunt on the father's side, who were both very heavy. The former died during the infancy of Lambert, in the capacity of gamekeeper to the Earl of Stamford, to whose predecessor his father had been huntsman in early life. The family of Mr. L. senior, consisted, besides Daniel, of another son, who died young, and two daughters, who are still living, and both women of the common size.—The habits of young Lambert were not, in any respect, different from those of other young persons, till the age of fourteen. Even at an early period he was strongly attached to the sports of the field.—This, however, was only the natural effect of a very obvious cause, aided probably by an innate propensity to those diversions. We have already mentioned the profession of his father and uncle, and have yet to observe, that his maternal grandfather was a great cock-fighter. Born and



bred among horses, dogs, and cocks, and all the other appendages of sporting, in the pursuits of which he was encouraged even in his childhood, it cannot be a matter of wonder that he should be passionately fond of all those exercises and amusements which are comprehended under the denomination of field sports. About the year 1793, when Mr. L. weighed 32 stone, he had occasion to visit Woolwich, in company with the keeper of the county gaol of Leicester. As the tide did not serve to bring them up to London, he walked from Woolwich to the metropolis, with much less apparent fatigue than several middle-sized men who were of the party. Such were the feelings of Mr. Lambert, that no longer than four years ago, he abhorred the very idea of exhibiting himself. Though he lived exceedingly retired at Leicester, the fame of his uncommon corpulence had spread over the adjacent country to such a degree, that he frequently found himself not a little incommoded by the curiosity of the people, which it was impossible to repress, and which they were continually devising the means of gratifying, in spite of his reluctance. A gentleman travelling through Leicester, conceived a strong desire to see this extraordinary phenomenon, but being at a loss for a pretext to introduce himself to Mr. Lambert, he first took care to enquire what were his particular propensities; being informed that he was a great cocker, the traveller thought himself sure of success. He accordingly went to his house, knocked at the door, and enquired for Mr. Lambert; the servant said he was at home, but that he never saw strangers. "Let him know," replied the

curious stranger, "that I called about some cocks." Lambert, who chanced to be in a situation to overhear what passed, immediately rejoined, "tell the gentleman that I am a *shy cock*." On another occasion, a gentleman from Nottingham was extremely importunate to see him, pretending that he had a particular favour to ask. After considerable hesitation, Mr. Lambert directed him to be admitted. On being introduced, he said he wished to enquire the pedigree of a certain mare.—"Oh! if that is all," replied Mr. Lambert, perceiving from his manner, the real nature of his errand, "she was got by *Impertinence*, out of *Curiosity*." Finding, at length, that he must either submit to be a close prisoner in his own house, or endure all the inconvenience, without receiving the profits of an exhibition, Mr. Lambert wisely strove to overcome his repugnance, and determined to visit the metropolis for that purpose. As it was impossible to procure a carriage large enough to admit him, he had a vehicle constructed expressly to carry him to London, where he arrived in the spring of 1806, and fixed his residence in Piccadilly. His apartments there had more the air of a place of fashionable resort than an exhibition; and as long as the town continued full, he was visited by a great deal of the best company. The dread he felt on coming to London, lest he should be exposed to indignity and insult from the curiosity of some of his visitors, was soon removed by the politeness and attention which he universally experienced. There was not a gentleman in town, from his own country, but went to see him, not merely gazing at him as a spectacle, but treating



treating him in the most friendly and soothing manner, which he declared, was too deeply impressed upon his mind ever to be forgotten. Many of his visitors seemed incapable of gratifying their curiosity to its full extent, and called again and again; one gentleman, a banker in the city, jocosely observed, that he had fairly had a pound's worth.— Ever since that period, Mr. Lambert has been chiefly engaged in travelling to the principal provincial towns, where many thousands have beheld with admiration his astonishing bulk. He was a cheerful companion; possessed a generous heart, and was as fond of rural sports as any man in England. His game chickens and his dogs, when he was at home, were his chief amusement, and the Racing Calendar his study.

At Madeira, Mrs. Peachy, wife of Col. Peachy.

At Soho, in his 81st year Matthew Boulton, esq. Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, of the Economical Society of Petersburg, and many foreign institutions. If genius and indefatigable industry, directed by the purest patriotism, have any claim to the notice of our readers, an account of this gentleman cannot but be highly acceptable. When we contemplate the enlarged extent of his views, the wide and rapid circulation of his improvements and discoveries in the most important branches of art, and the numerous and honourable connections which he has formed in every part of the civilized world, we shall be obliged to admit that few men possess greater claims to the attention and gratitude of their country. Matthew Boulton, son of Matthew Boulton, by Christian, daughter of Mr. Peers,

of Chester, was born at Birmingham, the 14th September, 1728.— He received the chief part of his education at a private grammar school, kept by the Rev. Mr. Ansted, who officiated at St. John's Chapel, Deritend. So early as the year 1745, Mr. Boulton having lost his father, who left him in flourishing circumstances, distinguished himself by the invention of a new and most ingenious method of inlaying steel. Buckles, watch chains, and a great variety of other articles, wrought at his manufactory, were exported in large quantities to France, where they were eagerly purchased by the English, who affected to have no taste for the productions of their own country. The confinement of a populous town was but ill suited to such an establishment as soon became necessary for Mr. Boulton's farther experiments. Accordingly, in the year 1762, he purchased those extensive tracts of common, at that time a barren heath with only a small house and mill, on which the Soho manufactory now stands. He laid the foundation of his present extensive works, at the expense of 9000*l*. To this spot his liberal patronage soon attracted great numbers of ingenious men from all parts, and by their aid he so eminently succeeded in imitating the *or molu*, that the most splendid apartments in this and in many foreign countries received their ornaments from Soho. Here, too, the works of the greatest masters in oil colours were mechanically taken off, with such ease and exactness, that the original could scarcely be distinguished from the copy. This mode of copying was invented by the late Mr. Eggington, whose performances in stained glass



afterwards introduced his name to public notice. The utmost power of the water mill, which Mr. Boulton had hitherto employed, fell infinitely short, even with the aid of horses, of that immense force which was soon found necessary to the completion of his designs. Recourse was therefore had, about the year 1767, to that *chef d'œuvre* of human ingenuity, the steam engine. The first that Mr. Boulton constructed was on M. Savary's plan; but the machine was yet, as it were, in its infancy, and by no means answered Mr. Boulton's expectations. In the year 1769, Mr. James Watt, of Glasgow, obtained a patent for such a prodigious improvement of it, that Mr. Boulton immediately sought his acquaintance, and induced him to settle at Soho. At this place the facility of its application to a variety of concerns, wherein great force was requisite, soon manifested its superior utility and vast advantages to the public; parliament, therefore, in 1775, cheerfully granted a prolongation of Mr. Watt's patent for twenty-five years. A partnership now commenced between Messrs. Boulton and Watt; and a manufactory of steam engines, on their improved plan, was established at Soho, which still supplies the chief mines and manufactories throughout the kingdom. Aided by such talents, and commanding such unlimited mechanical powers, Mr. Boulton's views soon expanded, and Soho began to exhibit symptoms of the extraordinary advantages it had acquired.—The art of coining had long stood in need of simplification and arrangement, and to this art Mr. Boulton no sooner turned his attention, than, about the year 1788, he erected a coining mill, on an im-

proved plan, and struck a gold medal of the full weight of a guinea, and of the same form as that of his new copper coinage lately put into circulation. The superior advantages of that form are obvious.—The impression is far less liable to friction; and by means of a steel gauge of equal diameter, money coined on that principle, may be examined by measure as well as by weight, the rim being exactly circular. Moreover, the intrinsic is so nearly equal to the current value of every piece, that, without a steam engine and adequate apparatus, every attempt to counterfeit the Soho coinage must be made with loss.—The fabrication of base money seems likely, by these means, to be speedily checked, and, it is to be hoped, entirely defeated. The mill at Soho works eight machines, each of which receives, stamps and delivers out, by the aid of only a little boy, from seventy to ninety pieces of copper in one minute. Either of them is stopped without the least interruption to the motion of the others. In adjoining apartments all the preparatory processes are carried on with equal facility and dispatch; such as rolling the copper into sheets, dividing them into blanks, and shaking them into bags clean and ready for the die. Without any personal communication between the different classes of workmen, the blanks are conveyed to the room where they are shaken, and from thence to the coining room in boxes moving with immense velocity on an inclined plane, and accompanied by a ticket of their weight. The Sierra Leone Company have employed Mr. Boulton's mint in the coinage of silver, and the East India Company in that of copper. He has also  
sent



sent two complete mints to Petersburg. Mr. Boulton having presented the late Emperor Paul I. with some of the most curious articles of his manufactory, in return received a polite letter of thanks and approbation, together with a splendid collection of medals, minerals from Siberia; and specimens of all the modern money of Russia. With the view of still further improving and facilitating the manufactory of steam engines, Messrs. Boulton and Watt, in conjunction with their sons, established a foundery at Smethwick, a short distance from Soho. Here that powerful agent is employed, as it were, to multiply itself, and its various parts are fabricated and adapted together with the same regularity, neatness, and expedition, which distinguish all the operations of their manufactory. Those engines are afterwards distributed to all parts of the kingdom by the Birmingham canal, which communicates with a wet dock belonging to the foundery. It could scarcely be expected that envy would view with indifference such singular merit, and such unexampled success. The inventions and improvements of Messrs. Boulton and Watt were first imitated, and then either decried or disputed. Reason laboured in vain to silence the clamours of injustice, and to defeat the stratagems of fraud. At length, in the year 1792, a solemn decision of parliament, and, about the same time, the concurrent opinion of the Court of King's Bench, forbade any further encroachment. The last discovery for which Mr. Boulton obtained a patent, was the important "Method of raising Water and other Fluids;" an ample description of which may be found in the fifth and

sixth volumes of the Monthly Magazine. Whoever contemplates the merit and utility of a long life devoted to such valuable pursuits, as we have here briefly and very imperfectly described; and recollects, without emotion, that the spot on which so much has been done, and is still doing; where hundreds of women and children easily earn a comfortable subsistence; where population is rapidly increasing, and the means of national prosperity improving in proportion, was lately a bleak, swampy, and sterile waste, must want understanding to comprehend, or sympathy to appreciate the happiness of his fellow-creatures. To comment upon the private character of a gentleman in Mr. Boulton's situation, would be an useless task; we shall therefore only observe, that as his great and expanded mind formed and brought to perfection the wonderful works we have briefly endeavoured to describe, so he felt no greater felicity than that of diffusing happiness to all around him. For a long time previous to his decease, he had been confined to his room by illness, and his dissolution was daily expected. His memory will ever remain dear to the British nation, whose glory was advanced in proportion to his own fame.—While we commemorate those great men who have sought their country's honour in the fields of war, we ought not to omit paying a just tribute of applause to those who have promoted arts, industry, and commerce, and diffused plenty and comfort through the realm, by cultivating science, and applying it to the useful arts of peace. He was buried on Thursday, 24th August, at Handsworth, near Soho. A hearse and nine mourning coaches



attended, followed by numerous carriages of his friends. All the beadles in Birmingham rode on horse back, and kept open the way. The corpse, carried by three sets of bearers, was followed by 600 workmen, each of whom had a silver medal presented to him, struck for the occasion.

At Shuckburgh Hall, Sir Stewkley Shuckburgh, bart. 54. He was barrack-master at Canterbury, and at Silver Hill, in Sussex, till within a few years, when he succeeded to the baronetage by the death of the late Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn; and was father of the unfortunate young lady who was lately shot by Lieut. Sharpe.

At Lacock Abbey, Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury, relict of George, the late Earl, and daughter of the late Lord Dormer, aged 85.

At Costessy Hall, Sir William Jerningham, bart. 73. In him his tenantry, both in this county and on his great estates in Staffordshire and Shropshire, have lost a liberal landlord, the poor a most charitable patron, and the numerous friends, to whom his unbounded hospitality offered an ever open mansion, can never forget his frank and courteous manners, and the extraordinary suavity of his deportment. He was a great admirer of literature, and the *Album* at his seat at Costessy was abundantly supplied with poetical effusions left by the various guests whom his intelligent conversation drew near him. Descended from one of the most ancient families in the country, he added to the solid worth of the old English gentleman, the winning courtesy and gracefulness of modern refinement. Precluded by an ad-

herence to the religious faith of his ancestors from parliamentary and most other civil duties, he employed his leisure hours in beautifying, on a great scale, the country around his venerable mansion. Of the taste displayed in the execution of his plans of improvement, the public have been enabled to judge for themselves, by the kind permission which he gave to all, to ride or walk about his extensive plantations.—He is succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son, George Jerningham, esq. of Haughley Park, near Bury.

At Bristol, aged 19, John Dawes Worgan. He was a Hebrew, Greek, and Latin scholar; had added the acquirement of the French, Italian, and other modern languages; and was a poet of no mean order. He had been for some time domestic tutor to the sons of Dr. Jenner, who discovered his brilliant talents, but whose sagacity always predicted an early grave to this specimen of premature genius. He was a sincere christian, of amiable manners, and unimpeachable morals.

At Orierton, in the county of Pembroke, in the 27th year of his age, Sir Hugh Owen, bart. M. P. for Pembroke. By his death his native country has been deprived of a steady and zealous friend to its prosperity, and will therefore deeply lament it. The friends of the ancient house of Orierton, who were acquainted with the real worth of his disposition, his intelligent mind, and his honourable principles, will very long deplore the severe loss which they have sustained. He is succeeded in his title and estates, by Mr. Lord, a barrister.

In Baker-street, Portman-square, Sir John Murray, bart. of Black Baroney,



Baroney, in North Britain; a man, who so well discharged the important duties of a father, a husband, and a friend, as to have rendered his life an invaluable blessing, and his death an irreparable loss, to those in habits of intimacy with him. He is succeeded in his title by his eldest son, now Sir Archibald Murray, an ensign in the third regiment of guards.

At his house in Piccadilly, George William Coventry, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Deerhurst, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Recorder of the city of Worcester. His lordship was born in April, 1722; he was educated at Winchester, was afterwards of University College, Oxford; and, with his eldest brother, Lord Deerhurst, (who died in 1744) was created master of arts in 1739. He succeeded his father, Earl William, in March, 1751. The following year he married Maria, the eldest of the three daughters of John Gunning, esq. the most celebrated beauties of that day. The issue of this marriage have been remarkably unfortunate: the first-born daughter died young; Mary Alicia, the next child, was the first wife of the present Sir Andrew Bayntun, to whom she was married when 23 years old, in June 1777; was divorced in 1783, and died in January, 1784; Ann Margaret, the next child, was married in 1778, when 21 years old, to the Honourable Edward Foiey, from whom she was divorced in 1787, and the following year she married Samuel Wright, esq. a captain in the army; George, Viscount Deerhurst, who succeeds his father, and is now Earl of Coventry, was married, at 19 years of age, to Lady Catharine Henley, a daughter of the late Earl of Nor-

thington; the marriage was without the consent of his father, and the lady died in less than two years (in January 1779); a few months after which, as Lord Deerhurst was hunting in Worcestershire, attempting a dangerous leap, his horse fell on him, beat his face nearly flat, and though he was miraculously preserved, he has ever since been totally blind. In 1783, he married Miss Pitches, second daughter of Sir A. Pitches, by whom he has a numerous family. The first wife of the late Earl died in 1760, and in 1764, he was united to Barbara, daughter of John, Lord St. John, of Bletsoe, who died in 1804, leaving him several children. Lord Coventry was a lord of the bed-chamber to his late and present majesty, which office he resigned in 1770. He supported the prerogative in the American war, though he deprecated the exertion of force. In 1788, he voted with ministers on the regency question; and in 1795, voted Mr. Hastings "not guilty" on all the charges against him. On the 27th March, 1796, he opposed the negotiation with the French Directory: and, in 1803, spoke against the motion for censuring Lord Sidmouth's administration.

At Tolstone Lodge, near Tadcaster, Peregrine Wentworth, esq. 87. In May, 1751, Mr. W. married Miss Thompson, only daughter of Beilby Thompson, esq. of Eserick, near York, by his first wife, who was sole daughter and heiress of Sir Roger Beckwith, bart. He afterwards married Mrs. Witton, relict of Wm. Witton, esq. of Lupset, near Wakefield, and sister to the late Dr. Assheton, of Middleton, near Manchester. He has left no issue by either marriage. Mr. W. was



the last of the male line of the Earl of Stafford. He held the office of Register for the West Riding of the county of York, 44 years. He was highly esteemed by every gentleman of the turf, on which he commenced in 1754, though in 1752 he rode his hunter, a match, against Mr. Vernon's hunter, over York.

At Combermere Abbey, Sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, bart. in his 71st year. He sat in four parliaments for this county. He is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son, now Sir Stapleton Cotton, bart. Major General in the army, and at present actively employed in the campaign in Spain.

At Maidstone, in his 43d year, Major-General Coote Manningham, Colonel of the 95th, or rifle regiment of foot, and one of the Equerries to his majesty. He was second son of the late Charles Manningham, esq. of Thorp, in Surrey, formerly one of the Council at Fort William, in Bengal. The late Generals Sir Eyre Coote and Sir Robert Boyd, were both nearly related to Major-General Manningham on the side of his mother, who was one of the daughters of the late respected Colonel Hutchinson, formerly Governor of St. Helena. It was under his uncle, Sir Robert Boyd, that the general commenced his apprenticeship in arms, at the memorable siege of Gibraltar, being then a subaltern in Sir Roberts own regiment, the brave 39th foot, in which corps he rose to the rank of captain. On the breaking out of the war in 1793, Major Manningham had the honour of being appointed to the light infantry battalion, formed in the islands, in order to join Sir Charles Grey, on his coming out to attack the French West Indies, and

was a sharer in the glory of that campaign, at the reduction of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe. He soon rose to be lieutenant-colonel of the 81st regiment of foot; and in 1795 he was adjutant-general to the forces in St. Domingo, then under the command of Lieutenant-General Forbes. While upon this service he had the misfortune to be severely wounded by an ambuscade of the enemy. On his return to England, he had the honour to be favoured by the notice and protection of his sovereign; and was, in 1798, advanced to be one of his Majesty's aid-de-camps with the rank of Colonel, and soon after was appointed one of his Majesty's equerries. In 1805, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and was for some time employed on the home staff. On the breaking out of the war in Spain, he anxiously sought permission to serve in the army which was forming to assist that country; and he was appointed to the division commanded by the gallant Sir David Baird, whom he accompanied to Corunna as next in authority, till the junction of the main army was effected on the Duero, when Major-General Manningham took the command of a brigade. After sustaining with them the almost incredible hardships and fatigues of the latter part of that campaign, he had at last the consolation and satisfaction at the head of these brave men, of successfully repelling the furious attacks of very superior numbers of the enemy, at the memorable battle of Corunna. Within a short period after the general's return to England in January last, his health began visibly to decline; and it is probable that the fatigues and sufferings he underwent upon



upon that most severe service in Galicia, operating upon a constitution already affected by West India service, and the wounds received in it, produced the feverish and other fatal symptoms, which carried him to the grave at the early age of 43 years, ripe indeed in glory, but immaturity for his family and friends, and above all for his country.

At Hammersmith, James Elphinston, esq. 88. A long retirement from the cares of the world, had in a manner withdrawn this gentleman from the view of it for some time past, but he has made no common figure in it during the long period of his life.

At Fineshade, the seat of her father, the Hon. J. Monckton, where she was on a visit, Eleanor, Countess Dowager of Harborough, 38. She has left one son, the present Earl of Harborough, a minor, and four daughters.

At the Hyde, Ingatestone, Mrs. Disney, wife of the Rev. Dr. D. and daughter of the Rev. Francis Blackburne, archdeacon of Cleveland, Yorkshire, 63.

At Stewart-hall, county Tyrone, Andrew Thomas, earl of Castlestewart, no less eminent for the integrity and independence of his mind, than for his illustrious descent. He was the acknowledged head of the house of Stewart, being immediately descended, in the male and legitimate line, from Robert the second, king of Scotland. By his widow (daughter of the late Judge Sill), he left two sons and two daughters. His lordship is succeeded by his eldest son Robert.

At Abbeyland, county of Cork, the Most Reverend Doctor Dillon, titular archbishop of Tuam. He

was a prelate exemplary in his conduct, engaging in his manners, and enlightened in his mind; his zeal, as a public character, extended no less to the punctual discharge of the duties he owed to the flock committed to his care, than to promote and support the general interests of religion; his virtue in private life endeared him to his friends, while, in his general intercourse with society, his dignified deportment rendered him respectable. Placed at the head of this diocese, at a fearful period of civil commotion, unawed by the dread of the misrepresentations of prejudice, or the misconceptions of disaffection, he taught obedience to the laws of his country, and charity and forbearance to all men. The same zeal which actuated him to remove abuses committed to the prejudice of religion, rendered him firm in opposing any attempts to encroach on its rights.

The Most Noble William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of Portland, Marquis of Titchfield, &c.

At Lansdown-house, Berkeley-square, the Right Hon. John Henry Petty, Marquis of Lansdown, Earl of Wycomb in England, Earl of Shelburne, Viscount Fitz Maurice, and Baron Dunkerron, in Ireland. His lordship was in his forty-fourth year. He succeeded his father, the late marquis, in 1805; and the same year, married Lady Gifford, relict of Sir Duke Gifford, baronet, by whom he has left no issue, but is succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother, Lord Henry Petty. He had been for many months in a declining state of health. In the autumn of the present year, by the advice of his medical attendants, he was preparing to embark for Lisbon, to try the effect of the tem-

perature



perature of the atmosphere of that country. Previously to his intended departure, he visited his favourite castle at Southampton, and finding himself daily getting better, he abandoned his intention of going to Portugal. His disorder was a liver complaint, to which he had for many years been subject. His lordship had a presentiment of his approaching end. It was only three days before his death that he observed to a favourite domestic, "Happy is that man who closes his earthly career when in sleep." It was a singular circumstance that he should depart this life in a way most agreeable to his own wishes: his lordship died without a groan, at a time when his servant was sitting near the head of the bed, and imagined his master to have been still asleep. It was not until half an hour afterwards that he was discovered to be dead. He was a man of the most unassuming and conciliatory manners: in his domestic habits he was beloved by all his household. A few months since, as he passed the church-yard at Paddington, commenting on the display of a pompous funeral procession, when extended frequently a hundred miles into the country, he ridiculed the idea, and added, "When I die, pray let my remains be deposited here." In consequence of that request being lately repeated, the body will be deposited there in a vault, over which a plain mausoleum will be erected to his memory.

At his house, in Seymour Place, Lord Monson, 23. He succeeded his father in 1805; the following year married Lady Sarah Saville, and has left one son, to whom the title devolves.

In Pall-Mall, Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart. He was a man of distinguished knowledge, particularly on political and commercial subjects. He was also a man of speculation, and was chiefly instrumental in founding the Globe Insurance Company. About a year ago he was deprived of a most amiable and accomplished wife, to the regret of a wide circle of friends. — Sir Frederick has left a large and valuable library, among which are many rare and curious manuscripts.

At St. George's hospital, Thomas Soaper, a carpenter, whose death was occasioned by the bite of a rattlesnake. He was at work at an exhibition-shop of beasts and reptiles, in Piccadilly, where there is a rattlesnake in a close cage. He must needs tease and provoke the creature with his rule, which he unluckily dropped in the cage; and in taking it out, the snake bit him between the thumb and finger. In a few minutes, the hand was terribly swollen, and in a few hours the poor sufferer was deprived of his reason. Every possible attention was paid to him at the hospital, without effect.

At Whitton, Edmund Hill, esq. 76. He has left property to the enormous amount of 800,000*l.* To Mr. Fish, of Greville-street, Hatton-garden, and to another gentleman, he has left 360,000*l.* each; to the Rev. Mr. Taylor, his nearest relative, who was offered 100,000*l.* some time ago, for the chance of his legacy, he has bequeathed 36,000*l.* He has left nothing to his relatives in Somersetshire, whom he had placed on a valuable estate in that county, which he had bought for 75,000*l.* and which he had as-  
sured



sured them they should inherit. Mr. Hill was originally a tailor at Brentford; and the person who succeeded him in that business, still carries on the trade in that town. It was by the powder mills at Whifton, that Mr. Hill realised his vast fortune. He enjoyed the complete supply of Turkey powder, whence he imported back the produce of the Levant, and with it carried on the business of a Turkey merchant.

The celebrated composer, J. Haydn, 76. He was born at Rohran, in Lower Austria, in 1733. He is justly considered as the father of Music in our day; for, although in his youth he diligently studied the works of every great master, ancient and modern, his transcendent genius soaring above them all, soon called the attention of the whole musical world upon himself; all admiring him, first for the beauty, boldness, and originality of his works, and afterwards regarding him as the best model for study and imitation. He died at Gumpendorf, near Vienna.

Major-gen. John Ronald M'Kenzie, who so gloriously fell in the battle of Talavera, was the representative of a very ancient family, whose patrimonial estate (Suddie) lies in that part of the county of Ross, called the Black Isle. He fell in or about his 47th year. He began his military career in the marines, under the immediate eye of his uncle, General M'Kenzie, of that corps, and for some time previous to 1794, did the duty of adjutant to the Chatham division. Upon the death of his uncle, by which he succeeded to some personal fortune, he relinquished the marines, perhaps from an ambition to get

forward in his profession more rapidly than that service admits of. In the spring of 1794, he became major of the 2d battalion of the 78th foot, raised by the present Lord Seaforth. In the latter end of that year, or early in 1795, both battalions of the 78th were consolidated; by which measure this gallant officer became attached to the 1st battalion, and with the officers and men from the 2d, joined the 1st battalion at the Cape, whence they proceeded 1200 strong to India, where the regiment served with distinction, under the present lieut.-gen. (then col.) M'Kenzie Frazer. With this corps the gallant Major-gen. served many years in India, and latterly commanded the regiment. He returned to Europe in 1801-2, sincerely regretted by his regiment, and all who knew him—and if his service in the east was not marked by any brilliant professional event, it was because the situation of that country, during his stay in it, did not call for any active exertion. Promoted to the rank of colonel soon after he came home, on the breaking out of the present war, 1803, he was placed on the northern staff as a brigadier; he was afterwards made governor and commandant of Alderney, and soon replaced on the northern staff as major-gen. which situation he held, when, on his own solicitation, he was removed to the command of a brigade in Portugal in 1808. He was in Parliament four years, first for the Sutherland district of boroughs, and latterly for the shire of Sutherland, in the room of Mr. William Dundas. In 1804, he superintended the levy; and in 1805, the discipline of that gallant, but ill-fated *second* 2d battalion.



talion of the 78th, which, when but recruits, in fact, beat the chosen troops of France on the plains of Maida, but were afterwards annihilated with their gallant young leader, lieut.-col. M'Leod, in the last Egyptian expedition. He was a zealous, steady, cool soldier—a mild and most friendly man. The service loses in him a most excellent officer—his friends, an estimable and amiable man. The 78th adored him, and will long lament him. His estate, called Suddie, devolves to an only sister, married to a Captain Potts, of the 42d regiment, by whom she has a large family.

At his residence at Scarisbrick, aged 58, Thomas Eccleston, esq. The agricultural improvements which have, during late years, rendered the county of Lancaster as conspicuous as any other district in this kingdom, owe, in a very great measure, their rise, and subsequent success, to his active and enterprising spirit. He loved the theory as well as the practice of the most interesting science which can engage the attention of the human intellect. His pursuits were, therefore, devoted to the execution of every undertaking which combined a hope of removing long-established prejudices with the prospect of future utility. Even in early life, and long before most men exert themselves at all, he began to carry into effect those magnificent designs, which formed in more advanced life his darling occupation.—Throughout the anxious scene in which he afterwards became so illustrious a character, his efforts were eminently distinguished by the calm and patient consideration of every circumstance which could contribute to

render them beneficial to the present age, and to posterity. No suggestion which arose from a quarter which he had accustomed himself to treat with respect, passed without having its due reflection; he had the ability to distinguish between innovation and really useful discovery. Whilst those who dreaded any change in the system, which, unfortunately too near our own times, had palsied the exertions of genius, and restrained the benevolence of patriotism, imagined that ruin and mortification alone could attend schemes apparently so extravagant; to a philosophic eye the picture was reversed. If it was too highly varnished, if it partook too much of that kind of recommendation which avoids the curiosity of critical analysis; on nearer review it was found to owe its most imposing qualities to the design of a masterly pencil. This was precisely the case with Mr. Eccleston's endeavours, to do honour to his native country. What might seem the effect of enthusiasm to an indolent observer, had never been suffered to engage his attention, until it had been submitted to the closest and most accurate investigation of his superior understanding. A narrative of his various undertakings does not come within the intention which produced this hasty and imperfect sketch. It is sufficient to our purpose to observe, that his neighbourhood bears ample testimony to his spirited and liberal exertions. He has rendered a country once uninviting and barren, fertile and abundant. His own domain has risen like a new creation under his hands, where, to use the expression of the poet, "*Digna manet divini gloria ruris.*" A tract of land



land twenty years since, scarcely affording a communication during the winter, when society assumes its most attractive delights, is now rendered accessible by as good roads as any the kingdom can boast; and the benefits which society has derived from these improvements are exhibited in the habits and manners of its peasantry. All these display a character of the highest order, and a mind which could be interested in nothing which is insignificant. If in his public conduct he was thus to be admired, in the sphere of his private duties he was one of the most engaging men of the present day. He had been continually in the world—his observations and anecdotes were as various as incident could furnish. His important services to mankind had debarred him of the opportunity of becoming familiar with the writers of antiquity; but he was well acquainted with most of the useful publications of his own country, and of her neighbour. He possessed the *utile dulci* as perfectly as any of his equals; and, had the constitution of his country permitted it, his knowledge and talents would have given him weight in the public estimation, and pointed him out as possessing the qualifications necessary to form an active and useful senator. But he was employed upon a no less animating scene—he was destined to clothe nature in her richest vest, and to extend the blessings of industry in every direction. In his person he had a dignity which claimed attention wherever he moved.—There was at the same time a placid benevolence in his countenance, a freedom and ease in his manners, which invited confidence

and secured esteem. To all around he displayed the gayest serenity; and his presence enlivened the circle of his family by the lustre of the softer virtues. If we are to assure ourselves that happiness consists in useful and honourable pursuits, and that, according to the opinion of the Roman philosopher, it springs from the exercise of a right judgment we may exclaim with the same moralist, "*Ecce animus æternitate dignus.*"

At Walling Wells, near Worksop, the seat of Sir T. Wollaston White, bart. in consequence of a fall from his horse in hunting, Thomas Charles Gascoigne, only son of Sir Thomas G. bart. 23.—In pursuing the pleasure of the chase, with Lord Scarborough's hounds, he was thrown from the spirited animal which he rode, in making a leap over a small rivulet. His head struck against the strong branch of a tree, which threw him backwards with such violence as to rupture his spine. The immediate consequence was a paralysis of his lower parts; and although the first medical aid was procured, the accident terminated fatally. The following pathetic inscription, from the pen of his father, is to be placed on the tomb of this much-lamented young gentleman:—

HERE IS DEPOSITED

WHAT REMAINS OF

THOMAS CHARLES GASCOIGNE,

Only Son of Sir Thos. Gascoigne, Bart.

*He met his Fate from a Fall in Hunting,*

And expired at Walling Wells.

The Seat of Sir Thomas White, Bart.

In Nottinghamshire, on Friday, the 20th  
of October, 1809.

Snatched thus prematurely in the Twenty-fourth year of his Age, from his numerous Friends; his nearly heart-broken Father derives consolation, from the soothing reflection of the general estimation and affection borne to his  
child



child during his short career. With the Parent, the family will become extinct.

At Cambridge, the Rev. George Borlase, B. D. casuistical professor and registrar of Cambridge University, and also rector of Newton, Suffolk. He was many years fellow and tutor of St. Peter's college, A. B. 1764; A. M. 1767; and B. D. 1780. He was the youngest son of the late Doctor Borlase, of Castle Horneck, Cornwall, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, &c. He lived beloved, and died lamented by a more numerous and respected circle of acquaintance, than, perhaps, ever fell to the lot of one man to obtain. Amongst the latter, we may rank the present Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, as his nearest and dearest friend. His conduct, for independence and integrity, were proverbial, during the many political struggles which have of late years occurred in the University. Strongly attached to the principles and politics of the party which Mr. Fox was supposed to lead in the state, he withstood all the offers which were made to him of preferment and emolument, and his conduct as registrar gained him universal applause, except from one man, the late Dr. Yorke, Bishop of Ely, who, because he knew the principles of Mr. Borlase were obnoxious to Mr. Pitt (the then member for the University,) in his capacity as visitor of the college, twice refused him the mastership, though twice nominated, and sent to him by all the fellows as their choice. Mr. Borlase has died without issue, though twice married. His first wife was Miss Harriet Sero-cold, of Cherry-Hinton, Cambridgeshire, and sister to the wife of Dr.

Pearce, now Dean of Ely. She died in child-bed within eleven months of their marriage. He married, secondly, Miss Home, sister of Meyrick Home Bankes, esq. of Winstanley Hall, Lancashire.

At Earlham, in his 60th year, John Gurney, esq.—We feel an unfeigned sorrow in recording the death of so excellent a fellow citizen, who will be greatly missed, and long regretted by all who knew him. Placed in the centre of one of the largest mercantile establishments of this country, he has shewn no less wisdom and skilfulness, than liberality and integrity in the management of its extensive ramifications. But he was not wholly absorbed in his own concerns, vast as they were: the benevolence of his nature prompted him, and the active energy of his mind enabled him, to dedicate a considerable portion of his time, to the concerns of others. No exertion was too great, no object too small, when the welfare of others was in question—All those who have been engaged with him in arbitration, in executorship and in bankruptcies, can bear testimony to the promptness of mind, which enabled him to see at once the various bearings of the case; to the acute penetration with which he unravelled the intricacies of entangled accounts; and to the conciliating spirit by which he has saved many a family from ruinous litigation. Nor did he confine himself to the concerns of private life; in all public undertakings he was among the first to promote the welfare and improvement of his native city, and to all its charitable institutions, he contributed freely not only his purse but his exertions. He was a steady friend to civil and religious liberty,

and



and in the worst of times he never shrunk from the manifestation of his sentiments, fearless, though not insensible, of the obloquy which might attend it. With singular judgment he steered in difficult times a middle course between the opposite extremes of party. But although he felt it a duty to act decidedly, when the times called for it, he held no feelings of personal hostility against his political opponents. Indeed he was wholly without gall; the occasion which called forth the exertion, once past, he instantly tendered the right hand of friendship to the keenest of his adversaries. We have hitherto dwelt on the useful part of Mr. Gurney's character, but he largely contributed to the pleasures as well as the interest of those around him, for he was of a singularly cheerful nature, and of habits in a high degree social. These he indulged by a constant hospitality, impossible to be exceeded, and by no means confined to the respectable religious sect of which he was a member, but extended very generally to his friends and neighbours, and to those who occasionally visit-

ed Norwich. After a life well spent in the discharge of the duties of a Christian, Mr. Gurney died in truly Christian sentiments, distinctly expressed a short time before his death, in the last moments of his unclouded reason, with a perfect consciousness that his disease was mortal, and with a resignation the most entire to the will of Almighty God. Mr. Gurney was a member of the Society of Friends; he was once married, and eighteen years ago was left a widower with eleven children. All of these survive him, and would be inconsolable under the loss of him who was the most tender and affectionate of parents, but for the hope that is in them.

At Ottery St. Mary, Mrs. Cole-ridge, relict of the Rev. John C. vicar of that place, 88.

In the public hospital, at Kingston, Jamaica, and buried at the expense of the parish, Robert Hepburn Ker, formerly a baker in that city, and who, by a late decision in the House of Peers, was found entitled to the dukedom of Roxburgh, unincumbered, and 100,000*l.* sterling in the funds,

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## CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE

*By the Government of Bombay.*

*Bombay, June 9th, 1810.*

ON Monday last, being the 4th of June, the hon. the governor gave a splendid ball and supper at Parell to the ladies and gentlemen of this settlement, surpassing even the many former elegant entertainments which we have had the pleasure of witnessing at the same mansion.

The arrangements for this fete were conducted with a degree of liberality and magnificence, worthy of the occasion for which the party was assembled: to celebrate not only the Birth-day of our Beloved Sovereign, but the Fiftieth Year of his arduous and eventful Reign.

The avenue leading to Parell was  
illu-



illuminated a considerable distance from the house, which appeared a solid blaze of light. The area before the entrance, was brilliantly ornamented with lights, suspended in the most fanciful and elegant manner among the branches of the trees, and on arches and festoons, erected for the purpose. Over the principal entrance was a transparency representing a medallion encircled by a wreath of laurel, and surmounted by a crown with the rays of the Sun reflected from the black ground. On the centre was the following inscription.

GEORGIUS TERTIUS

REX

ANNO 50. REGNI.

And underneath was the following beautiful and highly appropriate motto from the Scriptures :

The hoary head is a crown of glory when it is found in the path of righteousness.

The large hall on the ground floor was also decorated with transparencies, the floor, together with the grand staircase, being painted so as to resemble marble.

Over the door at the western end, was a transparency of his Majesty's arms, with the following memorable words, from the first speech which he addressed to his Parliament after ascending the throne :

BORN AND BRED A BRITON, I  
GLORY IN THE NAME.

On the right was seen the plume of feathers of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with the letters G. P., while the Royal Arms were supported on the left by the

transparency representing MAGNA CHARTA resting on the lion and the unicorn in a recumbent posture, with the Rose and the Thistle, and the Shamrock in the foreground ; whilst the national flags with the masts of a ship, and the other emblems, completed the rear.

At the opposite extremity of the Hall, over the great door leading to the gardens, was another transparency, on a very extensive scale, presenting a view of the constitution of Great Britain, on several medallions.

On the upper part immediately over the medallion, on which was engraven ENGLAND, sat BRITANNIA ; the rays of the Sun were connected on the right with the PARLIAMENT over which stood LEGISLATURE resting upon a rock ; the Parliament was again subdivided into the LORDS and COMMONS, with their appropriate emblems. The JUDICIAL with the JUDGES and JURIES were connected by the same means with the left, with a figure of JUSTICE supporting with her right hand the sword, and the balance with her left. In the centre between these two divisions, was seen a Star, representing the executive part of the constitution, with the KING engraven in large letters of gold, and encircled by the garter with the motto, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*"—below this was the CHURCH surmounted by the cross and the commandments, and again subdivided into the SPIRITUAL LORDS and the CLERGY, with the mitre over the former, and the book of common prayer and the chalice over the latter. On the lower part of this beautiful representation, was seen St. George on horse-back contending



tending with the dragon, while above Britannia were engraven the following lines.

THE LAWS, THE RIGHTS,  
The generous plan of power, delivered  
down,  
From age to age by your renowned fore-  
fathers  
So dearly bought, the price of so much  
blood,  
O let it never perish in your hands ;  
But piously transmit it to your children,  
Do thou, great LIBERTY, inspire our  
souls,  
And make our lives in thy possession  
happy,  
Or our deaths glorious in thy just de-  
fence.

The upper Hall was likewise decorated in a novel and elegant manner with transparencies, in the several windows, having inscribed on them some of the most important events of the present reign. At the eastern extremity was a portrait of his Majesty, with a full-length painting of Britannia, recording, under the directions of Fame, the Naval Heroes of the Nile ; over which we observed on a rich drapery the beautiful designation bestowed on her by our immortal national poet,

"The green-haired Heroine of the west."

with the following motto in allusion to the taunts of our enemies.

*Dives opum, Studiisque asperrima belli.*

On the window on the right hand of Britannia appeared

ELLIOTT,  
GIBRALTAR,

with the following line selected not so much for its beauty, as from the circumstance of its having been placed on the Medal, presented by the celebrated Frederick the Great to General Elliott, on the termina-

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ation of the memorable defence of that fortress.

*Celebris in flammis, celebris Gibraltar in undis.*

The following inscriptions appeared in the several other windows.

RODNEY,	HOWE,
12th April, 1782.	1st June, 1794.
<i>Muturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro ;</i>	
<i>Non illi imperium pelagi, sævumque tridentem,</i>	
<i>Sed mihi sorte datum.</i>	

DUNCAN,	ST. VINCENT.
11th Oct. 1797.	14th Feb. 1798.
<i>Britannia need no bulwarks,</i>	
<i>No towers along the steep,</i>	
<i>Her march is on the mountain waves,</i>	
<i>Her home is on the deep.</i>	

NELSON,
1st Aug. 1798, 2d April 1801, 21st Oct. 1805.

*Blood of the Brave, thou art not lost  
Amid the waste of waters blue ;  
The waves that roll to Albion's Coast  
Shall proudly boast their sanguine hue ;  
Thy blood shall be the vernal dew  
To foster Valour's daring seed,  
The generous plant shall still its' stock  
renew,  
And hosts of Heroes rise when one shall  
bleed.*

UNION  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
1st January 1800.  
*Paribus se legibus ambæ  
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.*

WILBERFORCE.  
Abolition of the African Slave Trade  
1st January 1808.  
The blessing of those who were ready to perish came upon him.

ABERCROMBIE,  
ALEXANDRIA.  
The Father of the fight  
Who snatched on Alexandria's sand  
The Conqueror's wreath with dying hand,  
Z z Sir



SIR SIDNEY SMITH,

ACRE.

Or of the redcross hero teach,  
Dauntless in dungeon as on breach;  
Alike to him, the sea, the shore,  
The brand, the bridle, or the oar.

MOORE.

CORUNNA.

Fallen to save an injured land,  
Imperial Honour's awful hand  
Shall point his lonely bed;  
The warlike dead of every age,  
Who fill the fair recording page,  
Shall leave their sainted rest,  
And half reclining on his spear  
Each wondering chief by turns appear,  
To hail the Hero guest.  
Old Edward's sons unknown to yield,  
Shall crowd from Cressy's laurelled field,  
And gaze with fixed delight,  
Again for Britain's wrongs they feel,  
Again they snatch the gleamy steel,  
And wish the avenging fight.

HARDINGE.

8th March 1808.

'Tis not th' embattled host,  
Nor fleets that line a coast,  
That claim alone the mead,  
Of Valour's sacred deed,  
Nor whether Admiral or Captain bleed;  
No, 'tis the Hero's soul  
Which gives the high controul;  
This saves a falling state,  
This signs a Tyrant's fate,  
This flamed in Hardinge's eye  
At Battle's cheerful cry,  
And bade him like the mighty Nelson die!

WELLESLEY.

VIMEIRA.

TALAVERA.

Victor ab auroræ populis.

Duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tro-  
phæa,  
Bisque triumphatas utroque ab littore  
gentes.

STUART.

MAIDA.

On you, noblest English,  
Whose blood is fetched from Fathers of  
war-proof.

The above inscriptions are deriv-  
ed from sources too generally known  
to require specification, unless we  
except those which relate to the two  
naval heroes, Nelson and Hardinge,

who fell alike in the hour of victory.  
The beautiful lines on the former,  
are by Doctor Leyden of Calcutta,  
and the no less beautiful verses on  
the latter, are from a Poem written  
at Parell House, in March, 1808, by  
a lady who has recently left this set-  
tlement for Europe, who long filled  
the first rank in this community, but  
who was much more distinguished by  
her genius and virtues, than by the  
highest rank which any community  
could bestow. It is only for strangers  
that it is necessary to add, the name  
of *Lady Mackintosh*.

The ball was opened about 10  
o'clock by the Hon. the Governor  
and Mrs. Lechmere, and the danc-  
ing continued with great spirit, con-  
sidering the extreme heat of the  
weather, until about 1 o'clock,  
when the party retired to an elegant  
supper, after which the following  
toasts were given.

THE KING, and may he continue to  
wear the Crown for many years.

THE QUEEN AND ROYAL FAMILY.

THE HONOURABLE UNITED EAST  
INDIA COMPANY, &c. &c.

The party afterwards proceeded  
to the extensive gardens, which were  
illuminated in a very grand and mag-  
nificent manner, having a triumph-  
al arch between the fountains, and  
the great terrace which runs paral-  
lel with the water.

From the terrace, the company  
were gratified with a splendid dis-  
play of fireworks, which illuminat-  
ed the whole of that beautiful pic-  
turesque scenery, which extends  
from the gardens by successive  
ranges of hills, interspersed with  
wood and water until it terminates  
with the high land on which the  
flag staff is erected.

On



On this occasion the flag staff was decorated with the colours of various nations, which produced a magnificent effect, when appearing through the extreme darkness of the night, by the assistance of a strong light which suddenly rose behind the hill.

The company afterwards returned to the ball-room, when the danc-

ing recommenced and continued until a late hour in the morning.

We must not omit to mention that many of the ladies, unwilling to show any want of loyalty on so memorable an occasion, wore Bandeaux with the following motto:

G. R.

50.

God prolong His Majesty's Reign.



## CURRENT PRICES IN THE LONDON MARKETS, FROM JAN. 1, TO DEC. 24, 1809.

		Bread per Quar- tern.	Flour per Sack.		Wheat, sup per Quarter.		Beef, per Stone of 8lbs.		Mutton, per Stone of 8lbs.		Lamb, per Stone of 8lbs.		Veal, per Stone of 8lbs.		Pork, per Stone of 8lbs.		Sugar, per Cwt.		Candles, Stone #, per Doz.		Hops, in Bags.		Counts.																	
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	l.	s.	l.	s.	Biggs Main.	Wall's End.														
1809	1809	s. d.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	d.	l.	l.	s.	d.	s. d.														
Jan.	1 to	1	80	a	85	81	10	90	10	4	6	a	5	8	0	0	7	0	a	6	6	2	12	3	14	6	3	10	a	4	16	56	0	59	0					
	8 to	15	1	80	85	81	10	90	10	4	6	5	8	0	0	0	7	0	8	0	4	0	6	6	2	12	3	14	6	3	10	4	16	56	0	59	0			
	15 to	23	1	75	80	81	10	91	1	4	2	5	5	2	0	0	6	0	7	0	5	0	6	4	2	12	3	14	6	3	10	4	16	56	0	59	0			
	23 to	30	1	80	85	81	10	90	4	4	0	8	3	4	10	0	0	4	5	0	6	4	2	12	4	14	6	3	10	4	16	56	0	59	0					
Feb.	30 to	6	1	80	85	81	10	89	10	3	8	5	5	0	4	5	6	0	7	6	5	0	6	6	2	11	7	1	15	6	3	10	4	16	56	0	59	0		
	6 to	12	1	80	85	81	6	90	6	3	8	5	5	0	4	5	6	0	7	6	5	0	6	6	2	10	7	1	15	6	3	8	5	0	58	9	62	0		
	12 to	19	1	80	85	81	6	91	7	4	4	5	6	4	5	8	0	0	7	8	5	0	6	6	2	11	5	1	16	6	3	10	4	16	63	0	63	6		
	19 to	26	1	80	85	81	7	92	4	4	6	5	6	4	5	10	0	0	7	8	5	0	6	6	2	11	0	1	16	6	3	10	4	16	63	0	63	6		
Mar.	26 to	5	1	85	90	81	7	93	7	4	4	5	5	8	4	0	0	5	0	7	6	5	0	6	6	2	9	1	1	16	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6	
	5 to	12	1	80	85	81	7	94	9	4	6	5	6	4	0	0	5	0	7	4	5	0	6	8	2	9	9	1	16	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6		
	12 to	19	1	80	85	81	7	94	9	4	6	5	6	4	0	0	5	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	6	2	10	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6	
	19 to	26	1	80	85	81	7	94	9	4	6	5	6	4	0	0	5	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	6	2	10	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6	
Apr.	26 to	3	1	85	85	85	3	94	11	4	8	5	5	8	4	0	0	5	0	7	0	5	0	7	0	2	9	4	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6	
	3 to	10	1	80	85	85	3	94	11	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	5	0	6	4	2	9	4	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6		
	10 to	17	1	80	85	85	3	94	11	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	5	0	6	4	2	9	4	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6		
	17 to	24	1	80	85	85	3	94	11	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	5	0	6	4	2	9	4	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	49	9	57	6		
May	24 to	1	1	80	85	85	3	92	7	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	5	0	6	6	2	4	8	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	48	0	66	0	
	1 to	8	1	80	85	85	3	92	4	4	6	6	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	2	4	0	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	48	0	65	0	
	8 to	15	1	80	85	84	2	93	6	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	2	4	0	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	44	6	59	0	
	15 to	21	1	75	80	84	2	93	10	4	8	5	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	2	4	0	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	44	6	59	0	
	21 to	28	1	75	80	84	2	94	2	4	10	6	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	2	4	0	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	44	6	57	9	
	28	1	75	80	84	2	92	10	4	8	5	5	10	6	4	0	0	6	0	7	0	4	8	0	6	2	4	0	3	1	15	6	3	10	5	0	42	9	52	9

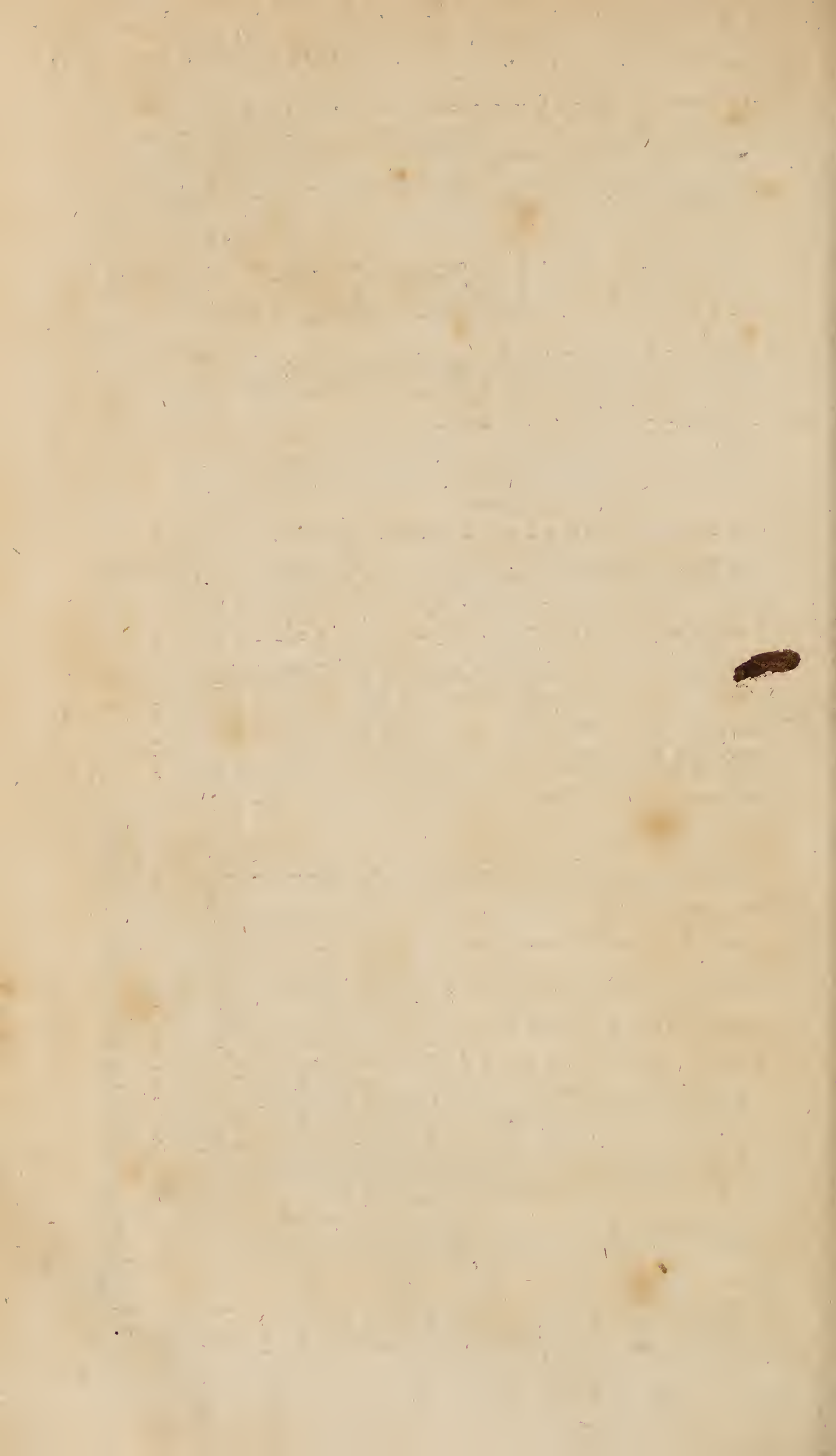


28 to June	4	1	2	70	75	84	2	92	104	3	8	5	10	4	8	6	10	6	6	3	2	0	12	15	0	3	10	4	18	42	9	52	9		
June	4 to	12	1	70	75	82	9	89	55	5	0	6	6	5	0	7	6	4	5	8	1	17	6	15	0	4	0	5	5	39	6	55	0		
	12 to	19	1	70	75	82	9	88	64	8	0	6	0	4	8	6	6	4	8	4	1	15	8	15	0	4	0	5	12	42	0	58	3		
	19 to	25	1	70	75	82	3	88	84	8	0	6	0	4	0	7	0	5	15	0	1	16	8	15	0	4	0	5	10	41	0	57	9		
	25 to July	2	1	70	75	82	3	87	04	8	0	6	0	4	8	6	0	4	15	0	0	17	9	15	0	3	18	5	10	41	6	60	0		
July	2 to	10	1	70	75	82	3	88	14	4	6	5	6	4	6	6	0	4	15	0	4	19	4	15	0	3	5	4	4	51	9	61	0		
	10 to	17	1	70	75	82	3	87	94	6	6	5	4	4	0	6	6	4	15	0	4	19	6	15	0	4	0	5	15	52	0	63	0		
	17 to	23	1	75	80	85	6	88	84	0	0	5	4	4	8	6	0	4	15	0	4	2	0	10	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6	
	23 to	31	1	75	80	85	6	88	84	0	0	5	4	4	8	6	0	4	15	0	4	2	0	10	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6	
	31 to Aug.	6	1	80	85	85	6	88	84	4	4	5	4	4	8	6	0	4	15	0	4	2	1	10	15	0	4	4	5	8	52	9	57	6	
Aug.	6 to	13	1	80	85	85	6	91	54	6	6	5	6	4	8	6	10	2	3	3	2	2	7	15	0	4	0	6	4	48	3	61	6		
	13 to	20	1	80	85	85	6	93	44	0	0	5	2	4	0	6	0	5	15	0	4	2	3	15	0	4	0	6	4	50	6	60	6		
	20 to	27	1	80	85	87	9	94	34	0	0	4	4	4	8	6	4	5	15	0	4	2	3	15	0	4	0	6	4	50	6	60	6		
	27 to Sept.	3	1	80	85	87	9	95	94	0	0	5	4	4	0	7	0	4	15	0	4	2	6	0	15	0	4	0	5	5	48	6	61	0	
Sept.	3 to	10	1	80	85	87	9	98	83	4	4	5	6	4	4	7	0	4	15	0	4	2	6	10	15	0	3	12	5	12	48	6	61	0	
	10 to	17	1	90	95	87	9	100	14	2	5	5	4	4	10	6	6	4	15	0	4	2	7	11	15	0	3	10	4	14	55	0	68	6	
	17 to	25	1	95	100	87	9	101	94	4	4	5	8	5	0	6	8	5	15	0	4	2	7	7	15	0	3	10	4	14	55	0	68	6	
	25 to Oct.	1	1	95	100	93	9	103	104	4	4	5	8	4	0	6	0	5	15	0	4	2	8	9	15	0	6	3	10	4	14	52	6	67	0
Oct.	1 to	9	1	90	95	93	9	108	104	0	0	5	6	4	0	7	0	5	15	0	4	2	12	0	15	0	6	5	0	7	0	53	0	67	0
	9 to	16	1	90	95	93	9	109	64	2	5	5	6	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	12	9	15	0	6	5	0	7	0	65	0	72	0
	16 to	22	1	90	95	93	9	106	74	0	0	5	2	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	11	7	15	0	6	4	0	5	10	53	0	72	6
	22 to	30	1	90	95	91	10	103	104	0	0	5	0	4	0	8	0	5	15	0	4	2	12	4	15	0	6	4	0	5	10	53	0	72	6
	30 to Nov.	5	1	90	95	91	10	102	34	0	0	5	5	4	0	8	0	6	15	0	4	2	10	9	15	0	4	16	6	0	47	0	70	0	
Nov.	5 to	13	1	90	95	91	10	101	114	0	0	5	4	4	0	7	8	5	15	0	4	2	10	4	15	0	4	16	6	6	60	0	70	0	
	13 to	19	1	90	95	91	10	101	54	0	0	5	4	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	10	4	15	0	5	0	6	6	60	0	70	0	
	19 to	26	1	90	95	91	10	101	54	0	0	5	4	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	9	7	15	0	5	0	6	6	65	6	72	3	
	26 to Dec.	4	1	90	95	85	11	102	34	0	0	5	2	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	10	0	14	0	4	15	6	6	65	6	73	6	
Dec.	4 to	11	1	90	95	85	11	102	74	0	0	5	6	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	9	10	14	0	4	10	5	15	43	6	71	3	
	11 to	18	1	90	95	85	11	102	104	4	4	5	10	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	10	7	14	0	5	0	6	6	66	6	74	9	
	18 to	24	1	90	95	85	11	102	104	4	4	5	10	4	0	7	6	5	15	0	4	2	10	7	14	0	5	0	6	6	66	6	74	9	

\* Moulds are generally 15. per dozen advance on Stores.

**+ Delivered at 12s. advance on the above Prices.**







## STATE PAPERS.

*Letter from General Armstrong to Mr. Madison, dated, Paris, 7th August, 1808, enclosing a Letter to Mr. Champagny.*

IT would have given me the highest pleasure to have drawn from this government, such explanations on the general subject of our differences with them, as would have met the friendly and equitable views of the United States, but I owe it as well to you as to myself, to declare, that every attempt for that purpose hitherto made, has failed, and under circumstances, which by no means indicate any change, in this respect for the better.

*The same to the same.*

I wrote a few lines to you yesterday. Two weeks have gone by without any new condemnation.—My remonstrances continue to remain unanswered.

I enclose a copy of my note of yesterday to M. De Champagny.

*From Mr. Armstrong to Mons. Champagny.*

Mr. Armstrong presents his compliments to M. De Champagny, and

begs leave to inform him, that having, for some months past, made trial of the artificial waters of Trivoli without any useful effect, his physician has prescribed for him those of Bourbon D'Archambault. Should M. De Champagny have any communications to make to Mr. Armstrong, he will be pleased to address them, as usual, to the Hotel de Legation Americane, rue Vanguard, 100, whence they will be regularly and promptly transmitted to Bourbon.

On leaving Paris, Mr. Armstrong thinks proper to state his regret, that the political relations of the two powers should continue to wear an aspect less auspicious to their future good understanding, than is wished for by those who are the friends of both.

That his majesty (Napoleon,) has a right to make such municipal regulations as he may deem proper, with regard to foreign commerce, neither is nor has been denied. For example, he may forbid the entry into the ports of France of American ships which have touched in England, or been destined to England; and he may either sequester or confiscate such vessels of the United States as shall infract these



laws, after due promulgation and notice thereof; but beyond this, the United States hope and believe that his majesty will not go.

M. De Champagny will not fail to seize the distinction which these remarks present, between the authority of municipal regulations and that of public law, and will decide whether it does or does not offer a ground on which a good understanding so long and so usefully maintained between the United States and France, may be preserved, and a degree of intercourse revived between, which shall have the effect of reanimating their former industry.

Does his majesty fear that the balance of trade arising from this renewed industry, would go to the advantage of England? Means are certainly not wanting to prevent this consequence. Would it not be entirely avoided by making it a condition of the commerce in question, that all ships leaving France shall take in (in some article or articles of her manufacture) the full amount of the cargo they bring hither.

Ships sailing under this regulation would or would not go voluntarily to England. If they went voluntarily, it would only be because that country afforded the best markets for the production of France, in which case, the habitual results would be entirely changed, and England ceasing to receive a balance for her manufactures, would begin to pay one to the United States, on the productions of France. Could France wish a state of Commerce more prosperous than this?

If, on the other hand, the American ships did not go voluntarily to England, but were captured and sent in for adjudication, it may be

fairly presumed, that the United States would no longer hesitate about becoming a party in the war against England.

Thus, in either case, the interests of his majesty would be directly advanced by the measure: in the one, the wants of France and her colonies would be not only regularly supplied, but she would herself become an entrepot for the supply of the continent: in the other, the wishes of his majesty, as expressed in February last, would be directly promoted.

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*Proclamation issued in Mexico,  
dated 16th September, 1808.*

Inhabitants of Mexico, of all classes and conditions! Necessity is not subject to common laws. The city has seized the person of his excellency the Viceroy. His removal has been imperiously demanded by reasons of utility and general convenience. In the course of last night, the Royal Acuerdo, the most illustrious seignor, the Archbishop, and the other authorities were convoked. They have submitted to the urgency of affairs; and the said Viceroy being divested of his authority, it has devolved, conformably to the royal order of the 30th October 1808, upon field marshal D. Pedro Gariby, until the dispatches brought by the Providence shall have been opened. He is actually in possession of the supreme authority. Be calm and tranquil; you are now governed by an accredited chief, with whose prudence you are acquainted. Confide in the vigilance of the Royal Acuerdo; all will turn out to your advantage. Impatience can only serve to divide men's minds,  
and



and to occasion mischiefs which may perhaps be irremediable. The said provisional chief, the Royal Acuerdo, and the other concurring authorities, give you every assurance that can be wished for.

By command of his excellency, the President, with the Royal Acuerdo, the most illustrious seignor Archbishop, and the other Authorities.

FRANCISCO XIMENEZ.

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*Letter from Mr. Giles, Member of the Embargo Committee, to Mr. Gullatin, Secretary of the Treasury, dated 11th November, 1808.*

Dear Sir—I am instructed by the Committee appointed to consider the several Embargo Laws, &c. to request you to lay before them with as little delay as possible, such information as your department affords upon the following questions.

First, What measures would be most effectual in preventing the violations or evasions of the several Embargo Laws: and enforcing due observance thereof?

Second, Can any the inconveniences of the present system be remedied by further modifications; and what modifications would effect that object?

Be pleased, Sir, to accept assurances of my high consideration and regard.

*Letter from Mr. Gullatin, in Answer to Mr. Giles. Dated 21st November, 1808.*

Sir—Indisposition has prevented an earlier answer to your letter of the 14th inst.

For better preventing coasting vessels regularly cleared from violating the Embargo, two measures appear necessary:

1st. That the amount of the Bonds should be increased.

2dly. That neither capture, distress, or any other accident should be admitted as a plea, or be given in evidence on trial.

By the first regulation the temptation of going to a foreign port, in hopes that the profit on the sale of the cargo will indemnify for the forfeiture of the penalty, will be done away. By the second, every expectation of escaping the payment of the penalty under fraudulent pretences will be disappointed; and the power of remitting the penalties in the few cases of unavoidable accident which may occur, will remain as heretofore, and as in other cases, with the treasury.

As the object of those two regulations will be to make the bond a sufficient and complete security, they will have a tendency to relieve, in a considerable degree, the coasting trade from the inconvenience resulting from detentions. The sufficiency of the bond will in many doubtful cases remove the necessity of detaining the vessels, or what amounts to the same, of informing the owners that unless they reduce the amount of their cargoes they will be detained.

I would also submit the propriety of placing under the controul of the President, that power of detention vested in the Collectors by the act of the 25th April last. That subject has been a constant source of complaint and difficulty. It has been the uniform practice from the establishment of the government of the United States, to give positive instructions to the Collectors



lectors respecting the execution of the laws, and which they were bound to obey, unless a different construction should be established by a legal decision. This indeed was essentially necessary, in order to secure an uniform construction and execution of the laws. But the provision now alluded to makes the detention to rest on the opinion of each Collector, and this must necessarily produce a great diversity in the manner in which the power should be executed. All has been done that can be done to obviate that evil; and the President being authorised to decide on the detentions when made, the opportunity was taken to inform the Collectors of what in his opinion should be a proper cause of detention. This however could be given only as opinion, and operate as a recommendation, and not as an order. Nor does it appear practicable to establish uniformity, and to prevent partiality, and either laxity or too great severity in practice, unless the power of prescribing general rules in that respect by which the Collectors will be bound to abide, be vested in the President.

I am aware that there is another mode of evasion, by regular coasting vessels, which will not be prevented by either of the preceding provisions. Either whilst in port or on their way down our rivers and bays, coasting vessels may receive articles not entered on their manifest, which they put on board other vessels lying off the coast for that purpose.

But it is not perceived that any legal provision can prevent that infraction, nor that any other remedy can be found than the vigilance of the officers. Another general regulation will, however, be suggested perhaps useful as a permanent mea-

sure, but which would at all events, under existing circumstances, give additional security for the observance of the laws, and afford some relief to our own seamen; to wit, a prohibition to employ any aliens either as masters or part of the crew of any coasting vessel.

It is still more difficult to guard against violations by vessels departing without clearance, in open defiance of the laws. The following provisions, on mature consideration, appear the most efficient that can be devised against infractions, which it is the more necessary to repress, as they may be daily expected to increase, and threaten to prostrate the law and government itself.

1st. To forbid expressly under pain of forfeiture (the penalty now being only implied) the lading of any vessel without the permission of the Collector, and without the bond for a coasting voyage being previously given;—authorising the Collectors to refuse permission, unless the object be that of a lawful coasting or fishing voyage. The great number of vessels now laden and in a state of readiness to depart, shews the necessity of this provision. If there be cases in which the indulgences of converting vessels into warehouses ought to be granted, there will be no hardship, where the intention is fair, to require a bond similar to that given for a coasting voyage. And the Collectors should likewise in such cases be expressly authorised to take such efficient precautions as will put it out of the power of such vessels to sail without warning.

2. In order to prevent those fraudulent sales of vessels by which ostensible owners of no responsibility are substituted to those from whom penalties



penalties might be recovered, it is necessary to provide that those owners of vessels whose names appear on the register or licence, should continue to be reputed as such, and liable to the penalties in case of infraction of the laws, until the register or licence shall have been actually surrendered and new papers shall have been regularly granted by the Collector to the purchaser, and in every such case of purchase, a sufficient bond that the embargo shall not be infringed, to be previously required.

3. The power to seize unusual deposits now vested in the Collectors of districts adjacent to the territories of foreign nations should, as well contemplated in the Bill passed by the House of Representatives, be extended to all the districts. That this is an arbitrary power which nothing but the unremitted efforts in some places to evade the law can publicly justify, cannot be denied; and it should, like that of detention, be placed under the controul of the President, and be executed only in conformity with such general rules as he would prescribe.

4. Exclusively of the assistance which may be derived from gunboats and from the armed vessels of the United States, it would be advisable to authorise the President to add ten or twelve cutters to the present establishment. Fast sailing vessels of every draft of water, and requiring only from 15 to 30 men each, are mostly wanted, and would, for the object contemplated, be as useful as the largest frigates.

5. It is with regret that the necessity of authorising, on the application of the Collectors, an immediate call of the local physical force of the country, must also be stated.

But such partial acts of violence as have taken place in some of the seaports, cannot be prevented by the circuitous manner in which the public force must now be brought out in support of the laws. And no doubt exists that the mass of the citizens, whether they approve or disapprove of the Embargo, would in every port instantaneously suppress any such outrage, they can be called upon to act in a legal manner.

Some other provisions appear also necessary for the purpose of carrying the laws more completely into effect along our land frontiers.

1. The exportation of specie by land should be expressly prohibited.

2. The power of detaining deposits should be so expressed as to leave no doubt of the authority to detain waggons and other carriages laden and actually on their way to a foreign territory. Although I cannot perceive any reason for the distinction, it has been supposed in one of the districts, that the law which authorised the detention of flour, beef, or potash deposited in a warehouse, did not extend to the case of their being deposited in a waggon although evidently on its way to Canada.

3. The offence now published by law is that of exportation. This is not consummated till after the property has been actually carried beyond the lines, where being in a foreign jurisdiction, it cannot be seized: so that forfeiture, which is the most efficient penalty, can never apply to exportations by land; and the bond being required, as in the case of vessels, the only remedy is the uncertain one of recovering penalties against apparent offenders who either absconded or have no property.



perty. How far it may be practicable to make the act of preparing the means of exportation punishable, or provide some other remedy, is submitted to the Committee.

But it must also be observed, that every degree of opposition to the laws, which falls short of treason, is now with but few exceptions, an offence undefined and unprovided for by the laws of the United States.—Whence it follows that such offences remain unpunished when the state authorities do not interfere. The necessity of defining those offences by law as misdemeanors, and of providing an adequate punishment, appears obvious.

I will beg leave here to add that it does not appear necessary to continue any longer the indulgence granted to the British merchants to import for the use of the Indians articles of which the importation is generally prohibited by law, as that privilege is liable to great abuse, and affords just ground of dissatisfaction to American citizens.

Whether it be advisable to continue the permission given to those Indian traders to export furs and peltry, is a question to be decided by political considerations.

The last branch of the subject to which I wish at present to call the attention of the committee, relates to interruptions and certain injurious proceedings attempted under colour of law.

1. Vexatious suits are brought against Collectors, which not only perplex faithful officers, but have the effect of intimidating others, and prevent an energetic performance of their duties. The only provisions which have occurred to me on the subject, are to enable the Collectors who may be sued, always

to remove the cause before a court of the United States; to make a certificate issued by the proper authority, that there was reasonable cause of detention, protect them against damages in cases of detention, in the same manner as is now provided in cases of seizures; and to provide for the safe keeping, and restoring when proper, and on security being given, the vessels and property which may be detained.

2. Attempts have in several instances been made to wrest from the Collectors, by writs of replevin, issued by the state courts or officers, property detained or seized by said Collectors, or which, in any other manner, is in their possession in conformity with some law of the United States. It is evident that such attempts, if submitted to, would defeat not only the embargo, but also the revenue laws of the United States; that whenever property is by virtue of the law of the United States in the possession of a Collector, Marshal, or any other of their officers, no process *in rem*, which will take the property away, whether of replevin, attachment, or any other, can be legally issued by a state authority; and that the sheriff or other person executing the same must be considered as a mere trespasser, and be resisted accordingly. But there is no other way at present to resist such illegal process but actual force. And it appears necessary that another remedy should be afforded, by providing a summary mode of superceding any such process, through the interference of the courts of justice of the United States; and by making it penal for any sheriff or other person, to execute the same, or in any manner to attempt to take property



property which by virtue of any law of the United States is in the Collector's possession.

3. In some instances where vessels and cargoes libelled for infractions of the embargo have been restored to their owners on their giving security for the appraised value, the valuations have been so low as to reduce the forfeiture to an inconsiderable sum, thereby defeating altogether the law. It is suggested that this might be prevented by a provision authorising and directing the district judges to set aside on motion of the district attorney, such valuation, whenever in their opinion falling short of the true value.

On the subject of *mandamus*, I will only observe that, in the only instance which has taken place, the court, supposing they had jurisdiction, could not, from the manner in which the question was brought before them, have decided otherwise than they did, but that it is desirable that the question of jurisdiction, as it relates either to the courts in whom the power ought to be vested, or to the courts to which it should extend, should be precisely defined by law.

I have not in this communication taken into consideration the technical defects of the existing embargo laws, because prosecutions do not fall within my immediate cognizance, and I do not feel competent to the task of pointing out the necessary alterations. Measures have, however, been taken to procure on that subject and from the proper sources, information which will hereafter be laid before the Committee.

To the remaining enquiry of the Committee, whether the inconveniences of the present system may

not in some degree be removed, I can only answer, generally, that a law which lays such extensive restrictions as the embargo, cannot be carried into effect without imposing serious inconveniences even on the domestic intercourse of the United States; and that these must necessarily be increased in proportion to the opposition and efforts to evade or violate the law. It has already been stated that provisions which will render the bond given by coasting vessels a complete security against violations of them, will diminish the necessity and extent of more arbitrary restrictions. An authority to permit on proper security being given, such vessels when they arrive in port, to keep their cargoes on board, would afford some relief. And I think that the credit on duties accruing on the importation of some articles which was allowed by the act of 10th March last, should be extended to all importations of the same articles made after the passing of the act, those made in vessels which sailed under special permission only excepted. With respect to this last class of importations, as they were permitted by special indulgence, as it is understood that it has been impossible in many cases to prevent its being abused, and as in almost all the parties having a species of exclusive privilege, have made sufficiently profitable voyages, the propriety, particularly in the existing situation of the revenue, of allowing them also the advantages of an extended credit on duties, is not perceived.

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*Report of the Embargo Committee.*

After a period of 15 years of peace



peace hardly interrupted by transient hostilities, and of prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations; the United States are, for the first time since the treaty which terminated the revolutionary war, placed in a situation equally difficult, critical and dangerous.

Those principles recognized by the civilized world, under the name of Law of Nations, which heretofore controuled belligerent powers, regulated the duties of neutrals, and protected their rights, are now avowedly disregarded or forgotten by Great Britain and France. Each of those two nations captures and condemns all American vessels trading with her enemies or her enemy's allies, and every European power having become a party in the contest, the whole of our commerce with Europe and European colonies, becomes liable to capture by either one or the other. If there be any nominal exception, it is made on a condition of tribute, which only adds insult to the injury.

The only plea urged in justification of those hostilities, is that of retaliation, grounded on a presumed acquiescence of the United States in previous aggressions by the other party. Waving a discussion of the correctness of the principle of retaliation, a principle doubtful in itself and altogether inadmissible to the extent to which it has been carried, and when operating on the neutral rather than on the enemy: it is altogether untrue that the United States have voluntarily acquiesced in the unlawful aggressions of either nation; omitted or delayed any measures calculated to obtain redress, or in any respect deviated from that impartiality to which they were bound by their neutrality.—

France has alluded to the violations of the national flag, and of the sovereignty of the United States, in the instances of Pierce's murder, of the outrage on the Chesapeake, and of the destruction of the *Impetuous*. The measures taken to obtain redress in those cases are of public notoriety, and it may be added, that with the exception of the last, those aggressions on the sovereignty of the United States did not affect their neutrality, and gave no right to France either of complaint or interference. Setting aside irregularities of less importance, and equally chargeable to both nations, such as the British order of June 1803, and the decree of the French General Ferrand; the principal violations by England of the neutral rights of America, prior to the Berlin decree of November 1806, and which if acquiesced in might have given grounds of complaint to France are the capture of American vessels laden with colonial produce, founded on a renewal of that pretended principle generally called 'the Rule of 1756,' the impressment of American seamen, compelled thereby to become the auxiliaries of England against France, and proclamation of nominal blockades, particularly that of the coast from the river Elbe to Brest notified in May 1806.

It will not be asserted that the United States have ever tamely acquiesced in either of those pretensions. It will not be denied, that with respect to the two first, the most strenuous efforts were incessantly made to procure an alteration of the British system.

It is true that to the nominal proclamation blockades of England, the United States had opposed only spirited and repeated remonstrances, and



and that these had not always been successful. But the measures which a neutral nation may be supposed bound to take against the infractions of its neutrality, must always bear a certain proportion to the extent and nature of the injury received, and to the means of opposition. It cannot certainly be pretended that a hasty resort to war, should in every such instance have become the duty of America. Nor can the irregularities of England, in declaring in a state of blockade, a certain extent of coast, part of which was not, and the whole of which could not, even by her powerful navy, be actually invested and blockaded, be pleaded in justification of that decree, by which France, without an efficient fleet, pretends to announce the blockade of the dominion of a power which has the incontestible command of the sea, and before no port of which she can station a single vessel.

The Milan decree of 1807 can still less rest for its defence on the supposed acquiescence of the United States in the British orders of the preceding month, since those orders which have not certainly been acquiesced in, were not even known in America at the date of the decree. And it is proper here to add, that the French have, particularly by the sequestration of certain vessels in their ports, and by burning our ships on the high seas, gone even beyond the tenor of their own extraordinary edicts.

The allegation of an acquiescence in the Berlin decree of November, 1806, by which alone the British government pretends to justify the orders in council, is equally unfounded. In the note on that subject addressed on the 31st December,

1806, by the British government to the American ministers, after having stated that "they could not believe that the enemy would ever seriously attempt to enforce such a system," the following declaration is expressly made, "If, however, the enemy should carry these threats into execution, and if neutral nations, contrary to all expectation, should acquiesce in such usurpations, his majesty might probably be compelled, however reluctantly, to retaliate in his just defence, &c." The two requisites necessary in the opinion of Great Britain to justify retaliation, are stated to be the execution of the decree, and the acquiescence of neutral nations. Yet, within eight days after, and in the face of that declaration, without waiting for ascertaining either of those facts, the retaliating British order of January 7, 1807, was issued, which, contrary to the acknowledged law of nations, subjected to capture, vessels of the United States sailing from the port of one belligerent to a port of another belligerent.

The United States in the meanwhile and without delay, had taken the necessary steps to ascertain the manner in which the French government intended to execute their decree.

That decree might be construed merely as a municipal law, forbidding the introduction of British merchandize, and the admission of vessels coming from England. Under that aspect, and if confined to that object, the neutral rights of America were not affected by its operation.

A belligerent may, without any infraction of neutral rights, forbid the admission into his ports of any vessel coming from the ports of his enemy.



enemy. And France had undoubtedly the same right to exclude from her dominions every species of British merchandize, which the United States have exercised in forbidding the importation of certain species. Great Britain might be injured by such regulations: but America had no more right to complain of that part of the decree, than France had to object to the American Non-importation Act. So far indeed as respects the United States, they were placed by the municipal part of the decree in the same situation, in relation to France, in which they are placed in their intercourse with Great Britain by the permanent laws of that country. The French decree forbids American vessels to import British merchandize into France. The British Navigation Act forbids American vessels to import French merchandize into England. But that broad clause of the Berlin decree which declared the British islands in a state of blockade, though not followed by regulations to that effect, still threatened an intended operation on the high seas. This, if carried into effect, would be a flagrant violation of the neutral rights of the United States, and as such they would be bound to oppose it. The minister of the United States at Paris immediately applied for explanation on that subject; and the French minister of marine, on the 24th December, 1806, seven days before the date of the above mentioned note of the British government, stated in answer, that the decree made no alteration in the regulations then observed in France with regard to neutral navigation, or to the commercial convention of the United States with France. That the declaration of the British islands

being in a state of blockade, did not change the existing French laws concerning maritime captures, and that American vessels could not be taken at sea for the mere reason of their being going to or returning from an English port.

The execution of the decree continued for several months with those explanations: several vessels were arrested for having introduced articles of English growth or manufacture, and among them some which being actually from England, and laden with English colonial produce, had entered with forged papers as if coming from the United States.— But no alteration of the first construction given by the French government took place until the month of September, 1807. The first condemnation on the principle that the decree subjected neutral vessels to capture on the high seas, was that of the *Horizon*, on the 10th of October following.

Prior to that time there could have been no acquiescence in a decree infringing the neutral rights of the United States, because till that time it was explained, and what was more important, executed in such a manner as not to infringe those rights, because until then no such infraction had taken place. The ministers of the United States at London, at the request of the British minister, communicated to him on the 18th of October, 1807, the substance of the explanations received, and of the manner in which the decree was executed. For they were at that time ignorant of the change which had taken place.

It was on the 18th of September, 1807, that a new construction of the decree took place; an instruction having on that day been transmitted



to the council of prizes by the minister of justice, by which that court was informed, that French armed vessels were authorized, under that decree, to seize, without exception, in neutral vessels, either English property or merchandize of English growth or manufacture.

An immediate explanation having been asked from the French minister of foreign relations, he confirmed, in his answer of the 7th of October, 1807, the determination of his government to adopt that construction. Its first application took place on the 10th of the same month, in the case of the *Horizon*, of which the minister of the United States was not informed until the month of November; and on the 12th of that month, he presented a spirited remonstrance against that infraction of the neutral rights of the United States. He had, in the meanwhile, transmitted to America the instruction to the council of prizes of the 18th of September. This was received in the month of December: and a copy of the decision in the case of the *Horizon*, having at the same time reached government, the president, aware of the consequences which would follow that new state of things, communicated immediately to Congress the alteration of the French decrees, and recommended the embargo, which was accordingly laid on the 22d of December, 1807; at which time it was well understood, in this country, that the British orders in council of November preceding had issued, although they were not officially communicated to our government.

On the 11th of that month, those orders did actually issue, declaring

that all the ports of France, of her Allies, and of any other country at war with England, and all other ports of Europe, from which, although not at war with England, the British flag was excluded, should thenceforth be considered as if the same were actually blockaded—that all trade in the articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries should be deemed unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and also all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries, should be liable to capture and condemnation.

These orders cannot be defended on the ground of their being intended as retaliating on account of the Berlin decree, as construed and uniformly executed from its date to the 18th of September, 1807, its construction and execution having till then infringed no neutral rights. For certainly, the monstrous doctrine will not be asserted, even by the British government, that neutral nations are bound to resist not only the acts of belligerent powers which violate their rights, but also those municipal regulations, which, however they may injure the enemy, are lawful and do not effect the legitimate rights of the neutral. The only retaliation to be used in such cases, must be such as will operate on the enemy without infringing the rights of the neutral. If solely intended as a retaliation on the Berlin decree, as executed prior to the month of September, the British orders in council should have been confined to forbidding the introduction into Great Britain, of French or enemy's merchandize, and the admission into British ports of neu-  
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tral vessels, coming from a French or other enemy's port. Indeed, the ground of retaliation on account of any culpable acquiescence of neutrals in decrees, violating their rights, is abandoned by the very tenor of the orders; their operation being extended to those countries from which the British flag was excluded, such as Austria, although such countries were neither at war with Great Britain, nor had passed any decree in any way affecting or connected with neutral rights.

Nor are the orders justifiable on the pretence of an acquiescence on the part of the United States, in the French decree as construed and executed subsequent to the 18th Sept. 1807, when it became an evident infraction of their rights, and such as they were bound to oppose. For their minister at Paris immediately made the necessary remonstrances, and the orders were issued not only without having ascertained whether the United States would acquiesce in the injurious alteration of the French decree, but more than one month before that alteration was known in America. It may even be asserted that the alteration was not known in England when the orders in council were issued; the instruction of the 18th September, 1807, which gave the new and injurious construction, not having been promulgated in France, and its first publication having been made in December, 1807, and by the American government itself.

The British orders in council are, therefore, unjustifiable on the principle of retaliation, even giving to that principle all the latitude which has ever been avowedly contended for.

They are in open violation of the

solemn declaration made by the British ministers in December, 1806; that retaliation on the part of Great Britain would depend on the execution of an unlawful decree, and on the acquiescence of neutral nations in such infraction of their rights. And they were also issued, notwithstanding the official communication made by the ministers of the United States, that the French decree was construed and executed so as not to infringe their neutral rights, and without any previous notice or intimation, denying the correctness of that statement.

The Berlin decree as expounded and executed subsequent to the 18th September, 1807, and the British orders in council of the 11th Nov. ensuing, are, therefore, as they affect the United States, cotemporaneous aggressions of the belligerent powers, equally unprovoked and equally indefensible on the presumed ground of acquiescence. These, together with the Milan decree of December 1807, which filled the measure, would, on the principle of self-defence, have justified immediate hostilities against both nations on the part of the United States. They thought it more eligible in the first instance, by withdrawing their vessels from the ocean, to avoid war, at least for a season, and at the same time to snatch their immense and defenceless commerce from impending destruction.

Another appeal has in the mean time been made, under the authority vested in the president for that purpose, to the justice and true interests of France and England. The propositions made by the United States, and the arguments urged by their ministers, are before Con-

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gress. By these, the very pretext of the illegal edicts was removed, and it is evident that a revocation by either nation on the ground on which it was asked, either must have produced, what both pretended to have in view, a restoration of the freedom of commerce, and of the acknowledged principles of the law of nations; or in case of refusal by the other belligerent, would have carried into effect, in the most efficient manner, the ostensible object of the edicts, and made the United States a party in the war against him. The effort has been ineffectual.

The propositions have been actually rejected by one of the Belligerent powers, and remain unanswered by the other. In that state of things, what course ought the United States to pursue? Your committee can perceive no other alternative, but abject and degrading submission; war with both nations; or a continuance and enforcement of the present suspension of commerce.

The first cannot require any discussion. But the pressure of the embargo, so sensibly felt, and the calamities inseparable from a state of war, naturally create a wish that some middle course might be discovered, which should avoid the evils of both, and not be inconsistent with national honour and independence. That illusion must be dissipated; and it is necessary that the people of the United States should fully understand the situation in which they are placed.

There is no other alternative, but war with both nations, or a continuance of the present system. For war with one of the belligerents only, would be submission to the edicts

and will of the other; and a repeal in whole or in part of the embargo must necessarily be war or submission.

A general repeal without arming, would be submission to both nations.

A general repeal and arming of our merchant vessels, would be war with both, and war of the worst kind, suffering the enemies to plunder us without retaliation upon them.

A partial repeal must, from the situation of Europe, necessarily be actual submission to one of the aggressors, and war with the other.

The last position, is the only one on which there can be any doubt; and it will be most satisfactorily demonstrated by selecting amongst the several modifications, which might be suggested, such as may on first view appear the least exceptionable; a proposition to repeal the embargo, so far only as relates to those powers, which have not or do not execute any decrees injurious to the neutral rights of the United States.

It is said that the adoption of that proposition would restore our commerce with the native powers of Asia and Africa, and with Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Russia. Let this be taken for granted, although the precise line of conduct now pursued by most of those nations, in relation to the United States, is not correctly ascertained. So far as relates to any advantages which would result from that measure, if confined to its ostensible object, it will be sufficient to observe, that the exports of articles of the domestic produce of the United States, during the year ending the 30th Sept. 1807, amounted to 43,700,000,



and that the portion exported to countries above enumerated, falls short of seven millions; an amount too inconsiderable, when compared with the bulk of our exports, to deserve attention, even if a question affecting the independence of the nation was to be decided by considerations of immediate profit.

But the true effect of the proposition would be to open an indirect trade with Great Britain, which, through St. Bartholomew and Havannah, Lisbon, Cadiz or Gottenburgh, would receive, at prices reduced by glutted markets, and for want of competition, all the provisions, naval stores, raw materials for her manufactures, and other articles which she may want. Whether she would be satisfied with that favourable state of things, or whether, considering that boon as a pledge of unqualified submission, she would, according to the tenor of her orders, interrupt our scanty commerce with Russia, and occasionally under some new pretext, capture rather than purchase the cargoes intended for her own use, is equally uncertain and unimportant. Nor can it be doubted that a measure which would supply, exclusively, one of the belligerents, would be war with the other. Considered merely as a question of profit, it would be much more eligible, at once to raise the embargo in relation to Great Britain, as we would then, at least, have the advantages of a direct market with the consumer. But the proposition can only be defended on the ground that France is the only aggressor, and, that having no just reason to complain of England, it is our duty to submit to her orders. On that inadmissible supposition, it would not

only be more candid, but also more dignified, as well as a more advantageous course, openly to join England and to make war against France. The object would be clearly understood, an ally would be obtained, and the meanness of submission might be better palliated.

It appears unnecessary to pursue any further the examination of propositions, which the difficult situation of the United States could alone have suggested, and which will prove more inadmissible, or impracticable, as the subject is more thoroughly investigated. The alternative is painful; it is between a continual suspension of commerce and war with both England and France. But the choice must ultimately be made between the two; and it is important that we should be prepared for either the one or the other.

The aggressions of England and France, collectively affecting almost the whole of our commerce, and persisted in, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, explanations, and propositions the most candid and unexceptionable, are to all intents and purposes, a maritime war waged by both nations against the United States. It cannot be denied, that the ultimate and only effectual mode of resisting that warfare, if persisted in, is war. A permanent suspension of commerce, after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be resistance: it would be withdrawing from the contest, and abandoning our indisputable right freely to navigate the ocean. The present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it  
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at the same time against both nations, and these the two most powerful of the world, are the principal causes of hesitation. There would be none in resorting to that remedy, however calamitous, if a selection could be made on any principle of justice, or without a sacrifice of national independence. On a question of such difficulty, involving the most important interests of the Union, and which has not, perhaps, until lately been sufficiently considered, your committee think the house alone competent to pronounce a decisive opinion: and they have, in this report, confined themselves to an exposition of the subject, and to such introductory resolutions, as will be equally applicable to either alternative. The first of these being merely declaratory of a determination not to submit to foreign aggressions, may, perhaps at a first view, appear superfluous. It is, however, believed by the committee, that a pledge by the representatives of the nation, that they will not abandon its essential rights, will not at this critical moment be unacceptable.

The misapprehensions which seem to have existed, and the misrepresentations which have been circulated, respecting the state of our foreign relations, render also such declaration expedient. And it may not be useless that every foreign nation should understand that its aggressions never will be justified or encouraged by any description of American citizens. For the question for every citizen now is, whether he will rally round the government of his choice, or enlist under foreign banners? Whether he will be for his country, or against his country?

*Report of a Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, upon the subject of the Embargo, dated 15th Nov. 1808.*

The committee appointed to consider, "Whether it will be expedient for this legislature to adopt any measure with a view to procure a repeal of the laws of the United States, interdicting to the citizens all foreign commerce and imposing vexatious embarrassments on the coasting trade; to relieve the people of the commonwealth from their present distressed state, and to arrest the progress of that ruin which threatens to involve all classes of the community," beg leave to report: That the committee perceive with the most serious regret, that the distresses occasioned by the several laws imposing an embargo, have borne with extreme and increasing pressure upon the people; and every day's experience justifies a belief that a continuance of these laws must soon become intolerable. As measures of coercion, they are now acknowledged to be altogether impotent. They afford satisfaction to France, and are regarded as ineffectual demonstrations of a hostile disposition by Great Britain. Upon our own country, their effects are becoming daily and palpably more injurious. The produce of our agriculture, of our forests, and our fisheries, is excluded altogether from every foreign market; our merchants and mechanics are deprived of employment; our coasting trade is interrupted and harrassed by the most grievous embarrassments; and our foreign trade is becoming diverted into channels, from which there is no prospect of its return.



turn. The sources of our revenue are dried up, and government must soon resort to direct taxation. Our sailors are forced to expatriate themselves. Strong temptations are offered to systematic evasions of the laws, which tend to corrupt the spirit of honourable commerce, and will materially injure the public morals. In fact, the evils which are menaced by the continuance of this policy are so enormous and deplorable, the suspension of commerce is so contrary to the habits of our people, and so repugnant to their feelings and interests, that they must soon become intolerable, and endanger our domestic peace and the union of these states. As the embargo laws have been the cause of the public distress, your committee are of opinion that no equal, permanent, or effectual relief can be afforded to the citizens of the commonwealth, but by the repeal of these laws. They persuade themselves that the congress of the United States must be fully impressed with a sense of the total inefficacy of these laws for any valuable purpose, and of their direct tendency to the most serious consequences. Your committee, therefore, trust, that congress will not fail to repeal them. In this confidence, therefore, your committee are of opinion, upon this subject, the legislature should, in its present session, confine itself to a repeated disapprobation of the laws interdicting foreign commerce, and to instructing our senators, and requesting our representatives in congress to use their utmost exertions to procure their repeal.

Your committee might have contented themselves with the preceding remarks, had not the late mes-

sage of the president of the United States excited the most serious alarm, which, in the present critical state of the country, they conceive it a duty to express. They perceive, with the most painful regret, that, in the estimation of the president, our country is now presented with the only alternative of a continued embargo, or a ruinous war; but they cannot hesitate to express their confident belief that the wisdom of the government may yet find means to avoid the necessity of electing between these great public calamities. If, however, this severe necessity exists in regard to Great Britain, they are led by the message to presume that it results, in a great measure, if not entirely, from the determination of the executive to adhere to the proclamation of July 1807, interdicting all British ships of war from the waters of the United States; which has been, and as we infer from the message, is still deemed by the British government, a measure so inhospitable and oppressive, if not hostile in its character, as to form an insuperable obstacle to amicable adjustment.

Upon this delicate and important subject, the committee are far from asserting, that the attack on the frigate Chesapeake did not justify the original issuing of this proclamation, and enforcing it so long as the injury might be presumed to have the sanction of the British government. But as this violation of the neutral rights was promptly and explicitly disavowed by the Sovereign of the aggressor, before the remonstrances or measures of our government could be known: as the right to search our national ships was expressly disclaimed, and a special envoy



envoy deputed for the professed object of making to our government a full, satisfactory, and public reparation, on the simple condition of a previous revocation of this proclamation; your committee are constrained to declare their opinion, that such a revocation, under such circumstances, would not have involved any dishonourable concession, or an abandonment of any just right of pretensions, but would have been a fair, reasonable, and magnanimous pledge of the sincerity of the wishes of the American government to restore the accustomed relations of peace and amity between the two countries. This course must have compelled the British envoy to have offered that ample and honourable reparation, which would have been deemed by our nation and by the world, an adequate atonement for the outrage; or have justified, in the event of its refusal, not only the renewal of the proclamation, but the adoption of measures of the most rigorous and hostile description.

But even on the precise presumption that the course adopted by the government, in refusing to revoke the proclamation as a preliminary to the adjustment of that controversy, be sanctioned by the usages of nations, and the justice of our claims, your Committee are still of opinion, that a punctilious adherence to diplomatic forms and precedents should not be maintained at the risk of war, by a nation whose genius and policy are pacific; and which, while justly jealous of its national honour and independence, looks principally to the substantial security of those blessings, and regards as insignificant those petty contentions which originating in

courtly pride and vanity, frequently terminate in bloody wars: and they, therefore, think that this proclamation ought not, in the present situation of Europe and this country, to remain as the only, or even as the principal barrier to the restoration of our amicable relations with the British nation.

Your committee therefore ask leave to report the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the senators of this commonwealth in congress, be instructed, and the representatives thereof requested, to use their strenuous exertions to procure an immediate repeal of the various laws imposing an embargo on the ships and vessels of the United States, as the only equal and effectual means of affording permanent relief to the citizens of this commonwealth from the aggravated evils which they now experience.

Resolved, that although this legislature would cheerfully support the general government in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, yet they cannot perceive the necessity intimated in the message of the president to congress, of continuing the embargo, or resorting to war. That it is not the policy of the United States to engage in a controversy with any nation, upon points of diplomatic usage, or equivocal right, provided substantial reparation for injuries can be obtained; and that the revocation of the proclamation interdicting the British ships of war from our waters ought not, in the opinion of this legislature, to be deemed an inadmissible preliminary, which should obstruct the adjustment of the controversy between the United States and Great Britain.



*Imperial Decree relative to Spain.*

*In our Imperial camp, at  
Burgos, Nov. 12, 1808.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
King of Italy, and Protector of the  
Confederation of the Rhine—

Considering that the troubles of  
Spain have been principally the ef-  
fect of the plots formed by several  
individuals, and that the greater  
part of those who have been engag-  
ed in them, have been misled or de-  
ceived :

Wishing to pardon the latter, and  
to grant them oblivion of the crimes  
which they have committed against  
Us, our nation, and the King, our  
brother :

Wishing at the same time to mark  
those, who, after having sworn fide-  
lity to the king, have violated their  
oath : who, after having accepted  
places, have made use of the autho-  
rity confided to them, only to be-  
tray the interests of their sovereign ;  
and who, instead of employing their  
influence to enlighten the citizens,  
have only made use of it to mislead  
them :

Wishing, in fine, that the punish-  
ment of great culprits, should serve  
as an example for posterity, to all  
those who, placed by Providence at  
the head of nations, instead of di-  
recting the people with wisdom and  
prudence, pervert them ; involve  
them in the disorder of popular agi-  
tations, and precipitate them into  
the miseries of war :

We have decreed and do decree  
as follows :

Art. 1. The dukes of Infantado,  
of Híjar, of Medina Celi, of Ossu-  
na, the marquis of Santa Cruz, the  
counts of Ferran-Núñez and Alta-  
mira, the prince of Castel-Franco,  
the sieur Pierre Cevallos, ex-minister

of state, and the bishop of Santan-  
der, are declared enemies of France  
and Spain, and traitors to the two  
crowns. As such they shall be seiz-  
ed and carried before a military  
commission. Their property move-  
able and immoveable, shall be con-  
fiscated in Spain, in France, in Italy,  
in Naples, in the Papal States, in  
the kingdom of Holland, and in all  
the countries occupied by the French  
army, to pay the expences of the  
war.

2. All sales and dispositions, whe-  
ther with the living ; whether testa-  
mentary, made by them or their at-  
tornies, subsequent to the date of  
the present decree, are declared null  
and of no value.

3. We grant, in our name, and  
in the name of our brother the king  
of Spain, general pardon and full  
and entire amnesty to all Spaniards  
who, in one month after our en-  
trance into Madrid, shall have laid  
down their arms and renounced all  
alliance, adherence, and communi-  
cation with England ; shall rally  
round the constitution and throne,  
and shall return to order, so neces-  
sary to the repose of the great fami-  
ly of the continent.

4. Are not excepted from the  
said pardon and amnesty, neither  
the members of central and insur-  
rectional Juntas, nor the generals  
and officers who have borne arms,  
provided that both the one and the  
other conform to the dispositions  
established by the preceding article.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

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*Convention between the Russian ar-  
my and that of Sweden in Fin-  
land, dated 18th Nov. 1808.*

By virtue of the powers vested in



us, we, the undersigned, have agreed and stipulated the following Articles :

Art. I. The royal Swedish army is, immediately after the ratification of this convention, to take up a position along the frontier of the district of Uleaborg from Kemi to Peckawara. Kemi consequently remains in the hands of the Russians.

II. The Swedish army is to evacuate the town of Uleaborg within ten days next ensuing the date of this ; the Russian troops are to take possession of the said town on the 30th of Nov. The other parts of the country, which are to be given up to the Russians, shall be evacuated according to the agreement yet to be concluded between the contracting parties.

III. The rear of the Swedish army shall return by the route agreed upon, and whatever cannot be removed by the Swedish troops in their retreat, shall be considered as good and lawful prize.

IV. The Swedish army binds itself neither to destroy, distribute among the inhabitants, nor sell the magazines which they shall be necessitated to surrender.

V. The Swedish troops are not to take with them from Uleaborg or other places to be surrendered, any civil officers, nor any articles or goods belonging to the provinces

VI. The Swedish army is to send back all clergymen, civil officers, and inhabitants of the places evacuated by their troops, provided it be done by the desire, or with the consent of the said persons.

VII. This convention shall be ratified by the respective generals in chief of both Armies, and the ratification exchanged to-morrow night.

*Letter of the Supreme Junta to the Marquis de la Romana. Dated, Tudela, Dec. 4, 1808.*

Most Excellent Sir,—The king and lord, Ferdinand VII, and in his royal name the Supreme Junta of government of the kingdom, omitting no means which can any ways promote the safety and prosperity of the nation, has thought proper to resolve, that your excellency is not only to command the army, of which you are general in chief, but also the armies of Old Castile, Leon, Asturias, and Galicia, superintending, with regard to all the said armies, the troops of the mass, and putting in requisition the horses, mules and other measures, which are required to augment our army, and put it on that respectable footing which the present extraordinary circumstances require. His Majesty has been informed, and sees with the deepest concern, that, to the want of subordination, cowardice is added by many, whence arises that scandalous desertion which excites astonishment in our allies, and damps their general ardour. This conduct, so contrary to the sentiments of true Spaniards, and which cannot be counteracted by mild measures, demands that your excellency should check it with all the rigour of military law, extending the punishment to all those who assist or protect deserters. For this purpose his Majesty invests your excellency with the most ample power which may be required, to cause yourself to be promptly and implicitly obeyed, and cause the enthusiasm which begins to slacken in the Provinces and especially in Old Castile, to be revived. To attain that end, extraordinary and vigorous measures are required, calculated to secure the safety



safety of the nation, which cannot be done without the prompt and exemplary punishment of the vile and degenerate wretches who deceive their country and their King, by usurping the title of their defenders, while they are selling them to the enemy. From that severe punishment, such justices and places are not to be exempted as show any slowness in checking disorder and confusion, or do not execute your excellency's orders with the necessary punctuality and zeal. His Majesty invests you with such great authority, in order that you may be convinced of the implicit confidence which he places in your energy and zeal. The necessary orders have been dispatched for that purpose to the respective juntas of government, that they may possess full knowledge thereof, and obey your excellency, to whom I communicate the above royal order for your information, and compliance with the same. God preserve your excellency many years. MARTIN DE GARAY.

*Ordinance of the Marquis in consequence of the above letter.  
Dated, Leon, Dec. 1808.*

In pursuance thereof, I ordain that all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Castile, Leon, and Asturias and Galicia, of from 16 to 45 years of age, are immediately to arm themselves with such musquets, carlines, pistols, sabres, and every other description of arms as they have in their possession. That all young men unmarried without children, are to repair, without the least delay, to the places which shall be pointed out by the juntas of government in the respective pro-

vinces and districts, to be immediately incorporated with the armies. All other persons shall also arm to defend their respective provinces; all horses and mules belonging to any persons whomsoever, are put in a state of requisition, and are immediately to be delivered up for the use of the armies.

All armourers and smiths are, in preference to any other business, to devote their exertions to the fabrication of arms and pikes; the latter being destined for those inhabitants who cannot be supplied with any other sort of arms.

All persons refusing to enlist or deliver up horses, mules, and other necessities, shall be committed as traitors to their country, and be punished in an exemplary manner. All vile deserters shall be shot as soon as apprehended, without any exception or mercy. Cowards who in an engagement with the enemy are the first to run away and cause disorder and confusion, may be killed on the spot for their own punishment, and as an example to others.

All those gallant defenders of their country, worthy of the heroic Spanish names, who distinguish themselves by deeds of superior valour, shall be rewarded in such a manner that their names shall be handed down to posterity, with those marks of public approbation which shall be best calculated to immortalize their glory.

MARQUIS DE LA ROMANA.

*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4, 1808.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
King of Italy, &c.

Con-



Considering that the Council of Castile has shewn, in the exercise of all its functions, equal falsehood and feebleness: That after having published throughout the kingdom, the renunciation of king Charles the 4th, and of the Princes Don Fernando, Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio, of the crown of Spain, and after having recognised and proclaimed our legitimate rights to to the throne, they had the meanness to declare, in the eyes of Europe and posterity, that they only subscribed these different acts, with interior and perfidious restrictions:

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. The members of the council of Castile are removed as cowards, and unworthy of being the magistrates of a brave and generous nation.

2. The presidents and procurators of the king shall be arrested as hostages. The other members of the council shall be required to remain at Madrid in their houses, under pain of being prosecuted and punished as traitors; are nevertheless excepted from the present disposition, all the members of the said council who shall not have signed the declaration of the 11th August, 1808, as dishonourable to the dignity of the magistrate as to the character of the man.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.  
H. B. MARET.

*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
&c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. The Court of Cessation, erected by the second title, Art. 101, of the constitution of the kingdom of Spain, shall be immediately organized.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
&c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as contrary to the civil sovereignty and authority.

2. The property belonging to the Inquisition shall be put under sequestration, and be united to the domain of Spain, to serve as a guarantee for the *Vales*, and for all other parts of the public debt.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
&c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. The same individual cannot possess more than one commandery.

2. From the 1st of January next, every individual possessing several commanderies, shall designate the one he prefers preserving—the others shall revert to the disposal of the king.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.



*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
&c.

Considering that the religious of the different monastic orders in Spain are too multiplied :

That if a certain number be useful to assist the ministers of the altar in the administration of the sacraments, the existence of too considerable a number is injurious to the prosperity of the state :

We decree as follows :

Art 1. The number of convents at present existing in Spain, shall be reduced to a third. This reduction shall be produced by uniting the religious of several convents in one single house.

2. Dating from the publication of the present decree, no admission to the noviciate, no religious profession shall be permitted, until the number of the religious of each sex shall have been reduced to the third of the number of the said religious now existing.

In consequence, and in the space of a fortnight, all the novices shall quit the convents into which they have been admitted.

3. All the regular ecclesiastics who wish to renounce their usual living, and to live as secular ecclesiastics, shall be free to quit their houses.

4. The religious who shall so renounce, conformably to the preceding article, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of a pension whose amount shall be regulated by their age, but which shall not be less than 3000 reals, nor exceed the maximum of 4000.

5. Upon the amount of the property of the convents which shall

be suppressed in execution of the first article of the present decree, shall be raised the sum necessary to increase the portion of the cures, so that the minimum of the salary of the curates shall be raised to 2400 reals.

6. The property of the suppressed convents which shall be disposable after the raising of the sum ordered by the foregoing article, shall be united to the domain of Spain, and be employed as follows :

1. The half of the said property to guarantee the *Vales* and other parts of the public debt.

2. The other half to reimburse the provinces and cities the expences occasioned by the supplying of the French armies, and the insurrectional armies, and to indemnify the cities and country for the damages, losses of houses, and other losses occasioned by the war.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, emperor of the French,  
&c.

We have decreed and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. Dating from the publication of the present decree, the feudal rights are abolished in Spain.

2. All personal dues, all exclusive rights of fishery, or other rights of the same nature on the coasts, rivers, and banks of rivers, all bannalities of mills are suppressed.

Each shall be permitted, by conforming to the laws, to give a free impulse to his industry.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.



*In our Imperial camp of Madrid,  
December 4.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
&c.

Considering that one of the establishments which are most injurious to the prosperity of Spain is that of the barriers existing between the provinces :

We have decreed and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. From the 1st of January next, the barriers existing from province to province shall be suppressed.

2. The custom-houses shall be removed, and established on the frontiers.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, &c.

Taking into our consideration, that one of the greatest abuses which have been introduced into the finances of Spain, arises from the alienation of the different branches of the imposts, and that nevertheless imposts are from their nature inalienable,

We have decreed, and do decree as follows :

From the publication of the present decree, every individual who shall be in possession, either by grant from the king, or by sale, or by any other means, of any portion whatever of the civil or ecclesiastical imposts, shall cease to receive them, and those from whom they may be leviable, shall be answerable for the payment of their respective imposts to the agents of the king or of the treasury.

The present decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts and tribunals, in order to its being carried into execution as a law of the State.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.  
H. B. MARET.

*Extract from the Minutes of the  
Office of Secretary of State. Imperial camp at Madrid, December 12, 1808.*

We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, have decreed, and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. All seignioral courts of justice are abolished in Spain.

2. There shall exist no other jurisdiction than the royal courts of justice.

3. The present decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts and tribunals, in order that it may be executed as a law of the State.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.  
H. B. MARET.

*Proclamation of the Government of  
Portugal, dated 11th December,  
1808.*

The defence of the country being the first duty which honour, reason and even nature itself impose on all men, when a barbarous nation, despising the most sacred rights acknowledged in the world, aims at enslaving a country, plundering its property, destroying its religion, violating its temples, and committing the greatest atrocities that the per-severity



versity of manners or inhumanity can invent. Portugal, unfortunately, is threatened with all these evils, and its inhabitants have no means to avoid the horrors to which they are exposed, but by having recourse to arms, to repel by force, the odious and wicked designs of their enemies.

We have therefore resolved, that the whole Portuguese nation shall be armed in the manner which to each inhabitant may be practicable, that all the males, without exception of person or class, shall provide themselves with a pike, twelve or thirteen palms, (six or seven feet) in length, and such other arms as their circumstances may permit.

That all the cities, towns, and considerable villages, shall be fortified by blockading the entrances and principal streets with two, three, or more cross-beams, in order that all the inhabitants may be enabled to defend themselves vigorously when the enemy shall present himself.

That all the officers in Lisbon, and administrators of districts, shall within the space of eight days from the date of this decree, deliver in to the military governor general of their respective provinces, a list of such persons as from their activity, ability, good conduct, and the respect they are held in by the people, are qualified to take a command, always preferring in similar circumstances, those who are already military officers, and pointing out such of the said officers as by their age, incumbrances, or other circumstances, ought no longer to fill the posts they occupy.

That all the generals charged with the military government of pro-

vinces, shall divide their governments into districts, and appoint an officer of known activity and probity, whether of the troops of the line or militia, whom the chief and other officers shall obey in consequence of the said appointment, who shall visit the different villages of their district, examine the state of the several companies, and from the persons recommended to them, appoint such for officers as they shall judge deserving and capable, who shall immediately begin to exercise their companies, which shall assemble on all Sundays and saints' days in their respective districts, in order to render themselves expert in the use of the arms they have, and in military evolutions: comprehending all the males from fifteen to sixty.

Lastly, we have resolved, that every person who shall not take up arms, but refuse to concur with the nation in general, to the defence of our country, shall incur and suffer the punishment of death; and the same punishment shall await all those who shall furnish any succour or aid to the enemy, by supplying them with provisions, or assisting them in any other mode.

In like manner, any village which shall not defend itself against the assailants of the kingdom, but permit their entrance without making every possible resistance, shall be burnt and levelled with the ground.

And we hereby order all generals, military governors of provinces, the intendant-general of police, and all corregidores, auditors, and in general all officers military and civil to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provisions of this royal decree, which shall be affixed up in all the public places, all the cities, towns,  
and



and villages of this kingdom, in order that it may be known to every inhabitant.

Approved by the council of war, who will cause it to be executed.

*Proclamation of the Supreme Central Junta. Published at St. Mary's on the 23d December.*

Spaniards, the hired emissaries of the tyrant, with the design of misleading you, and bringing the supreme governing Junta of the kingdom into disrepute, spread reports that the latter have approved the capitulation of Madrid. This sovereign body feel it to be their duty to contradict rumours, the object and tendency of which is to sow distrust between the government and the people, to produce general discouragement and anarchy, and to expose to contempt the sacred oath of your representatives.

Spaniards, the Supreme Junta, whose motto is, "Death or Liberty," are far from approving of the capitulation of any town. That which recognizes the usurper, and submits to the law of the tyrant, is not Spanish—it is an enemy. These are the sentiments of the Supreme Junta—sentiments which they will never belie, in word or deed; and whatever you may be told by the partizans of despotism, those vile wretches who sacrifice to a miserable self-interest the sacred rights of their country, be assured that their reports are calumnies, snares laid for you by the tyrant, to entangle you in the mazes of his infernal policy. The country you have sworn to defend, the religion wherein you have sworn to die, the spouses and offspring you have sworn to protect, a captive

king whom you have sworn to rescue—all demand the fulfilment of your promise.

And ye, brave inhabitants of Madrid, who refused your assent to a shameful capitulation, and rising superior to others invested with command and even to yourselves, preferred death to misery and slavery, persevere in your generous resolution. The momentary occupation of the buildings of the city by the enemy is of no importance whilst they are not masters of your hearts. Continue to resist them in the very bosoms of your families; place no confidence in their deceitful professions; reflect that to every people they have promised happiness, and all they have plunged into misery. The Junta, who watch over your destiny, will cause numerous reinforcements to march to that unfortunate capital.

They have not forgotten you; no! keep alive your hopes, retain your bravery and firmness, and your deliverance will be the more glorious, as the danger you have encountered has been great.

*Letter of the King of Prussia to the Magistrates of Berlin. Dec. 24, 1808.*

Worthy, beloved, and faithful subjects, my provinces being evacuated by the French, my attention is now directed to the accomplishment of my heartfelt wish of returning to my capital of Berlin, with the Queen, my spouse, and my family—an object which I have by all possible means endeavoured to attain since the conclusion of peace. I have given orders that the constituted authorities shall leave this place,



place for Berlin, as soon as the districts on the other side of the Vistula have begun to breathe a little from the effect of the heavy burthens they have sustained in furnishing carriages and supplies, both before and during the evacuation of the country. This short interval I shall employ in a journey to St. Petersburg, in consequence of the repeated friendly and urgent invitations, both verbally and by letter, of his majesty the emperor of Russia. I shall expedite my journey, and hope, within a few weeks, to revisit my provinces on the other side of the Vistula, to which I owe so many proofs of exemplary fidelity; and I shall in particular hasten my return to Berlin, to testify to my subjects of that city my gratitude for their firmness and good conduct, and to assure them of my attachment and satisfaction. I inform you hereof, and command you to notify the same to my loving and faithful citizens of that city; and I am your loving sovereign

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

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*Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. Signed at London, Jan. 14, 1809.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity:—The events which have taken place in Spain having terminated the state of hostility which unfortunately subsisted between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, and united the arms of both against the common enemy, it seems good that the new relations which have been produced between two nations, now connected by com-

mon interest, should be regularly established and confirmed by a formal treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance: wherefore his Majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Supreme and Central Junta of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on the behalf of his catholic majesty, Ferdinand VII. have constituted and appointed; that is to say, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the right hon. George Canning, one of his majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the Supreme and Central Junta of government of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on behalf of his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, commander of Vallaga and Algarga in the military order of Calatrava, rear admiral of the royal navy, named by the Supreme and Central Junta of government of Spain and the Indies, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. to his Britannic majesty; their plenipotentiaries, to conclude and sign a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance; who, having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed to and concluded the following articles:—

Article 1. There shall be between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. king of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, and between all their kingdoms, states, dominions, and subjects, a christian, stable, and inviolable peace, and a perpetual and sincere



sincere amity, and a strict alliance during the war against France; together with an entire and lasting oblivion of all acts of hostility done on their side, in the course of the late wars, in which they have been engaged against each other.

2. To obviate all complaints and disputes which might arise on the subject of prizes, captured posterior to the declaration published by his Britannic majesty on the 4th of July of the last year it has been mutually agreed, that the vessels and property taken posterior to the date of the said declaration, in any seas or ports of the world, without any exceptions, and without any regard either to time or place, shall be restored by both parties. And as the accidental occupation of any of the ports of the peninsula by the common enemy, might occasion disputes respecting any vessels, which, in ignorance of such occupation, might direct their course to those ports from any other harbour, either of the peninsula or the colonies; and as cases may occur in which Spanish inhabitants of the said ports or provinces, so occupied by the enemy, may, with their property, endeavour to escape from his grasp; the high contracting parties have agreed that Spanish vessels, not aware of the enemy's occupation of any harbour which they are desirous to enter, or such as may succeed in making their escape from any harbour so occupied, shall not be captured, nor themselves nor their cargo be considered as a good prize; but, on the contrary, that they shall meet with every help and assistance from the naval power of his Britannic majesty.

3. His Britannic majesty engages

to continue to assist, to the utmost of his power, the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and promises not to acknowledge any other king of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge; and the Spanish government, in the name and on the behalf of his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. engages never, in any case, to cede to France any part of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy, in any part of the world.

4. The high contracting parties agree to make common cause against France; and not to make peace with that power except by common consent.

5. The present treaty shall be ratified by both parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of two months or sooner (if it can be done) in London.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.

(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Article I. Separate.—The Spanish government engages to take the most effectual measures for the preventing of the Spanish squadrons in all the ports of Spain, as well as of the French squadron, taken in the month of June, and now in the harbour of Cadiz, from falling into the power of France. For which purpose his Britannic majesty en-



gages to co-operate by all means in his power.

The present separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.

(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Article II. Separate. A treaty shall forthwith be negotiated, stipulating the amount and description of succours to be afforded by his Britannic majesty, agreeably to the third article of the present treaty.

The present separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.

(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Additional article. The present circumstances not admitting of the regular negotiation of a treaty of commerce between the two countries, with all the care and consideration due to so important a subject, the high contracting parties mutually engage to proceed to such negotiation as soon as it shall be practicable so to do, affording in the mean time, mutual facilities to the commerce of the subjects of each other, by temporary regula-

tions founded on principles of reciprocal utility.

The present additional article shall have the same force and validity, &c.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.

(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

*King's Speech in the House of Lords. Jan. 19.*

This day the House of Lords met pursuant to prorogation, when the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Montrose took their seats in their robes upon the woolsack as his majesty's commissioners; and the speaker and members of the House of Commons being in attendance, the Chancellor delivered the following speech from his majesty:—

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ We have it in command from his majesty to state to you that his majesty has called you together, in perfect confidence that you are prepared cordially to support his majesty in the prosecution of a war, which there is no hope of terminating safely and honourably, except through vigorous and persevering exertion.

“ We are to acquaint you, that his majesty has directed to be laid before you, copies of the proposals for opening a negotiation, which were transmitted to his majesty from Erfurth; and of the correspondence which thereupon took place with the government of Russia and of France; together with the declaration issued by his majesty's command on the termination of that correspondence.

“ His



“ His majesty is persuaded that you will participate in the feelings which were expressed by his majesty, when it was required that his majesty should consent to commence the negotiation, by abandoning the cause of Spain, which he had so recently and solemnly espoused.

“ We are commanded to inform you, that his majesty continues to receive from the Spanish government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy, and of the national independence of Spain; and to assure you, that so long as the people of Spain shall remain true to themselves, his majesty will continue to them his most strenuous assistance and support.

“ His majesty has renewed to the Spanish nation, in the moment of its difficulties and reverses, the engagements which he voluntarily contracted at the outset of its struggle against the usurpation and tyranny of France; and we are commanded to acquaint you, that these engagements have been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance; which treaty, so soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, his majesty will cause to be laid before you.

“ His majesty commands us to state to you, that while his majesty contemplated with the liveliest satisfaction the achievements of his forces in the commencement of the campaign in Portugal, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally from the presence and oppressions of the French army, his majesty most deeply regretted the termination of that campaign by an armistice and convention, of some

of the articles of which his majesty has felt himself obliged formally to declare his disapprobation.

“ We are to express to you his majesty's reliance on your disposition to enable his majesty to continue the aid afforded by his majesty to the King of Sweden. That monarch derives a peculiar claim to his majesty's support in the present exigency of his affairs, from having concurred with his majesty in the propriety of rejecting any proposal for negotiation to which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party.

*“ Gentlemen of the House  
of Commons,*

“ We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that he has directed the estimates of the current year to be laid before you. His majesty relies upon your zeal and affection to make such further provisions of supply as the vigorous prosecution of the war may render necessary; and he trusts that you may be enabled to find the means of providing such supply without any great or immediate increase of the existing burthens upon his people.

“ His majesty feels assured it will be highly satisfactory to you to learn that, notwithstanding the measures resorted to by the enemy for the purpose of destroying the commerce and resources of his kingdom, the public revenue has continued in a course of progressive improvement.

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ We are directed to inform you, that the measure adopted by Parliament in the last session, for establishing a Local Militia, has been ab-



ready attended with the happiest success, and promises to be extensively and permanently beneficial to the country.

“ We have received his majesty’s commands most especially to recommend to you, that, duly weighing the immense interests which are at stake in the war now carrying on, you should proceed with as little delay as possible to consider of the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that his majesty may be better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions in the great contest in which he is engaged; and to conduct that contest, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his majesty’s crown, and with the interest of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.”

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*Decree of the Supreme Junta.*

His majesty, considering that the French, in the unjust and barbarous war which they wage against Spain, pay no regard to any principle of the law of nations, that they shamelessly violate the most solemn treaties, as has been verified with respect to the capitulation of Madrid, since contrary to the stipulations therein made, they imprison, persecute, and banish peaceable citizens and respectable magistrates, imposing, at the same time, the most disgraceful punishments on other unfortunate persons on the slightest suspicions and most frivolous pretexts;

Seeing that they continue every where to defile the sanctity of temples, the purity of domestic honour, and to trample on the rights of hu-

manity—that acts of the most atrocious kind, and which make human nature shudder, are daily heard of, such as the death of a nun, who threw herself into a well, to avoid the brutality of a Frenchman; the cruel murder of a mother, whose breasts were cut off in the act of giving suck to her son, by those monsters, who afterwards sabred her infant; and, a number of other cases equally horrible; atrocities painful to write, dreadful to read, and degrading to endure;—finally, his majesty being convinced, that still to observe the laws of natural equity with those who respect no law whatever, would not be moderation and justice, but the most culpable indifference and the basest meanness, has resolved to repress and punish those crimes. Calling therefore all Europe to witness the awful necessity which has compelled him to resort to the means of retaliation, by returning on a sanguinary banditti violence for violence, he hereby decrees:

1. That no quarter shall be given to any French soldier, officer or general, who may be made prisoner in any town or district, in which acts contrary to the laws of war have been committed by the enemy, but that such persons shall be immediately put to the sword, as an example to their companions and a satisfaction to outraged humanity.

2. That the present decree shall be printed, proclaimed, and distributed in the Spanish armies, in order to its due execution. You are also required to make arrangements for the fulfilment of the same.

The Marquis of ASTORGA,  
Vice President.

MARTIN DE GARAY.

Done in the Royal Al-cazan of Seville, Feb. 7, 1809.

*Copies*



*Copies of three Decrees in favour of the Commerce of Great Britain.*

1. In consequence of the urgent instances of the minister of his Britannic Majesty, the Supreme Central and Governing Junta of the kingdom, and in the royal name of his majesty Ferdinand the VIIIth. commands, that in this Customhouse and in all the privileged Customhouses of this province, English goods shall be admitted without any limitation or restriction, and that the duty shall be paid for the same at the rates only, at which they were charged before the war in 1804.

By order of his majesty, this notification is made to your excellency, both for information and observance of the same.

May God preserve you many years.

(Signed) SAAVEDRA.

Seville, Feb. 28, 1809.

2. In order, that in the existing circumstances, all impediments may be as much as possible removed, which interrupt the intercourse with English ships, and induced by repeated applications of the minister of his Britannic Majesty, the same Supreme Central and Governing Junta, &c. &c. have determined to permit all English goods disembarked in our ports, which may not be sold in the country, to be re-exported on the payment only of two per cent. and no further duties are, in such case to be required.

By order of his majesty, this notification is made, &c. &c. (*ut ante.*)

(Signed) SAAVEDRA.

3. The near alliance which sub-

sists between this port and that of London, and in consequence of the assistance the latter has given us, which deserves to be returned by our warmest attachment, and most profound respect, his majesty has condescended to allow to the ships of Great Britain to convey to the ports of Spain the articles of bacalao (dried cod fish) the same duties being payable thereon which were required before the war of 1779.—Such cargoes so received may be sent to our settlements in South America, in the national vessels.

By order of his majesty this notification is made, &c. &c. (*ut ante.*)

(Signed)

SAAVEDRA.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has appointed Gen. William Car Beresford, Field Marshal and Commander in Chief of the Portuguese army. It appears from an Extraordinary Gazette, published at Seville on the 1st instant, that the division of Spanish troops commanded by the Duke of Alberquerque, was attacked on the 22d ult. in the position of Consavibra, by a French force of 11,000 foot and 3000 horse; which attack was made with the enemy's usual impetuosity, but completely failed, owing to the uncommon intrepidity displayed by the Spanish troops. The French were repulsed and defeated with the loss of upwards of 400 men.

Field Marshal Beresford has issued the following

*General Orders:*

“ His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal having been graciously been pleased to entrust to Field Marshal Beresford the  
3 B 3 command



command in chief of his armies, thinks it right, on assuming the said command, to state and declare to his comrades in arms his sentiments on this occasion.

The Field Marshal and Commander in Chief, during the time he served in the army which was sent by his Britannic Majesty to support the admirable and prodigious efforts made by the Portuguese to recover their liberty and independence, so unjustly attacked, had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the military character of the nation; and although he thinks he has given the most effectual proofs of the favourable idea he had formed of that character, by accepting the above command, yet he wishes and hopes to prove in a more decisive manner, that the command in chief of the Portuguese army could not have possibly been confided to any other officer so thoroughly convinced of the innate military talents and disposition of the Portuguese, who want nothing but some skill and uniformity of plan in the direction of their warlike energies, to prove that they still are what they have always been, if not the best soldiers, at least equal to the most valiant and most intrepid troops of Europe. The Field Marshal Commander in Chief will therefore exert himself with incessant zeal and application to render those qualities as efficient as they are accustomed to be when they are assisted by a strict and well-regulated discipline. It is universally acknowledged that the Portuguese are loyal to their Sovereign, obedient to their lawful authorities who represent him, and endure, without murmurs, the privations and inconveniences to which armies must

frequently submit. The patriotism, energy, and enthusiasm, of which they have but very lately given the most unquestionable proofs; the glory which they acquired in Rousillon, and the successes which they obtained on the northern frontiers, clearly shew their determined intrepidity and valour, qualities which cannot but render them worthy of their ancestors, and as famous as them.

No nation, Portuguese, is therefore better qualified than you are to form the best troops. The Field Marshal, Commander in Chief, convinced of this truth, finds himself, with the utmost pleasure, identified with the Portuguese nation. He is a Portuguese officer, and confides to the Portuguese his character and honour, perfectly satisfied that they will be preserved unimpaired, and returned to him with gain.

The Field Marshal, Commander in Chief, deems it necessary to assure you, that he will at all times consider it as one of his most important duties, to raise and reward merit, whenever he shall meet with it, and that the only recommendation he shall notice, will be that derived from zeal, activity, skill, valour and patriotism, qualities which shall at all times find in him a sure and zealous protector.

The Field Marshal, Commander in Chief, calls the attention of all the General and Subaltern Officers to the present state and improvement of the army, and being convinced that the best method of introducing discipline and a strict observance of duty into a military corps consists in the example set by the Officers, he hopes they will never fail to give their men a lesson so necessary and important.

The



The Field Marshal, Commander in Chief, feels anxious to embrace the earliest opportunity of inspecting the different corps which have already taken the field, as well as the rest of the army; and he shall avail himself of all occasions which offer to promote the satisfaction, decorum and advantage of the officers and soldiers who are entrusted to his care.

Dated, Head Quarters, Lisbon, the 13th March, 1809.

We have to record another political Revolution. The King of Sweden has been deposed by his subjects; and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, has assumed the government of the country as Regent. The Revolution took place on the 13th of March. The King was arrested as he was about to depart for his country residence; and when the last advices came away, was a close prisoner at Stockholm.—When his Majesty was first surrounded by a guard, he drew his sword, but was soon overpowered, and prevented from making resistance. When the person of the King was secured, the following Proclamation was issued:

*Proclamation issued by the Duke of Sudermania on his assuming the Government.*

We Charles, by the grace of God, hereditary prince of Sweden, the Goths, Vandals, &c. Duke of Sudermania, Grand Admiral, &c. &c. do declare, That, under existing circumstances, his Majesty is incapable to act, or to conduct the important affairs of the nation: We have, therefore, (being the nearest and

only branch of the family of age,) been induced for the time being, as Administrator of the Kingdom, to take the reins of government into our hands, which, with the help of the Almighty, we will conduct, so that the nation may regain peace, both at home and abroad, and that trade and commerce may revive from their languishing state.

Our inviolable intention is, to consult with the States on the means to be taken to render the future time happy to the people of Sweden. We invite and command, therefore, all the inhabitants of our nation, our forces by sea and land, and also the civil officers of all degrees, to obey us, as our real intention, and their own welfare demand.

We recommend you all to the protection of God Almighty.

Done at Stockholm Palace, the 13th March 1809.

(Signed)

CHARLES.

C. LAGERBRING.

*Carlstadt, March 10*

An alarming occurrence took place here within these last few days: Colonel d'Addesparre, who commanded the troops on the frontiers of Norway, after having seduced them, marched in here on the night of the 6th instant and demanded of the Burgomaster quarters for his troops, which was refused; in consequence of which, he made application to count Rosen, the governor, stating, that if his request was not granted, the troops he commanded should enforce it, and take quarters wherever they could find them. Count Rosen still persisting in the refusal, he was



ordered under arrest, as was the Burgomaster; and the troops forcibly obtained what their leader had demanded. Colonel d'Addesparre, at the head of 2,000 regular troops, and about the same number of peasantry, is now on his march to Stockholm, to demand of the King to call a Diet of the States, as well as to obtain payment of the troops under his command.

still endeavour to prefer foreign connections to the internal welfare and tranquility of Sweden.

Sweden's German dominions are delivered up to the enemy, and Finland, the native soil of a noble and gallant people, is lost. We have solemnly contracted the engagement, that not a single inch more of the Swedish territory shall be given up to the enemy. Sweden's trade and mines are ruined and deserted; Sweden's youth are taken from agricultural pursuits, in order to be destroyed by sickness and the sword. The burthens laid on agriculture are such that they cannot be borne any longer. Grinding taxes are exacted without mercy; desolation and misery are spreading wide and far, and threaten universal ruin.

We have contracted the solemn engagement, that the fathers of the country shall enjoy full liberty to restore the welfare and prosperity of the country.

May the higher and lower States of the commonweal also join heart and hand to assert the freedom of the country, and thus, by harmony and well-concerted efforts, ensure success to our enterprize and views.

May the fathers of the country offer peace and amity to our neighbours, but accompany this offer with the assurance that every Swedish hero will rather be buried under the ruins of his country, than suffer a single inch of Swedish ground to be taken by our enemies, or transferred to them.

Our ally, Great Britain, shall learn to appreciate and value a nation, which knows how to break its fetters, and rescue liberty from its chains; France shall learn to respect a people, anxious to rival her military prowess; the rulers of Russia and

*Proclamation of the Commander of the Troops stationed in Weim-land.*

A considerable number of soldiers have taken up arms, in order to march to the capital, and relieve our common, now unfortunate, and dismembered native country.

As all our fellow-citizens must be sensible that our views are such as public spirit and honour dictate to virtuous minds, we cannot be mistaken in our implicit confidence, that our brethren in arms and our unarmed fellow-citizens, will not form any incorrect opinion of our sentiments and views. They are merely these, that the States of the realm and our Legislators shall be at liberty to assemble and deliberate uncontrouled on the means of restoring the prosperity of our suffering country.

We have solemnly contracted the engagement to lay at their feet the arms which we have taken up to procure them freedom. We will form a wall round the hall where Swedish Legislators hold their deliberations, which no power upon earth shall be able to beat down. We have solemnly contracted the engagement to destroy all such as



and Denmark, incessantly engaged in pursuits tending to promote the prosperity of their people, will not disturb the peace and tranquility of a nation which merely desires to live or die independent.

We have seen with sorrow the most important concerns of Sweden managed in a manner which was as destitute of any well conceived plan as of success.

Might not the remaining strength of Sweden have been wasted by folly? but, if directed by wisdom, may it not be employed for the real benefit of the country? Such are our wishes for our country, and we shall readily sacrifice our lives to obtain their fulfilment. It is of the utmost importance for Sweden, that every Swede should at length be allowed to return to a peaceful home, as far as it can be done without any disparagement to the honour and independence of Sweden.

The frontiers of the kingdom are for a short time left without defence, on account of our departure from thence; but should the enemy, contrary to his solemn promise, avail himself of our absence to attack them, we shall speedily return, take a severe revenge, and convince him of the difference of a warfare carried on by personal hatred of the rulers, and a war urged by a nation, anxious and determined to assert its independence.

We implicitly confide, that all military commanders will readily co-operate with us, to secure, by speedy and vigorous exertion, the restoration of our lost prosperity, in the destruction of our foreign foes.

To conclude, we venture to express the wish, that our beloved countrymen and fellow-citizens of

every rank and description may suspend their judgment on all further proceedings, until the decision of the States of the realm shall be known.

(Signed)

The Commander of the Troops  
stationed in Weinland.

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*Letters Patent and Proclamation  
of His Royal Highness the Duke  
of Sudermania, Regent of the  
Swedish Kingdom, to all the  
Estates of the Realm, concerning  
a General Diet to be held on the  
1st of May, in the present year:  
Given at the King's Palace, at  
Stockholm, March 14th, 1809.*

We Charles, by the Grace of God, assure you, Estates of the Realm, Counts, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles, Clergy, Burghers of Cities, and Commonality, of our particular favour, gracious intentions, and kind affection, under the protection of Almighty God.

Since we, according to our gracious Proclamation of the 13th instant, have found ourselves called upon to take the reins of Government as Regent, in order to save our beloved native country from unavoidable destruction, we have considered it of the highest importance to deliberate with the States of the Realm, upon the means which may procure and confirm the future happiness of the Swedish nation. We wish, therefore, and command that all the States of the Realm may assemble in the capital of the kingdom before the 1st of May next, and that not only the Nobility may regulate their conduct by the laws for the House of Nobles  
given



given on the 6th of June, 1626, by the King Gustavus Adolphus, of glorious memory, &c. and revived and confirmed by King Gustavus III. on the 9th of November, 1778, but that the other States, which, as usual, send Deputies, may observe the following order: From the Clergy are expected to appear the Archbishop, every Bishop from his Diocese, the first Pastor in Stockholm, together with so many from each Diocese as usual, and of the other States as many as usual, all provided with necessary letters of deputation, in order that we may be able to begin the Diet, and after its being fortunately finished, give you permission to return every one to his province. Which every one must respectfully observe, and we are, &c. &c.

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*Address of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania, to the People of Sweden, dated Stockholm, March 15, 1809.*

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sudermania deems it right and conformable to the duties of his high station, publicly to lay before the Swedish people; the motives and causes which produced the important change, which has lately taken place in the government of this country.

The archives of the state contain a great variety of documents, which will prove the necessity of that measure, both to the present age and posterity.

For this long time past the public opinion condemned a system of warfare, which so little suits a country, the commercial concerns of which claim that neutrality, which

her fortunate geographical situation, which seems to secure Sweden, demands, and that was sacrificed by the government. As early as 1805, Sweden, joined by other Powers, entered into a war with France, which from local circumstances, was then, however, confined to the loss of her trade with nearly all the States of Europe; a loss which, although not to be compared with that she has since sustained, was yet of great moment.

Soon after differences with Prussia arose, which, however, were not attended with consequences equally important. In 1807, the share which Sweden took in the coalition against France became momentous, and its influence on the dearest interests of the country more detrimental. Swedish Pomerania was occupied by foreign troops, and Stralsund besieged; yet one prospect of more fortunate times yet remained.

A continental peace was on the point of being concluded at Tilsit, and Sweden invited to form one of the contracting parties; Sweden refused; and in consequence of this refusal she was compelled to fight France, and her numerous allies, single-handed on the continent of Europe, and the siege of Stralsund was carried on with increased vigour. Even during that siege, nay, after the conclusion of the convention, which stipulated the evacuation of Pomerania and Rügen by our troops, offers of peace were made by the enemy; and rejected; and the German possessions of Sweden, the last remains of the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, were lost. Sweden had, however, to sustain losses still more severe. In the winter of 1807, and the



the following year, serious apprehensions arose of an impending rupture with our neighbours, both on the East and West of our empire.

These apprehensions and dangers might have been warded off a few months before by the Swedish government, by its accession to the peace of Tilsit ; a peace which Sweden was not prevented from concluding by her only ally, which was offered on terms by no means irreconcilable with the public interest of Sweden.

The war broke out in Finland, and its gallant defenders, at the end of a severe and honourable conflict with an enemy far superior in number, were obliged to give up to him their beloved country. This misfortune, the most calamitous event which has befallen Sweden for centuries past, might have been avoided, if the powerful preparations of defence, which the situation and nature of the country admitted, had been conducted with wisdom and skill, and if the plans of resistance, no sooner adopted than relinquished, had been conceived and carried into effect, with unity and firmness. Finland, which, in point of population and intrinsic value, formed one third part of the Swedish Empire, was lost, and this loss bore with the most destructive pressure on the two remaining thirds.

In this state of affairs, the means of waging war against such numerous enemies could not prove sufficient for any length of time, and no other resource was left than to burthen with new taxes a people unable to bear them. The public necessities increased in proportion as the means and resources of the state were destroyed. Trade and navi-

gation were at a stand ; our mines and agriculture were unproductive from want of hands ; universal ruin was spreading wide and far ; and yet it was universally known that His Royal Majesty had again repeated his former firm and unalterable determination not to conclude a peace with the present government of France, without which, however, no reconciliation with Denmark and Russia could take place.

In this situation of affairs a considerable part of the Western army formed a resolution to march to the capital with the patriotic view which appears by the proclamation issued on their part. Similar movements took place among the rest of the Swedish troops, and it was in this critical position his Royal Majesty came to the unfortunate resolution of leaving Stockholm, and directing his family and several officers of the state, to follow him. The garrison was ordered to file off, and it was intended to assemble an army in the South, to oppose the troops who were approaching from the North and West. Two distinct governments were thus to be formed, two armies to be assembled, and a civil war was to fill up the measure of our calamities and distress.

The King's departure was, however, postponed until the 13th March, at noon. An universal consternation prevailed. The most respectful remonstrances against his Majesty's determination were rejected, and no other means remained even to secure the safety of the King's own person, than to prevent him from carrying his unfortunate resolve into effect. In these circumstances all the officers of state, in conjunction with the States of the Empire,



Empire, who were present at Stockholm, expressed to his Royal Highness the constitutional wish that he might take the reins of government into his hands; a wish to which his Royal Highness, notwithstanding his advanced age, thought himself in duty bound to accede, confiding that this step will be viewed in its proper light by every honest patriotic Swede.

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*From the Royal Courant, published at Amsterdam on the 4th April.*

Louis Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Kingdom, King of Holland, and Constable of France, taking into consideration that the term prescribed by our Decree of the 27th November, 1808, No. 5, expires on the 31st instant. Taking further into consideration that it is necessary, at the present period, to take further measures, either for the renewal of the aforesaid Decree, or the previous Decrees respecting the means of carrying into execution the prohibition of all commerce with the enemy, or of replacing them, in whole or part, by other measures calculated to place all matters relative to navigation on a footing of complete uniformity with the Decree of France and of our Brother the Emperor; and notwithstanding the difficulties arising from the maritime war, and those which commerce suffers for its own interest, being continually anxious to contribute to that important object, we have decreed and hereby decree:

Art. 1. All commerce, correspondence, and communication with England, remains prohibited according to the purport of our previous

Laws, Decrees, and Regulations, and particularly such of them as expired on the 21st instant, so far as no alteration is therein made by the present Decree.

2. From the first day of the succeeding month of April, the following fifty-two articles may be exported to friendly or neutral countries in Dutch vessels, or those sailing under the flag of neutral or allied powers, viz.

Books, beans, butter, brandy, bricks, white lead, cheese, cambricks, copper manufactured, clocks, clover and garden seeds, eels, flower roots, fruits, geneva, guazes, glue, hoops, hides dried, iron manufactured, leather, linen, linseed, madders, mill-stones, oak bark, ground oats, oils of seed, pottery, powder blue, peas, paper, perfumery, plants, pipes, playing cards, quills, rushes, silk manufactured, sacch. saturni, starch, tiles, thread and thread-tape, tobacco, tarras, turf, vinegar, watches, wine, wood manufactured.

3. The importation of the following thirty-two articles shall be permitted, viz.

Brandy, ashes (pot,) candles, copper, corn, fish-oil, isinglass, hare-skin, hemp and hemp-seed, hides (rough,) iron, leather (unmanufactured), lead, linseed, mercury, mats, pitch, Russiaskins, rape-seed, stock-fish, soda, tar, tallow, tobacco, timber, wax-wool, wool, bristles and fruit.

4. The commodities prepared for exportation shall not be put on board until previous notice has been given thereof to the Marine Director of the Ways and Means, with a particular specification of such articles, which cannot be exported but from the ports of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Gröningen, Embden,



Emdden, Harlingen, Veere, Zierikzee, Delfzil and Brouwerhaven.

5. In order to the admission of any vessels into the harbours of this kingdom, they must enter in ballast or laden with the products of the north, specified in the third Article, with the exception alone of such vessels as are laden with salt, or those which in the years 1806 or 1807 obtained our licence to proceed to China for a cargo of tea, upon shewing our said authority.

6. No other goods than those mentioned in the 4th Article shall be suffered to be imported under any pretence whatever; all prohibited goods of whatever description and in whatsoever quantity imported, and also the vessels on board which they may be found, being hereby declared liable to confiscation.

7. In case of suspicions arising respecting the origin of the cargo from informations received by the officers of the Marine Director, the same shall be provisionally sequestered until proof be given that it has not come from England or her colonies.

8. Our Consuls, in giving certificates of origin for goods shipped at their ports of residence for Dutch ports, shall not confine themselves to certifying that the goods neither come from England nor her colonies, nor belong to English commerce, but they shall further specify the place from whence the goods originally came, the documents produced to them in proof of the respective declarations, and the names of the vessels in which they were conveyed from the place of origin to the port where the Consuls reside. They are required to trans-

mit a copy of the said declarations to our Marine Director.

[The remaining eight articles relate merely to the details of the manner in which the above articles are to be carried into execution, by the Marine Director and the three Naval Commanders of the Coast Districts. The Decree is dated at Utrecht, on the 31st March.]

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*Proclamation of the Archduke Charles, dated Vienna, April 6, 1809.*

The protection of our country calls us to new exploits. As long as it was possible to preserve peace by means of sacrifices, and as long as these sacrifices were consistent with the honour of the throne, with the security of the state, and with the welfare of the people, the heart of our bountiful sovereign suppressed every painful feeling in silence; but when all endeavours to preserve happy independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitless, when nations are falling around us, and when lawful sovereigns are torn from the hearts of their subjects; when in fine the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria, and their peaceable fortunate inhabitants; then does our country demand its deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence.

On you, my dear brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honours and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression. You shall not carry on the



the endless wars of ambition under distant climes. Your blood shall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign covetousness; not on you shall the curse alight to annihilate innocent nations? and over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country to pave the way for a foreigner to the usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you; the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will loose its fetters, and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance. You are engaged in a just cause, otherwise I should not appear at your head.

On the fields of Ulm and Marengo, whereof the enemy so often remind us with ostentatious pride, on these fields will we renew the glorious deeds of Wurtsburgh and Ostrach, of Liptingen (Stockach) and Zurich; of Verona, of the Trebbia and Novi. We will conquer a lasting peace for our country; but the great aim is not to be attained without great virtues. Unconditional subordination, strict discipline, persevering courage, and unshaken steadiness in danger, are the companions of true fortitude. Only a union of will, and a joint co-operation of the whole, lead to victory.

My sovereign and brother has invested me with extensive powers to reward and to punish. I will be every where in the middle of you, and you shall receive the first thanks of your country from your general on the field of battle. The patriotism of many of the Austrian nobility has anticipated your wants: this is a pledge in the fullest measure, of the public gratitude: but

punishment shall also, with inflexible rigour, fall on every breach of duty: merit shall meet with reward, and offence with animadversion, without distinction of person, or rank; branded with disgrace shall the worthless person be cast out to whom life is dearer than his and our honour. Adorned with the marks of public esteem, will I present to our sovereign, to the world, those brave men who have deserved well of their country, and whose names I will ever carry in my heart.

There remains one consideration which I must put you in mind of: the soldier is only formidable to the enemy in arms; civil virtues must not be strangers to him: out of the field of battle, towards the unarmed citizens and peasants, he is moderate, compassionate, and humane: he knows the evils of war, and strives to lighten them; I will punish every wanton excess with so much greater severity, as it is not the intention of our monarch to oppress neighbouring countries, but to deliver them from their oppressors, and to form with their princes a powerful bond in order to bring about a lasting peace, and to maintain the general welfare and security. Soon will foreign troops, in strict union with us, attack the common enemy. Then, brave companions in arms! honour and support them as your brothers; not vain glorious high words, but manly deeds, do honour to the warrior; by intrepidity before the enemy you must shew yourselves to be the first soldiers.

Thus then shall I one day lead you back to your own country, followed by the respect of the enemy,  
and



and by the gratitude of foreign nations, after having secured by your arms an honourable peace, when the satisfaction of our monarch, the approbation of the world, the rewards of valour, the blessings of your fellow citizens, and the consciousness of deserved repose await you.

CHARLES,  
Archduke, Generalissimo.

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*Letter to the Vice President of the  
Supreme Central Junta, dated  
Merida, 12th April, 1809.*

Excellent Signor,—The greater number of the provinces of Spain have sufficiently suffered from the horrible effects of war and conquest, and the rest are threatened with the same calamities. The melancholy events of the 27th and 28th of March, affecting the armies of generals Urbina and Cuesta, have filled with consternation and alarm these honourable Spaniards who cannot contemplate without the most poignant grief the utter desolation of our beloved country. These persons have implored the King to alleviate the distresses of such of the provinces as are occupied by French troops, and to avoid them in those which are not yet in their possession.

His Majesty has attended to their prayers, and in consequence has ordered me to repair to this city, to announce his compliance to your excellency, authorising me at the same time to consult the best means of fulfilling his wishes with such deputy or deputies as the Supreme Central Junta shall think fit to appoint.

I cannot suppose that either your

excellency or the Central Junta will refuse to take this step, on which the salvation of Andalusia and the happiness of the whole kingdom depends. The business is most important in its character, and most urgent in the present circumstances, and on that account it would be improper that it should be conducted in writing, which is likely to occasion so many disputes, irregularities, and doubts, and which may be avoided completely by personal conference. On this ground I hope, from your honour and patriotism, and from that of the Junta, that you will name such person or persons to enter on the conference with me, with whom I will agree as to the place of interview. God preserve you, &c.

JOAQUIM MARIA SOTELO.

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*Answer, addressed to Gen. Cuesta.*

Excellent Signor,—On the receipt of the letter written by Don Joaquim Maria Sotelo to the Vice-President, and the insidious proposition on the part of the French government therein contained, the Supreme Central Junta has not forgotten the sacred character with which it is invested, and the solemn oaths it has taken in concurrence with the wishes of the whole Spanish nation. If Sotelo be the bearer of powers sufficiently extensive to treat for the restitution of our beloved King, and for the evacuation of our territory by the French troops instantly, let him publish them in the usual form adopted by states, and they will be announced to our allies. The Junta cannot neglect the employment of the powers conceded to it  
by



by the public will, but they have no authority to listen to any treaty, or terminate any transaction, which is not founded on the basis of eternal justice. Any other principle of negotiation, without benefiting the empire, would only tend to degrade the Junta, which has entered into the most awful engagement to bury itself beneath the ruins of the monarchy, rather than lend itself to any proposition which shall diminish the honour and independence of the Spanish people. His Majesty desires that your excellency would state these sentiments to Sotelo, and by the royal order I communicate them to your excellency for your instruction and compliance. God preserve you.

(Signed) MARTIN DE GARAY.

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*Correspondence between Mr. Erskine and Mr. Smith.*

No. I.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

*Washington, April 17, 1809.*

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that I have received his majesty's commands to represent to the government of the United States, that his majesty is animated by the most sincere desire for an adjustment of the differences which have unhappily so long prevailed between the two countries, the recapitulation of which might have a tendency to impede, if not prevent an amicable understanding.

It having been represented to his majesty's government, that the Congress of the United States in their proceedings at the opening of the last session, had evinced an intention of passing certain laws,

which would place the relations of Great Britain with the United States upon an equal footing, in all respects with the other belligerent powers, I have accordingly received his majesty's commands, in the event of such laws taking place, to offer, on the part of his majesty, an honourable reparation for the aggression committed by a British naval officer, in the attack on the United States' frigate Chesapeake.

Considering the act passed by the Congress of the United States on the 1st of March (usually termed the Non-Intercourse Act), as having produced a state of equality in the relations of the two belligerent powers, with respect to the United States, I have to submit, conformably to instructions, for the consideration of the American government, such terms of satisfaction and reparation, as his Majesty is induced to believe will be accepted in the same spirit of conciliation with which they are proposed.

In addition to the prompt disavowal made by his Majesty, on being apprized of the unauthorized act committed by his naval officer, whose recal, as a mark of the King's displeasure, from an highly important and honourable command, immediately ensued, his Majesty is willing to restore the men forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, and if acceptable to the American government, to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers on that occasion.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

D. M. ERSKINE.

*The Hon. Robert Smith, Esq.  
Secretary of State, &c.*

No.



## No. IV.

*Department of State, April 17,  
1809.*

Sir,—I have laid before the President your note, in which you have, in the name and by the order of his Britannic Majesty, declared that his Britannic Majesty is desirous of making an honourable reparation for the aggression committed by a British naval officer in the attack on the United States' frigate, the Chesapeake; that, in addition to his prompt disavowal of the act, his Majesty, as a mark of his displeasure, did immediately recal the offending officer from a highly important and honourable command; and that he is willing to restore the men forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, and, if acceptable to the American Government, to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers on that occasion.

The Government of the United States, having at all times entertained a sincere desire for an adjustment of the differences which have so long and so unhappily subsisted between the two countries, the President cannot but receive with pleasure, assurances that his Britannic Majesty is animated by the same disposition, and that he is ready, in conformity to this disposition, to make atonement for the insult and aggression committed by one of his naval officers in the attack on the United States' frigate, the Chesapeake.

As it appears at the same time, that in making this offer, his Britannic Majesty derives a motive from the equality now existing, in the relations of the United States, with the two belligerent powers, the President owes it to the occasion,

and to himself, to let it be understood, that this equality is a result incident to a state of things, growing out of distinct considerations.

With this explanation, as requisite as it is frank, I am authorised to inform you that the President accepts the note delivered by you in the name and by the order of his Britannic Majesty, and will consider the same with the engagement contained therein, when fulfilled, as a satisfaction for the insult and injury of which he has complained. But I have it in express charge from the President to state, that while he forbears to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example, nor the less persuaded that it would best comport with what is due from his Britannic Majesty to his own honour.

I have the honour to be,  
With the highest respect and consideration,

Sir, your most obedient servant,  
R. SMITH.

*The Hon. David M. Erskine,  
Esq. Envoy Extraordi-  
nary, and Minister Ple-  
nipotentiary of his Bri-  
tannic Majesty.*

## No. III.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

*Washington, April 18, 1809.*

Sir,—I have the honour of informing you that his Majesty, having been persuaded that the honourable reparation which he had caused to be tendered for the unauthorised attack upon the American frigate Chesapeake would be accepted by the government of the United States in the same spirit of



conciliation, with which it was proposed, has instructed me to express his satisfaction, should such a happy termination of that affair take place; not only as having removed a painful cause of difference, but as affording a fair prospect of a complete and cordial understanding being re-established between the two countries.

The favourable change in the relations of his Majesty with the United States, which has been produced by the Act (usually termed the Non Intercourse Act) passed in the last session of Congress, was also anticipated by his Majesty, and has encouraged a further hope, that a reconsideration of the existing differences might lead to their satisfactory adjustment.

On these grounds and expectations, I am instructed to communicate to the American government, his Majesty's determination of sending to the United States, an envoy extraordinary invested with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries.

In the mean time, with a view to contribute to the attainment of so desirable an object; his Majesty would be willing to withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, so far as respects the United States, in the persuasion that the President would issue a Proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain, and that whatever difference of opinion should arise in the interpretation of the terms of such an agreement will be removed in the proposed negotiation.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

D. M. ERSKINE.

*Hon. Robert Smith, &c. &c.*

#### No. IV.

MR. SMITH TO MR. ERSKINE.

*Department of State, April 18, 1809.*

Sir,—The note which I had the honour of receiving from you this day, I lost no time in laying before the President, who, being sincerely desirous of a satisfactory adjustment of the differences unhappily existing between Great Britain and the United States, has authorised me to assure you, that he will meet with a disposition correspondent with that of his Britannic Majesty, the determination of his Majesty to send to the United States a Special Envoy, invested with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries.

I am further authorised to assure you, that in case his Britannic Majesty should in the mean time withdraw his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, so far as respects the United States, the President will not fail to issue a Proclamation by virtue of the authority, and for the purposes specified, in the eleventh section of the Statute, commonly called the Non-Intercourse Act.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) R. SMITH.

#### No. V.

MR. ERSKINE TO MR. SMITH.

*Washington, April 19, 1809.*

Sir,—In consequence of the acceptance, by the President, as stated in your letter dated the 18th inst. of the proposals made by me on the part of his Majesty, in my letter of the same day, for the renewal of the intercourse between the



the respective countries, I am authorised to declare that his Majesty's Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn as respects the United States on the 10th day of June next.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. M. ERSKINE.

Hon. Robert Smith, &c. &c.

### No. VI.

MR. SMITH TO MR. ERSKINE.

*Department of State, April 19, 1809.*

Sir,—Having laid before the President your note of this day, containing an assurance that his Britannic Majesty will, on the 10th day of June next, have withdrawn his Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, so far as respects the United States, I have the honour of informing you that the President will accordingly, and in pursuance of the eleventh section of the Statute commonly called the Non-Intercourse Act, issue a Proclamation, so that the trade of the United States with Great Britain may on the same day be renewed, in the manner provided in the said section.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. SMITH.

### PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas it is provided by the 11th Section of the Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their Depen-

dencies, and for other purposes," that "in case either France or Great Britain shall so revoke or modify her edicts, as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States," the President is authorised to declare the same by Proclamation, after which the trade suspended by the said Act, and by an Act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbours of the United States, and the several Acts supplementary thereto, may be renewed with the nations so doing. And whereas the Hon. D. M. Erskine, his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has, by the order and in the name of his Sovereign, declared to this Government that the British Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States, on the 10th June next.

Now, therefore, I, James Madison, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim that the Orders in Council aforesaid, will have been withdrawn on the said 10th of June next; after which day the trade of the United States with Great Britain, as suspended by the Act of Congress above mentioned, and an Act laying an Embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbours of the United States, and the several Acts supplementary thereto, may be renewed.

Given under my hand and seal of the United States at Washington, April 19, 1809, and 33d of the Independence of the United States.

JAMES MADDISON.



*Declaration of the Emperor of Russia, dated April 25, (5th May.)*

The peace between France and Austria, which has long been waver- ing, is at length entirely at an end. By the last advices, the Austrian troops have entered the Duchy of Warsaw, and the States of Saxony and Bavaria.

It is thus that the flames of war which had been so lately extinguished upon the Continent, have just been rekindled, and, by the force of circumstances, it is necessary that all the powers of Europe should take up arms again.

The preparations for war on the part of Austria were the first cause of this misunderstanding. Russia could not see these with indifference, every means were employed from the beginning to put an end to them: the guarantee of Russia for the integrity of the Austrian States, was even offered, and at the same time it was declared, that in virtue of the existing alliance with France, every attack upon the present order of things would be considered as a violation of the rights stipulated by treaties, which ought to be maintained by the force of arms.— Austria not rejecting the pacific insinuations made to her, pretended at first that her measures were only defensive; that they were occasioned only by the fear of the danger which threatened her; that her intention was not to undertake an offensive war, and that she would not break the peace.

Facts have proved of how little value these assurances were. The measures of defence which progressively increased have changed into offensive measures. In the room of the fear that was expressed, ambi-

tious plans have been developed, and the war was broken out by the invasion of foreign states, even before any declaration of war in the accustomed form. Austria, who knew perfectly well the conduct which Russia would hold, under the present circumstances, has determined to renounce her friendship, and rekindle the flames of war even upon our frontiers, rather than desist from her projects.

In consequence orders have been given to the Russian ambassador at Vienna to quit that capital immediately, and it has been declared to the Austrian ambassador at this court, that from this moment his diplomatic functions have ceased, and that all relations are broken off, with him and his court.

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*Ukase to the Senate, dated St. Petersburg, May 7, 1809.*

It is known to the whole world, with what firmness the trade of neutrals has been protected by Russia, when the powers of Europe were at war; it is known with what valour she has guarded the interests of trading nations in time of peace, against the events of war. Following up this invariable principle, also during the present rupture with Britain, we entertained the fullest hopes that the trade with friendly powers would not be carried on by forbidden means; but as experience during last season has proved to us, that the enemy has found it practicable, by means of neutral vessels, to supply himself with such produce as he stood in need of, and to gain strength by exchanging his own produce, we have at present been compelled to order two vessels to be seized.—

For



For these reasons, and to prevent various subterfuges and artifices, we have deemed it necessary to establish some rules, and hereby order,

1. That all masters of neutral vessels, arriving at our ports, are to prove the property being neutral, by the following documents of the ship, viz. a pass, ship's register, muster-roll, log-book, cocket, manifest of the cargo, the charter-party, bills of lading, certificates of origin, whether the cargo, or part of the same belonging to the captain, and by the invoices of such vessels as come from America or the Indies, or are bound there. In case, however, the master is not provided with any one of the documents, the ship is to be sent out of our ports, and not to be permitted to discharge.

2. In case of neutral ships being partly loaded with merchandize which can be proved to be of the manufacture or produce of the enemy, the same to be stopped, the goods to be seized and sold by public auction, for the benefit of government; but if more than half of the cargo consists of such goods, then not only the cargo, but also the ship is to be seized.

3. A pass granted the ship, by a neutral, friendly, or allied power, is not to be considered legal, as soon as it appears that the master has acted contrary to the same; or if the ship is named in the pass differently to what she is in the rest of her documents, unless the alteration made is proved by documents, attested by legal authority, at the place from which the vessel departed, and produced before the magistracy of said place; in this instance the master is not to be considered guilty.

4. A pass is not to be considered

valid, if it should appear that the vessel to which it is granted was not, at the very time it is dated, at one of the ports of the power by which it had been given.

5. If the supercargo or master, or more than one-third of the crew, of a neutral vessel, should be subjects of powers at war with us; or if such a vessel is not provided with a muster-roll of the crew, duly attested by the magistracy of such neutral ports from which the same departed, then both ship and cargo are to be seized, but the crew to be set at liberty.

6. If it should appear that the pass produced by the master has been counterfeited or altered, ship and cargo are to be seized for the benefit of government, and the master to be brought to trial, and to be dealt with as is prescribed by the laws for those who make false documents; the crew to be set at liberty.

7. If it should appear that a vessel is provided with double documents, with different destinations, such a vessel and her cargo to be seized for the benefit of government. In case the master wishes to justify himself, by having lost his documents, and cannot produce any proofs, his vessel to be detained, granting him time for procuring the same proportionate to the distance, if he wishes it; else, if the master cannot wait so long, ship and cargo are immediately to be sent off; but if at the expiration of the period fixed, the master does not produce the needful proofs, ship and cargo are to be seized for the benefit of government.

8. No ship built by the enemy is to be considered neutral, unless amongst other documents, a duly  
3 C 3  
attested



attested document is found, proving the sale or transfer to have taken place, before the declaration of the war; else ship and cargo are to be seized for the benefit of government.

9. If the owners or commanders of a neutral vessel happen to be natives of a nation at war with us, and are provided with passes of a neutral power, in such a case the pass is not to serve as a clearance, as long as they cannot prove having become subjects and residents of such a power previous to the declaration of war; else, they are to be sent off, with their ships, not allowing them to take in return cargoes.

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*Abdication of Gustavus, King of Sweden, and Election of a Successor.*

The Members of the States met at an early hour on the 10th of May at Stockholm; when the Regent having ordered the Lord Chancellor to read aloud the Act of Abdication, voluntarily made by the unfortunate Gustavus on the 29th March, Baron Mannheim addressed the assembly; and, after drawing an affecting picture of the situation to which Sweden was reduced by the King's passion for war, renounced all allegiance and obedience to the person and authority of Gustavus IV. and declared him and his issue, now and for ever, deprived of the Crown and Government of Sweden. This declaration was received with shouts, and adopted by the constitutional representatives of the Swedish nation, without a dissentient voice. The Prince Regent then declared that it would be necessary to remodel the constitution, for which

purpose a committee was appointed.

By a report from Gen. Baron Wrede, a Commander in Chief of the northern army, dated Headquarters, Hernosand, the 22d May, 1809, it appears, that Lieutenant-Colonel Fummark, with a detachment of 600 men belonging to the regiments of West Bothnia and Wasa, was on the 17th of this month attacked and surrounded by a Russian corps, upwards of 2000 men strong, unexpectedly, which had crossed the ice, and, after a vigorous resistance, compelled to surrender in the vicinity of Bure; but that the Russians have not since made any further progress, in consequence of the warmth of the weather having rendered the ice impassable.

The Duke Regent issued an edict on the 1st inst. by which he orders all Swedish subjects, belonging to the militia, who are absent on leave, to rejoin their regiments. He declares in his edict, that although he has offered to the enemies of Sweden the fairest and most equitable terms of peace, yet they have not been accepted either by Russia or Denmark; both these neighbouring powers having refused to enter into any negotiations on that important subject, and the former having even recommenced hostile operations against Sweden: he adds, that under all circumstances, it is unavoidably requisite to employ the whole military force of the country to repel the threatened invasion; and that he accordingly feels obliged to call all the militia to arms, and trusts that the known valour of the people of Sweden will ultimately succeed in asserting her independence, and obtaining peace.



*Proclamation of Prince Gallatzin, who has the Command of the Russian Army which has penetrated Gallicia, addressed to the Inhabitants, in the Russian and Polish Languages, dated May 11, 1809.*

Russia could not behold with indifference, the war that has broken out between France and Austria.

Russia did every thing to prevent the commencement of these hostile operations. She declared even to the court of Austria, that, pursuant to articles of treaty between the Emperors of Russia and France, and to the close alliance entered into by those two powers, she should be obliged to act in concert with France. Austria listened to none of these remonstrances; but long endeavoured to conceal her warlike preparations under pretence that she was obliged to adopt necessary measures for her security and defence, till she at last by open hostilities, betrayed her designs, and kindled the flames of war.

Russia has no longer hesitated to take a part in a war in which she is bound to engage by the most solemn treaties. As soon as she learned that hostilities had commenced, she broke off all relations of friendship which had subsisted between her and Austria, and gave orders to her army to advance into Gallicia. The Commander in Chief of the army entering that province to oppose the views of Austria, and to resist force by force, has received from his Majesty the Emperor, express orders solemnly to assure the peaceable inhabitants of Gallicia that the views of Russia are not hostile; that amid all military operations, the security and safety of

persons and property shall be most strictly respected.

The Commander in Chief shall prove, by his conduct, that the principles recommended by his Sovereign are also consonant to his own inclinations and feelings.

PRINCE GALLATZIN,  
Commander in Chief.

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*Imperial Decree, dated Vienna, 17th May, 1809, proclaimed in all the public squares and market-places of the city.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c. taking into consideration that when Charlemagne, Emperor of the French, and our sublime predecessor, endowed the Bishops of Rome with various lands, they were given as fiefs to maintain the peace of his subjects, and that Rome did not therefore cease to form a part of his empire:

Considering further, that since that time the union of spiritual and temporal power has been, and still is, the source of dissention; that the Popes have but too frequently availed themselves of the one, to support their pretensions to the other; and that spiritual concerns, which are in their nature immutable, have been confounded with worldly affairs, which change with the circumstances and politics of the times:

Considering finally, that it is in vain to attempt to reconcile with the temporal pretensions of the Pope, all that we have concerted for the security of our army, the repose and prosperity of the nations over which we reign, and the dignity and inviolability of our empire,

We have decreed, and do decree as follow:



Art. 1. The Papal Territory is united with the French empire.

2. The city of Rome, illustrious for the recollection it recalls, and for the monuments which it contains, is declared to be a FREE AND IMPERIAL CITY. Its government and administration shall be fixed by a particular decree.

3. The monuments of Roman greatness shall be maintained and preserved, at the expence of our treasury.

4. The public debt is declared to be the debt of the empire.

5. The revenue of the Pope shall be fixed at two millions of francs, free from all charges and contributions.

6. The property and palaces of his Holiness shall be subject to no imposition, jurisdiction, or visitation, and shall besides enjoy especial prerogatives.

7. An extraordinary Consulta shall, on the 1st of June, take possession in our name of the Papal dominions, and adopt measures that on the 1st of January, 1810, the Constitutional Government may take effect.

(Signed)                      NAPOLEON.

*Washington, May 22.*

#### EXTRA SESSION.

This day both Houses of Congress assembled in their respective chambers. In the Senate twenty-one Members attended. In the Lower House, at the first call 120 Members appeared.

General Varnum is re-elected Speaker.

#### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

At twelve o'clock, the President

of the United States communicated by Mr. Graham, the following Message to both Houses of Congress:

*Washington City, May 23.*

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives—On this first occasion of meeting you, it affords me much satisfaction, to be able to communicate the commencement of a favourable change in our foreign relations, the critical state of which induced a Session of Congress at this period.

In consequence of the provisions of the Act interdicting commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France, our Ministers at London and Paris were, without delay, instructed to let it be understood by the French and British governments, that the authority vested in the executive, to renew commercial intercourse with their respective nations, would be exercised in the case specified by that act.

Soon after these instructions were dispatched, it was found that the British government, anticipating, from early proceedings of Congress at their last session, the state of our laws, which has had the effect of placing the two belligerent powers on a footing of equal restrictions, and relying on the conciliatory disposition of the United States, had transmitted to their Legation here, provisional instructions, not only to offer satisfaction for the attack on the frigate Chesapeake, and to make known the determination of his Britannic Majesty, to send an Envoy Extraordinary with powers to conclude a treaty on all points between the two countries; but moreover, to signify his willingness, in the mean time,



time, to withdraw his Orders in Council, in the persuasion that the intercourse with Great Britain would be renewed on the part of the United States.

These steps of the British government led to the correspondence and the proclamation now laid before you; by virtue of which, the commerce between the two countries will be renewable after the 10th day of June next.

Whilst I take pleasure in doing justice to the counsels of his Britannic Majesty, which, no longer adhering to the policy which made an abandonment by France, of her Decrees, a pre-requisite to a revocation of the British Orders, have substituted the amicable course which has issued thus happily; I cannot do less than refer to the proposal heretofore made on the part of the United States, embracing a like restoration of the suspended commerce, as a proof of the spirit of accommodation which has at no time been intermitted, and to the result which now calls for our congratulations as corroborating the principles by which the public councils have been guided during a period of the most trying embarrassments.

The discontinuance of the British Orders as they respect the United States, having been thus arranged, a communication of the event has been forwarded, in one of our public vessels, to our Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, with instructions to avail himself of the important addition thereby made, to the considerations which press on the justice of the French government a revocation of its Decrees, or such a modification of them, as they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States.

The revision of our commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy, at the same time, of their just and provident care, to make such further alterations in the laws, as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.

It will rest with the judgment of Congress to decide how far the change in our external prospects may authorise any modifications of the laws relating to the army and navy establishments.

The works of defence for our seaport towns and harbours have proceeded with as much activity as the season of the year and other circumstances would admit. It is necessary, however, to state, that the appropriations hitherto made being found to be deficient, a farther provision will claim the early consideration of Congress.

The whole of the eight per cent. stock remaining due by the United States, amounting to 5,300,000 dollars, had been reimbursed on the last day of the year 1808. And on the first day of April last, the sum in the Treasury exceeded nine and a half millions of dollars. This, together with the receipts of the current year, on account of former Revenue bonds, will probably be nearly, if not altogether sufficient, to defray the expences of the year. But the suspension of exports and the consequent decrease of importations, during the last twelve months, will necessarily cause a great diminution in the receipts of 1810. After that year,



year, should our foreign relations be undisturbed, the revenue will again be more than commensurate to all the expenditures.

Under the existing aspect of our affairs, I have thought it not inconsistent with a just precaution, to have the gun-boats, with the exception of those at New Orleans, placed in a situation incurring no expence beyond that requisite for their preservation, and conveniency for future service ; and to have the crews of those at New Orleans reduced to the number required for their navigation and safety.

I have thought also, that our citizens detached in quotas of militia, amounting to one hundred thousand, under the Act of March 1808, might not improperly be relieved from the state in which they were held for immediate service. A discharge of them has been accordingly directed.

The progress made in raising and organizing the additional military force, for which provision was made by the act of April, 1808, together with the disposition of the troops, will appear by a Report which the Secretary of War is preparing, and which will be laid before you.

Of the additional frigates required by an Act of the last Session to be fitted for actual service, two are in readiness, one nearly so, and the fourth is expected to be ready in the month of July. A Report which the Secretary of the Navy is preparing on the subject, to be laid before Congress, will shew, at the same time, the progress made in officering and manning these ships. It will shew also the degree in which the provisions of the Act relative to the other public armed vessels have been carried into effect.

Aware of the inconvenience of a

protracted Session at the present season of the year, I forbear to call the attention of the Legislature to any matters not particularly urgent. It remains, therefore, only to assure you of the fidelity and alacrity with which I shall co-operate for the welfare and happiness of our country, and to pray that it may experience a continuance of the Divine blessings by which it has been so signally favoured.

(Signed) JAMES MADDISON.

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*General Orders, of the 24th of May.*

The days of the 21st and 22d May will be eternally memorable in the history of the world. The army has given proofs of patriotism, heroism, and contempt of danger which posterity will admire, and our descendants hold up as specimens of rare and great actions. It furnished the enemy, who had lately boasted of its annihilation, with bloody proofs of its existence. It has surpassed my great expectations, and I feel proud to be its leader. You are in the field of battle the first soldiers of the world ; be so also in the spirit of discipline, in the love of order, and in respect to the property of the citizen ; then would you be not only the first, but the only army, and your grateful country will bless your deeds. Our beloved monarch has confidence in you, and thanks you with paternal emotions for the security of his throne, and the welfare of your families.

I expect immediately from the commanders of the different corps the most circumstantial relation of what took place with their respective



tive divisions. The country and the sovereign wish to be acquainted with the supporters of their independence, glory, and greatness; their names shall shine in the annals of Austria; till then I can only name and reward those whose distinguished merit is either recognized by the whole army, or whom accident brought nearer to my personal observation.

Prince John of Lichtenstein, general of cavalry, has immortalized his name. This feeling, and my ardent attachment to his person, are pledges of the gratitude of our monarch. I can reward him only by the public expression of my esteem. In the name of his majesty, I nominate as commanders of the order of Theresa, baron Wimpfen, col. Smolla, &c.

The Archduke CHARLES,  
Generalissimo.

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*Orders in Council.*

*At the Court of the Queen's Palace, the 24th of May, 1809.—Present—The King's most excellent Majesty in Council:*

Whereas his Majesty was pleased, by his Order in Council of the 26th of April last, to declare certain ports and places of the countries which have been lately styled the kingdom of Holland, to be subject to the restrictions incident to a strict and rigorous blockade, as continued from his Majesty's former Order of the 11th Nov. 1807; and whereas advices have been received of a certain Provisional Agreement entered into by his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in America, with the Government of the

United States, whereby it is understood that his Majesty's Orders in Council of the 7th Jan, and of the 11th Nov. 1807, shall be withdrawn so far as respects the United States, on the 10th of June next.

And whereas, although the said Provisional Agreement is not such as was authorised by his Majesty's instructions, or such as his Majesty can approve, it may already have happened, or may happen, that persons being citizens of the said United States may be led by a reliance on the said Provisional Agreement to engage in trade with and to the said ports and places of Holland, contrary to, and in violation of the restrictions imposed by the said Orders of the 7th of Jan. and of the 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the Order of the 26th April last; his Majesty, in order to prevent any inconveniences that may ensue from the circumstance above recited, is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said several Orders shall be suspended, so far as is necessary for the protection of vessels of the said United States, so sailing under the faith of the said Provisional Agreement, viz, That after the 9th day of June next, no vessel of the United States, which shall have cleared out between the 19th of April last and the 20th of July ensuing, for any of the ports of Holland-aforesaid from any port of the United States, shall be molested or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majesty's ships or privateers.

And it is further ordered, that no vessels of the United States, which shall have cleared out from  
any



any port of America previous to the 20th of July next, for any other permitted port, and shall, during her voyage have changed her destination in consequence of information of the said Provisional Agreement, and shall be proceeding to any of the ports of Holland aforesaid, shall be molested or interrupted by the Commanders of any of his Majesty's ships or privateers, unless such vessel shall have been informed of this Order on her voyage, and shall have been warned not to proceed to any of the ports of Holland aforesaid, and shall, notwithstanding such warning, be found attempting to proceed to any such port.

And it is further ordered, that after the said 9th day of June next, no vessel of the said United States which shall have cleared out, or be destined to any of the ports of Holland from any other port or place not subject to the restrictions of the said Order of the 26th of April last, after notice of such Provisional Agreement as aforesaid, shall be molested or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majesty's ships or privateers, provided such vessel shall have so cleared out previous to actual notice of this Order at such place of clearance, or in default of proof of actual notice previous to the like periods of time after the date of this Order, as are fixed for constructive notice of his Majesty's Order of the 11th of Nov. 1807, by the Orders of the 25th Nov. 1807, and of the 18th of May, 1808, at certain places and latitudes therein mentioned, unless such vessel shall have been informed of this Order on her

voyage, and warned by any of his Majesty's ships or privateers not to proceed to any port of Holland, and shall, notwithstanding such warning, attempt to proceed to any such port.

And his Majesty is pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said several Orders of the 7th of Jan. and 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the said Order of the 26th of April last, shall also be suspended, so far as is necessary for the protection of vessels of the said United States which shall clear out, to any ports not declared to be under the restriction of blockade from any port of Holland between the 9th day of June and the 1st day of July next: provided always, that nothing that is contained in the present Order shall extend, or be construed to extend, to protect any vessels or their cargoes, that may be liable to condemnation or detention for any other cause than the violation of the aforesaid Orders of the 7th of Jan. and the 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the said order of the 26th of April last.

Provided also, that nothing in this Order contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to protect any vessel which shall attempt to enter any port actually blockaded by any of his Majesty's ships of war.

And the right hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and the Judges of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein



herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

*Proclamation issued by the new King of Sweden, on his ascending the Throne.*

We, Charles XIII. by the Grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. to all our faithful subjects, &c. &c. greeting.

When, under Divine Providence, we assumed some time ago the Provisional Government of our beloved native country, committed to us by the States of our Realm, we immediately called the attention of the Diet to the indispensable and important task of framing a new Constitution, calculated to promote the prosperity, tranquillity, and welfare of the country, by an irrevocable union between the mutual rights and duties of the King and People of Sweden.

The States having informed us that they have not only performed the important task committed to them by us, and the confidence of their fellow subjects, but also that they have chosen us King of Sweden and of the Goths and Vandals, requesting our approbation of that choice, the cordial and loyal manner in which that election was made, did not allow us to decline its acceptance. Relying on the Omnipotent, who explores the inmost recesses of the human heart, and knows the sincerity and purity of our sentiments, moved by the most fervent love and zeal for our native land, which can only cease with our existence, and trusting we shall be most powerfully supported by the loyal attachment of the

noble Swedish nation, we have therefore accepted the Crown and Sceptre of Sweden.

It is far more gratifying to our feelings, to have been called upon by the free and uncontrouled voice of the people, to become their King, Protector, and Defender, than if we had ascended the ancient Swedish Throne merely by right of Hereditary Succession. We shall govern the kingdom and people of Sweden, as an indulgent parent does his children; with implicit confidence in the honest; with forbearance towards those who err undeliberately; uprightness towards all; and when the day arrives, the near approach of which is announced by our advanced age, which shall put an end to our worldly cares, we will hail our last moments with the pious resignation of the just, and close it by blessing you all.

(Signed) CHARLES.

GUST. SUYDSJELKD, Aulic Chancellor.

Council Hall, Stockholm Castle,  
June 6, 1809.

*King's Speech in the House of Lords, Wednesday, June 21, by Commission.*

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,*

*"We are commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that his Majesty has great satisfaction in being enabled, by the state of the public business, to release you from your laborious attendance in Parliament.*

*"His Majesty doubts not that on your return into your respective counties, you will carry with you a disposition to inculcate, both by instruction and example, a spirit of attachment*



attachment to those established laws and that happy constitution, which it has ever been his Majesty's anxious wish to support and to maintain, and upon which, under Providence, depends the welfare and prosperity of this kingdom.

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons.*

"We have it in command from his Majesty to thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year; and to express the satisfaction which his Majesty derives from your having been enabled to provide for those services without any great and immediate addition to the burthens upon his people.

"His Majesty particularly commands us to acknowledge your prompt attention to his wishes, respecting an increased provision for the poorer clergy; an object in the highest degree interesting to his Majesty's feelings, and deserving the favourable consideration of Parliament.

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The atrocious and unparalleled act of violence and treachery by which the Ruler of France attempted to surprize and to enslave the Spanish Nation, while it has excited in Spain a determined and unconquerable resistance against the usurpation and tyranny of the French Government, has, at the same time, awakened in other nations of Europe a determination to resist, by a new effort, the continued and increasing encroachments on their safety and independence.

"Although the uncertainty of all human events, and the vicissitudes

attendant upon war, forbid too confident an expectation of a satisfactory issue to the present struggle against the common enemy of Europe, his Majesty commands us to congratulate you upon the splendid and important success which has recently crowned the arms of the Emperor of Austria, under the able and distinguished conduct of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles.

"To the efforts of Europe for its own deliverance, his Majesty has directed us to assure you, that he is determined to continue his most strenuous assistance and support, convinced that you will agree with him in considering that every exertion for the re-establishment of the independence and security of other nations, is no less conducive to the true interests than it is becoming the character and honour of Great Britain."

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#### *Proclamation to the Poles.*

Frederic Augustus, King of Saxony, &c. Poles!—Already has the army, which had invaded our duchy of Warsaw, been forced by the victories of our great regenerator, and the valour of our troops, to abandon the capital and return to its own territory.

After having rendered thanks to Divine Providence for the signal protection it has granted us, it becomes our duty to employ the first moments of the re-establishment of our government, in expressing the sentiments which have been raised in us by the patriotism and attachment which the nation has so splendidly displayed in that moment of calamity.

The



The enemy had entered the country with a numerous army. It appeared scarcely possible to resist him; but he soon learnt the power of courage, when led by a chief so brave and able as our minister of war, Prince Poniatowski.

Poles! Your battalions, which the great hero has created, and in whom he has inspired that valiant spirit, the best proofs of which are before his eyes, have shewn they were worthy their creator. Inferior in number, they not only resisted the enemy, but successfully attacked him.

They have carried victory into his provinces, and have every where covered themselves with glory.

The whole nation have on their part shewn that the valour and patriotism of the ancient Poles is theirs. The invasion of a numerous enemy, far from intimidating them, has only stimulated them to voluntary and extraordinary offers to sacrifice their private fortunes. They have wholly devoted themselves to the defence of their country. The departments have emulated each other, in filling the ranks of the armies, and furnishing the necessary contributions. They have proved that the love of their country is a national quality, and have rendered themselves worthy to become models of that quality. Providence has also crowned those generous efforts with success.

Our council of state has, by its zeal and wisdom, seconded by all the other constitutional authorities, succeeded in maintaining the measures of the government, as far as circumstances would permit.

Poles! Your country owes its safety to you; it owes to you the approbation of your great regene-

rator, whose notice the brave conduct of the army, and the ardent zeal of the nation, will not have escaped. It owes to you increased respect among its neighbours, and the glory which the sovereign feels in reigning over such a nation.

Though at a distance, our heart has ever been with you. Your situation was ever present to us. Your fidelity and attachment to us, has increased, if possible, ours to you; and if we have been unable to afford you the assistance our heart desired, it was with pain we were prevented by circumstances.

Polish people!—Tranquillity is restored to you, and the constitutional government. Our great solicitude shall be to endeavour to heal the wounds the war has occasioned, reward merit, and restore order; which your future happiness requires. On your part you will contribute to this by entire confidence in the government; which will be guided by our paternal intentions.

Given at Frankfort, on the Maine, June 24, 1809.

“FREDERIC AUGUSTUS.”

*Proclamation, dated Frankfort,  
June 24.*

Frederic Augustus, by the grace of God, King of Saxony, &c.

Divine Providence has been so beneficent to us, that since we have been called to the government, we have had only the agreeable duty of offering him the homage of the sincerest gratitude; and we have discharged this duty with so much the more ardour, as our heart feels no greater joy than in knowing that



that they are happy whose felicity is entrusted to us. We had last year especially reason to bless the goodness of God, when a generous conqueror restored to us our estates, which were already lost; and this felicity became more precious, when a personal acquaintance with this great man, added to affection and the sincerest gratitude, our admiration and our veneration of his great qualities, which have never been sufficiently appreciated; and fixed the basis of a genuine esteem, on which our mutual alliance is as firmly established as on treaties, and which renders it doubly indissoluble.

Even at the present moment of trouble, it was to me a great consolation to behold our country enjoy an almost perfect tranquillity, while the torch of war was enkindled in other states, and there spread its ravages anew. We believed it necessary to abandon for a time our good city of Dresden, and fix our abode at Leipsic, which is no great distance. We hoped that we could continue there, to apply our labours to the government of our faithful subjects; the more so, as, according to the course the war had taken, an hostile invasion of our country was by no means probable.

We were so much the more painfully affected at beholding this hope vanish, and being obliged to remove from Leipsic to a considerable distance, in order to place ourselves out of danger, by avoiding the route in which the troops which were advancing from Bohemia, upon Saxony and Franconia, might seize our person and royal family.

But we live in the entire con-

fidence that Divine Providence will bless our efforts for the deliverance of our country, and that, supported by the forces of his majesty the king of Westphalia, our faithful neighbour and ally, we shall return.

We believe it to be our duty, faithful and beloved Saxons, to impart this confidence to you, removed as we are from you, in order to tranquillize you. In the mean while we thank you publicly for supporting your situation with tranquillity and dignity, that you have lent no ear to the enemy, and in this given new proof of that love and attachment towards us which are our felicity, and which we feel equally for you.

It is therefore with confidence that we exhort you to attach yourselves more and more to our principles, which, hitherto, thanks to God, have always constituted the happiness of the country, and at the same time to consider and avert the evils which the ill-intentioned might seek to scatter among you, by propagating an erroneous doctrine.

For it cannot be unknown to you, that there are in our dominions, people weak, seduced, or wicked, who not only do not approve of our system, and the principles on which we have only from conviction adopted it, but who dare to avow and even act in a contrary manner.

We seriously enjoin by these presents all the authorities of our kingdom to observe with great attention those who render themselves suspicious by a like mode of thinking, and especially those who disturb peace by rash discourse, or by open acts, as well as those who spread



spread intelligence which may disquiet well-intentioned citizens, and deprive our constant efforts for the permanent tranquillity of our subjects, of a part of their effect; and, in general, we charge them to neglect nothing in order that our subjects may conduct themselves according to the principles above announced, and that our benevolent intentions may be entirely fulfilled.

In testimony of which, we have signed these presents with our hand, and annexed our royal seal. Given at Frankfort on the Maine, June 18, 1809.

“FREDERIC AUGUSTUS.”

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*Proclamation of Marshal Ange-reau, Duke of Castiglione, &c. to the Inhabitants of Catalonia. Dated Perpignan, July 2.*

Spaniards! Catalonians! I am come in the midst of you. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy has given me the command of his armies in Catalonia.

Spaniards, I know you and love you. Seduced by perfidious insinuations, unhappy victims and blind instruments of a Cabinet, the enemy of France and humanity, many and many of your brethren are obstinate in prolonging a war, the issue of which could never be doubtful. They deny and reject the benefits and favours which an august Sovereign provides for, and is anxious to shower upon them: an hero whom heaven created, in its beneficence, for the felicity and glory of Spain and the world.

Spaniards, the hero of France loves and esteems you; his virtuous

heart requires and needs your felicity. God, who granted to Napoleon his invincible valour, gave him at the same time his goodness and tender humanity.

Napoleon sighs over your afflictions; he has a paternal heart, and as such suffers over the terrible blows which are inflicted upon you, and which will be inflicted still more upon you, by his formidable armies, if you delay long in listening to the voice of truth, and continue in your fatal blindness.

Lay aside useless hopes; a false love and a criminal honour, which, arming against a king who is truly paternal, the august brother of the great Napoleon, irritates Heaven against you, which gave him to you in his mercy. Abandon vain illusions. God protects France, a God walks with Napoleon, covers and shades him with his wings, and enchains victory to his triumphal car.

Brave Spaniards, submit. Europe is submitting and surrendering herself.

Spaniards, I know you, and you have to know me. I have long esteemed you; and when you submit you will find in me a true friend. Yourselves, and your property, shall be sacred for me.

Errors and faults shall meet with indulgence: moderation, loyalty, and fidelity, may be secure of our aid; but let perfidy fear and tremble. But obstinate rebels, the evil-minded, who blow up the flames of dissension, shall meet with no pardon. The lightning is ready to fall on their heads.

Erring citizens, return to your hearths; artisans, resume your labours and useful pursuits; good villagers, quit the sword; take once



more the plough in your hand; come and cultivate in peace and repose the inheritance of your fathers; hasten to fertilise those fields which have been too long deserted: and you, ye faithful Spaniards, come and receive the happy fruits and rewards of your fidelity. Join your voice to ours; call to those unhappy wretches, your brethren, who are led astray; tell them that we love them, that Napoleon will forget their errors and their faults; and that your felicity will be the constant object of his concern as your parent; tell these wandering brethren, that they will ever find me ready to carry their cries to the foot of that Monarch's throne, who is the friend of truth; that they may depend on the protection of our arms, which, formidable against rebels and the ill-disposed, however numerous, will ever be the defenders of the faithful citizen; and that we will avenge offences committed against them; but tell them at the same time, and above all things, that mercy has its limits, and that, at length, the day of vengeance will come. A powerful army is dispersed throughout your territory; a formidable army is coming, and woe to him that shall dare to resist me; for I shall then hearken only to a just indignation, a most just rage, and none of you will escape a terrible vengeance.

Saragossa is yet smoking; and you, ye towns of Catalonia, who please, or dare, to follow its example, behold its ashes, its ruins—tremble.

ANGEREAU.

*Portuguese Government.—Decree of the Prince Regent of Portugal, dated Rio Janeiro, July 6, 1809.*

Governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves, Friends! I, the Prince Regent, send unto you greeting, as unto those whom I love and prize. It being my principal care to secure, by every means possible, the independence of my dominions, and to deliver them completely from the cruel enemy who so inhumanly, and contrary to the good faith of treaties, has invaded the States of my Crown in Europe, and has never ceased making upon them the most unjust war; and as it is, on the one hand, acknowledged that, in such a difficult crisis, nothing can more contribute to the defence of the kingdom than a Government composed of a small number of individuals; and as, on the other, it is indispensable to preserve, with my ancient and faithfully, the King of Great Britain, not only the best understanding, but likewise to prove to him, in the most evident manner, that my intentions are not different from those by which he is animated in the promotion of the common cause, that his Britannic Majesty may continue, in the same efficacious manner, to succour Portugal and the whole of the Peninsula; and as it cannot be doubted that this glorious purpose, which I so ardently desire to effect, can only be attained by the most extensive, firm, and reciprocal confidence; and his Britannic Majesty having made known his principles on this subject, and what he judges will most contribute to a happy result, and is most essential to the defence of the kingdom and of the peninsula; I have seen fit to order

that



that you shall be immediately reduced to the number of three, or two Governors, having a deliberate vote on all objects of the public administration, and that these shall be—the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, the Marquis das Minas, and the Marquis Monteiro Mor, President of the Board da Consciencia e Ordens, Don Francis Xavier de Cunha e Menezes, performing the functions of President of the Privy Council, to which place he is appointed by the present decree. It is further my pleasure to direct you to acknowledge Sir Arthur Wellesley as Marshal General of my Armies, as long as he shall continue in the command of the allied Portuguese and English forces, taking then his rank over Marshal Beresford, as commander in chief; and as soon as he shall have been recognized as such, you will invite him to all the sittings of Government, in which matters come under discussion which concern the organization of the army, or important determinations, whether financial or others, which it may be necessary to adopt for the defence of the kingdom and of the whole peninsula; taking his opinion and advice on all subjects of that nature; and should he be absent in such cases, and not be able to assist at your deliberations, you are to apply for his advice in writing, if possible, giving him full information on the subject under discussion, in order that he may be perfectly acquainted with your discussion and determination of matters of the above description. In this manner the affairs of Government shall be conducted with the utmost energy and harmony, as long as unfortunately it shall not be possible to conclude a permanent

and general peace. His Britannic Majesty will thus be convinced that it is my earnest wish to eradicate the general vice of difference of opinion between the Powers who make common cause; and he will be made perfectly acquainted with the orders which I have given, and shall continue to give, that the most strenuous efforts shall be made to attain that safe and permanent peace which is universally desired, by means of a grand display of all the forces and resources of my kingdom, which I can only flatter myself completely to recover by the most powerful means and exertions.

THE PRINCE.

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*At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 12th July, 1809; present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

It is this day ordered by his Majesty in council, that a general embargo be forthwith laid (to continue until further orders) upon all ships and vessels in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, except his Majesty's ships and vessels of war, and except such ships and vessels as shall be laden by the especial order, and under the directions, of the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or the lords commissioners of the admiralty, with any kind of provisions or stores for the use of his Majesty's fleets or armies; and also except such ships and vessels as are employed by the officers of the navy, ordnance, victualling, and customs: and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty,



and the lord warden of the cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

*Proclamation of the President to the United States of America. Dated Washington City, Thursday, August 10, 1809.*

Whereas, in consequence of a communication from his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, declaring that the British Orders in Council, of January and November, 1807, would be withdrawn on the 10th of June last, (and by virtue of which an Act of Congress was passed, entitled "An Act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes,") I, James Madison, President, &c. did issue a proclamation, on the 19th of April last, declaring that the Orders in Council aforesaid would be withdrawn on the 10th of June, after which the trade might be renewed, and as it is officially made known to me, that the Orders in Council are not withdrawn, agreeably to the declaration aforesaid, I do hereby proclaim the same, and that the Acts above still remain in force.

JAMES MADISON.

*Message relative to the Pension which the States are to allow to the late King, Gustavus Adolphus, his Queen and children. Dated Stockholm, Aug. 15.*

The period is now fast approaching, when a prince, who lately go-

verned Sweden, but whose claim to the Swedish crown has been solemnly cancelled by the unanimous resolution of the States of the Realm, must absent himself from this country. His own spontaneous wish agrees, on this point, with what the public tranquillity and security require. His Royal Majesty has taken the advice of the Secret Committee on a matter of so much importance, which, however, the state of public affairs does not yet permit his Majesty to communicate to the Diet, and he, therefore, confines himself, at present, to the question,—'What pension or yearly allowance, are the States of the Realm willing to grant to their late King, his Queen, and children?' Which question being answered, another will occur relative to the country, which it will be most proper to assign for the residence of Gustavus Adolphus and his family.

His Majesty does not deem it superfluous to add some observations for the States to bear in mind in their deliberations on this subject. The States cannot but be aware, that their decision must bear that stamp of dignified generosity, which becomes a noble-minded nation; that misfortune craves respect; and that humanity itself commands forgiveness and oblivion of the past. His Royal Majesty is anxiously desirous that the States of the Realm, by deciding the subject under discussion on these principles, should meet his wishes, and thus give a pledge to Europe of the purity of the motives which induced Sweden to revise her system of government, and renew the structure of the State.

CHARLES.



*Proclamation of King Joseph, dated Head-quarters, Toledo, Aug. 19, 1809.*

Soldiers!—It is scarcely fifteen days since 120,000 enemies, consisting of English, Portuguese, and Spaniards, who marched from different points, rendezvoused under the walls of my capital; but united on the 26th of July at the bridge of Guadarama, the 1st and 4th corps, and the reserve, defeated on that day the enemy. On the 27th, he repassed in great haste the Alberche. On the 28th, attacked in a position judged unattackable, 80,000 men have not been able to contend against 40,000 French.

From that time, renouncing their chimerical project of conquest, they have thought but of safety, and have abandoned the field of battle. More than 6,000 English wounded are in our hospitals; the least of our corps, the 1st, was judged sufficient to observe and keep in check this army, still so numerous, in spite of its losses. It remained upon the Alberche, whilst the 4th corps, and the reserve, set out on the 29th, to succour Toledo, besieged by the army of La Mancha; and that of Madrid, menaced by the same army, has forced the enemy, already within four leagues of the capital, to relinquish its prey. It has repassed the Tagus in the greatest haste, and flies towards the Sierra Morena, after having abandoned some thousands of killed, wounded, and prisoners. The 2d, 5th, and 6th corps are following the rear-guard of the enemy's army. These corps formed a junction with the 1st corps, at Oropesa, on the 7th August.

The English fly every way, in disorder, and by roads hitherto

judged impracticable to artillery. The 2d and 5th corps are pursuing them.

Soldiers, you have saved my capital, the King of Spain thanks you; you have done more, the brother of your Emperor sees fly before your eagles the eternal enemy of the French name.

The Emperor will know all that you have done, he will acknowledge the brave, who have made themselves conspicuous among the brave, those who have received honourable wounds; and if he says to us, "I am content with you," we shall be sufficiently recompensed.

(Signed)

JOSEPH.

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*Letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, M. Champagny, to General Armstrong, Minister of the United States at Paris.*

*"Altenburgh, Aug. 22.*

"Sir,—His Majesty, understanding that you are about to dispatch a ship to the United States, commands me to make known to you the unalterable principles which have and will regulate his conduct in the great question respecting Neutrals.

"France admits the principle, that the flag protects trade. The trading vessel which carries the licence of its Government may be considered as a moving colony. To insult such a vessel by search, pursuit, or any act of arbitrary power, is a violation of the fundamental law of colonization, and is an attack upon the Government of the same. The seas belong to every nation, without exception; they are the common property, and the domain of all mankind.

"Consistently with this doctrine,  
3D 3 merchant



merchant vessels belonging to individuals may pass by inheritance to persons who never exposed themselves to be made prisoners of war. In all her conquests France has considered sacred private property deposited in the warehouses of the vanquished State, and such have had the complete disposal of matters of trade; and at this moment convoys by land of merchandize, and especially cottons, are passing through the French army and Austria, to proceed to the destination commerce directs. If France had seized the monopoly of the Seas, she would have accumulated in her territory all the products of the earth, and she would have obtained unmeasurable wealth.

“Undoubtedly, if England had the dominion of land which she has acquired on the Ocean, her acquisitions would have been equally enormous. She would, as in the times of barbarism, have sold the conquered, and distributed them as slaves throughout her land. The avarice of trade would have absorbed every thing, and the government of an enlightened nation which has brought the arts of civilization to perfection, would have given the earliest instances of the return of the savage ages. That Government is fully impressed with the injustice of its naval code. But what has that Government to do with justice, which only inquires for profit?

“When France shall have established her naval power, which, with the extent of her coasts and her population will be soon accomplished, then will the Emperor reduce these principles to practice, and apply his mandate to render it universal. The right, or rather usurpation, of blockading rivers and coasts by proclamation is palpably contrary to rea-

son and equity. A right cannot possibly spring from the will of an interested party, but must always be founded on the natural relations of things. A place is not properly blockaded unless it be besieged by land and water. It is blockaded to prevent the introduction of assistance, by which the surrender of the place might be protracted; and then we have only the right to prevent neutral ships from entering the port, when the place is thus circumstanced, and the possession of it is matter of doubt between the besiegers and besieged. On this is grounded the right to prevent neutrals from entering the place.

“The sovereignty and independence of its flag, like the sovereignty and independence of its territory, is the property of every neutral. A state may transfer itself to another state; it may destroy the archives of its independence, and pass from Prince to Prince, but the right of sovereignty is indivisible and unalienable; no one can renounce it.

“England has placed France in a state of blockade. The Emperor has, in his decree of Berlin, declared the British Islands in a state of blockade. The first of these regulations forbid neutral vessels to proceed to France; the second prohibited their entering English harbours.

“England has, by her Orders of Council of the 11th of November, 1807, levied an impost on neutral ships, and obliged them to enter its ports before they sail to France. By the decree of the 17th of December of the same year, the Emperor has decreed, that all such ships be denationalized which had entered English ports, or submitted to be searched.

“In



“In order to ward off the inconveniences with which this state of things threatened her commerce, America laid an embargo in all her harbours; and although France had done nothing more than used the right of retaliation, its wants, and those of its colonies, suffered much from this measure; yet did the Emperor magnanimously connive at the proceeding, in order rather to endure the privation of commerce than to acknowledge the authority of the usurpers of the sea.

“The embargo was raised, and a system of nonintercourse was substituted for it. The powers on the Continent in alliance with England having the same object in view, made a common cause with her, that they might derive the same advantages. The harbours of Holland, of the Elbe, of the Weser, of Italy, and of Spain, were to enjoy those benefits from which France was to be excluded; and the one and the other were to be opened or closed to commerce as circumstances rendered expedient, so as France was bereft of it.

“Thus, Sir, in point of principle, France recognizes the freedom of neutral commerce, and the independence of the maritime powers, which she respected up to the moment when the maritime tyranny of England, that respects nothing, and the arbitrary proceedings of its government, compelled her to adopt measures of retaliation, to which she resorted with regret. Let England revoke her blockade with France, and France will recal her declaration of blockade against England. Let England revoke her Cabinet Orders of the 11th November, 1807, and the Milan Decree will expire of itself. The Ame-

rican commerce will then recover its complete freedom, and be assured of finding in the harbours of France favour and protection. But it belongs to the United States to attain this happy object by their firmness. Can a nation, resolved to remain free, hesitate between certain momentary interests, and the great cause of maintaining her independence, her honour, her sovereignty, and her dignity?

(Signed) “M. CHAMPAGNY.”

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*Royal Order, directed to his Excellency the Marquis de Romana, and transmitted to him by Don Martin Garay, dated Badajoz, Aug. 31.*

In the midst of the great cares and attentions which the Supreme Governing Junta of the kingdom has taken, to follow with activity and firmness the defence of the country, it has never lost sight of the salutary reforms which the nation earnestly expects, which its actual situation requires, and which must be the foundation of its future prosperity. One of the greatest objects which now claim its attention, and which ought to occupy it with the greatest activity, is the convocation of the Cortes, the most important object which can, or ought, to employ the Supreme Junta. The more important this object is, the more necessary are the knowledge, the observations, and the experience of those who compose that assembly; and as, in a discussion of such magnitude, it will be expected by the nation, that all should concur, his Majesty has been pleased to grant, that all the deputies shall give their assistance. It



will therefore be necessary, in consequence of this sovereign and general determination, that the Marquis de Romana separate himself from his troops, and come to this city to exercise the functions of representative of the national body, though it is certainly most difficult to place at their head a Chief of equal experience and achievement; considering, however, the state of the kingdom of Galicia, and the principality of Asturias, the Junta, after mature deliberation, has determined that the Marquis shall transfer his command to that General of his army whom he shall judge most capable.

I communicate to your excellency the order of his Majesty, for its fulfilment, advising at the same time that the command of the army cannot with propriety be transferred to the Major-general the Conde de Noronha, because he being second Commandant-general in Galicia, ought always to remain in that kingdom.

In consequence of this Royal Order, the Marquis de Romana has signified, that he has confided the command of the army to the Major-general Don Gabriel de Mendezabal, and that of the kingdom, to the Conde de Noronha, second Commandant-general, and President of its Royal Audience.

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*Proclamation to the Army by the Marquis de Romana.*

Soldiers!—The august voice of our Sovereign, Ferdinand, reached our ears in Denmark, and we obeyed the call. Our country invoked

our aid, and a generous nation, traversing stormy seas, conducted us to join our valiant countrymen, from whom we had been separated by the atrocious perfidy and vile prostitution of an individual. You have resisted the mortal blows aimed at you by the tyrant Napoleon, to destroy you. You have suffered with me the disasters which his unequalled force has spread through the whole nation, and through all Europe; but you, without other assistance than your own valour—without other arms than those furnished by nature—without other ammunition than your own inimitable constancy—without other stimuli than your own heroic patriotism—without other ambition than that inspired by your honour and fidelity, have disputed the first fruits of his triumph; and have raised your names to a level with those of the men who have been born to inspire admiration.

Galicia is covered with French carcasses: neither ancient Carthage, nor modern France, can compare their marches with those incessant ones, which, during six months of want and privation, you have made among the impenetrable Alps of Castile, Galicia, and the Asturias, in the most exposed and rigorous situations. Immortal warriors! without great and signal battles, you have annihilated the proud army of the tyrant, by aiding the national patriotism, supporting the noble fermentation, harassing the troops of the enemy, defeating them in small skirmishes, and reducing their possession to the ground on which they stand; you have fulfilled the most elevated obligations of the soldier, and the fatigues and  
cares



cares which I, as your general, have undergone for your sakes, are the reward I owe you.

The country has not for some time known your best services; but the actions of Villa Franca, Vigo, Lugo, Saint Jago, and San Payo, where your valour shone, must free you from any stain which you may seem to have incurred by your having refused battles, which must have been destructive; and you have rendered yourselves formidable to your enemies, who have been repulsed and conquered, when the superiority of their numbers did not prevent an obstacle absolutely insuperable to your valour.

Yes, brave Spaniards, in viewing you this day, I have no longer that serenity of mind with which I before ever met you. I am no longer your general. His Majesty has called me to occupy a place in the Supreme Central Junta. Had not this been his irresistible will, nothing should have separated me from you, nor made me renounce the right I have to participate in your future victories, under the command of your new chief, and the generals who command you. Receive, Soldiers, the last word of your General, and accept the love and paternal gratitude of your countryman and companion in arms,

THE MARQUIS DE ROMANA.

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*Royal Decree, dated Seville, Sept. 1.*

His Majesty would neither fulfil his own wishes, nor the hopes of his people, if, at the same time, when he labours to free the country from the oppression of its tyrant, he did not make every exertion to correct

the vices which exist in the interior administration, and to raise this magnanimous and generous nation to the high degree of splendour and power to which it is entitled by the fruitfulness of its soil, the benignity of its climate, the extension of its coasts, and the possession of its rich colonies. Among the obstacles which have constantly opposed the progress of agricultural industry and commerce, the first place is held by the contributions, called Alcabalas, Cientas, and Millones, imposts, which obstructing the interior circulation, and pressing unequally on the productions of the land, on manufactures, and, in general, on all objects of commerce, not only have banished from our unfortunate country that liberty, without which there can be neither arts, cultivation, nor commerce, not only have rendered odious the fiscal administration, and even industry itself, but, which is more, inflicting on it incurable wounds, have ever been only a feeble resource for supplying the necessities of the state. Observation and experience have shewn their prejudicial effects; the people have cried out for a remedy; the decline of our manufactures, and the mercantile system unanimously embraced by all the nations of Europe. But though the government knew these defects and reformed them partially, these reforms were a new vice, which only still more embroiled the system. At length the time is arrived when good principles shall triumph over ignorance, and the nation which has appeared great and majestic in the eyes of all Europe by its valour and its virtue, shall be so also by the liberality of its principles, and the goodness of its interior administration.



tion. The Supreme Junta of government of the kingdom is well convinced, that the riches of individuals are the riches of the state; and that no nation can be rich without encouraging its agriculture, commerce and industry, and that industry in general does not increase but remove the obstacles which may obstruct both the fiscal and civil laws. From these considerations the Supreme Junta cannot omit occupying itself with this work, beginning with the most urgent reform, which is, that of the contribution, and providing in the place of those abolished, others upon such things as can more properly be required to contribute, distributing them equally among the contributors, exacting them in the time and manner least offensive, and collecting them with the least expense possible. Thus the contributions, which are always an evil, shall fall only on those who can contribute, shall be applied to their true objects, and not to the maintenance of an innumerable multitude of tax-gatherers, who are unproductive consumers, and so many hands lost to industry. In consequence therefore of these principles, the King

our Lord Don Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name, the Supreme Junta of the government of the kingdom, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The contributions known by the name of Alcabalas, Censo, and Millones,\* shall be abolished, as soon as those which are appointed to supply their place shall be appropriated and established.

2. The Department of Finance is charged to propose to his Majesty the contributions which shall supply the place of those abolished.

3. The present Decree shall be printed, published and circulated in the usual form, from the royal palace of Seville, August 7, 1809.

MARQUIS of ASTORGA,  
President.  
DON MARTIN DE GARAY.

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*Report made to His Majesty the Emperor and King, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, by His Excellency Count de Hunneburgh, Minister of War, September 15, 1809.*

Sire—If the numerous victories of your Majesty, and the extraordinary successes of your armies, be  
at

\* [The Alcabala is a tribute or royal duty which is paid upon every article sold, in the form of a per centage, according to the value of the commodity. This percentage is varied, but all the laws and ordinances respecting it, to remove ambiguity and to prevent exactions, are collected in a book called the Alcabalatorio. There is a Spanish proverb which sufficiently shews the unpopularity of this form of taxation—*Quien descubre la Alcabala ese lo paga*. “Whoever informs of the Alcabala should pay it.” In the Recôpilation de los Lues the superior clergy and judges are exempted from it.

The Censo, which has been improperly called Censos and Ciensas in the newspapers, is a rate collected on the rents of houses and estates.

The Millones is an aid that the kingdom granted to the Sovereign on the consumption of six articles of domestic use, wine, vinegar, oil, butcher's meat, soap, and tallow candles. Among the accommodations at court, in the Council of Finances, there is an apartment called the Sala de Millones. In this room or hall the affairs relating to this due to the King, are transacted, as well as some others regarding the tax on tobacco, cocoa, and a few other commodities. The persons appointed  
to



at the same time the work of your genius, the result of the most scientific military combinations, of your inherent intrepidity, and of the courage of so many brave men, these victories and successes are no less owing to your admirable foresight. It is this which has inspired your Majesty with the idea of assembling at first, in the interior of the empire, whatever might be the complexion of affairs, the youth of France, who are successively called to serve their country, and of making them constantly pay their contribution to the safety of the State, at the same time that they accustom themselves to arms.

The temporary dereliction of this system would be productive of some danger to the empire, and it would be placing rather too great a reliance upon the future, however flattering appearances might be at present, to suffer the *depots* in the interior of France to want the regular supply of recruits, whenever a part of the young soldiers who fill them, should be called into actual service.

A short glance at the state of your Majesty's armies will be sufficient to shew, that the levy, which I feel it my duty to propose, is sufficient at present.

Master of Vienna, and of more than half the Austrian Monarchy, your Majesty is at the head of the most formidable army that France ever had beyond the Rhine; and to judge of what it is capable of effecting, it is only necessary to mention, that it was hardly formed when it conquered Austria, in the fields of Thaur, of Abersberg, and of

Eckmühl. Whether the negotiations of Altenburgh terminate in peace, or whether the war continue, your Majesty has in your *depots* troops enough, fit to take the field, to recruit your army in Germany.

In the month of January your Majesty pursued the English army in Galicia. While you were engaged in it, your Majesty was informed that the Court of Vienna intended to break its engagements. Though such an event seemed to call the principal part of your forces into Germany, your Majesty nevertheless thought proper to leave your veteran army in Spain; not that the whole of that army was actually necessary to complete the subjugation of the Spanish rebels, but to deprive England of the possibility of prolonging that rebellion, of which she is the cause. That power, seeing in the new system established in Spain, the presage of her own ruin, did not, however, despair of overturning it; and her efforts upon this occasion have greatly surpassed all that we have seen her make upon similar occasions.

General Moore had not been able to bring off from Galicia the half of his troops. The immense losses which his army sustained, did not dissuade the English government from sending a fresh army, consisting of 40,000 men, to Lisbon. It penetrated to the centre of Spain, and rallied round it the various corps of insurgents.—The banks of the Alberche and the Tagus witnessed their flight and their confusion. Compelled to retreat to the further side of that river,

to superintend this business consist of some members of the Council of Finances, and several deputies nominated by such of the cities of Spain as have authority to vote for representatives (*Procuradores*) in the Cortes.]



ver, and pursued at the point of the bayonet, they totally evacuated Spain, and the Portuguese saw them return in disorder to their territory.

At the same period, an army of equal force suddenly made its appearance at the entrance of the Scheldt, with the intention of burning the dock-yards at Antwerp; there our enemies were covered with confusion. At their approach, Flushing was provided with a numerous garrison; 12,000 picked troops marched from St. Omer, under the orders of the Senator General Rampon; and eight demi-brigades of reserve, which were at Boulogne, Louvaine, and Paris, proceeded post, to the points that were menaced.

These troops were of themselves sufficient for the defence of Antwerp. That place, which is covered by a strong rampart, and the advanced works which your Majesty caused to be constructed four years ago, is still further protected by extensive inundations; and on the left bank of the Scheldt, the fort of La Tete de Elandre, which is itself surrounded by an inundation of 2,000 toises, secures the communication of Antwerp with our fortresses in the north.

The English expedition was formed upon the supposition, that Antwerp was only an open city, whereas that fortress could not be taken but after a long siege. Independent of troops of the line, your Majesty saw, at the first signal, 150,000 national guards ready to march, and at their head the majors of your infantry, officers of the fifth battalions, and veteran officers; you found in their ranks a number of old soldiers.

Numerous detachments of cavalry of the line were preceded by the

*gens-d'armes* of France. The English were not aware that this branch of force alone could, at a moment's notice, assemble at any given point 60 squadrons, composed of men that had seen sixteen years of service, all equally experienced, equally well disciplined and well armed as those brave cuirassiers, who, under your Majesty's orders, have brought to so high a pitch the glory of the French cavalry.

As if by enchantment, the dispositions prescribed by your Majesty, caused to appear, at the same instant, on the banks of the Scheldt, and at the rendezvous of the reserve at Lisle and Maestricht, four different armies, under the command of Marshal the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marshals the Dukes of Corneigliano, Valmy, and Istria.

The sudden developement of such a force, and the national impulse which continued to multiply its numbers, struck the enemy with consternation. Their enterprise, calculated upon false data, completely failed.

Europe has witnessed the realization of that which your Majesty's penetration anticipated, when you pronounced that this expedition originated in ignorance and inexperience; and when, sparing of French blood, and directing that a plan merely defensive should be followed, you wrote to me:—'We are happy to find the English crowding into the marshes of Zealand; let them be merely kept in check, and their army will be speedily destroyed by the bad air, and the epidemic fevers of that country.'

Whilst our troops were distributed in comfortable cantonments in the environs of Antwerp, or stationed in that fortress, the English army, encamped



encamped in the midst of marshes, and destitute of water fit for drinking, lost upwards of one-third of its soldiers. But the facility which the English have of going by sea from one quarter to another, may lead us to expect that all that will have escaped the disasters of this expedition, will be sent to reinforce their army in Portugal.

Sire, the various fields of battle in which your armies have distinguished themselves, are too remote from each other, to admit of your marching without inconvenience to the soldier, one of your armies, from one scene of action to the other; and your Majesty, so highly satisfied with the zeal of the troops you command beyond the Danube, is anxious to spare them from the fatigues of the war in Spain. Besides, the French armies beyond the Pyrenees, now consist of 300 battalions and 150 squadrons. It is therefore sufficient, without sending any additional corps thither, to keep up at their full establishment those already there. Thirty thousand men, collected at Bayonne, afford the means of accomplishing this object, and of repulsing any force which the English may cause to advance.

In this state of things, I conceived that it corresponded with your Majesty's views to limit the levy, necessary at this moment, to the contingent indispensably requisite for replacing, in the battalions of the interior, the drafts which are daily made from them. The returns which will be laid before your Majesty, will inform you, that of the conscription for the years 1806-7-8-9 and 10, there still remain more than 80,000, who, though ballotted, have not yet been called in-

to actual service. This immense reinforcement might march against your enemies, should that measure be rendered necessary by any imminent danger to the State. I propose to your Majesty to call out only 36,000, and to declare all those classes entirely free from any future call.

By this means, your armies, Sire, will be maintained at their present respectable establishment, and a considerable number of your subjects will be definitely released from the conscription. Your Majesty will also have at your disposal, the 25,000 men, afforded by the class of 1811; upon whom I shall not propose to your Majesty to make any call, unless events should disappoint your hopes and pacific intentions.

Your Majesty's armies are equally formidable from their numbers as from their courage. But who could advise France not to proportion her efforts to those of her enemies? In giving such advice, the result of the most imprudent security, it would be necessary to forget that Austria, very lately, had on foot 700,000 men; and that to create this gigantic force, that power did not hesitate to expose her population to almost total destruction, and to attack the very basis of her prosperity. We must equally forget, that England has taken part in the Continental war; by landing, at the same moment, three different armies, on the coasts of Naples, Holland and Portugal.

The agitation of those who are jealous of France has been redoubled, because they are conscious that the present crisis has for ever fixed her greatness. Their efforts will be impotent, because France

has



has been enabled to reach the highest pinnacle of success and of glory, without making any of those ruinous sacrifices which destroy her enemies. In fact, notwithstanding the successive calls, up to the present moment, made upon the different classes of conscripts, scarcely have one-fourth of those who composed them, taken the field.

In considering the situation of your Majesty's armies and the results of the English expeditions, can we, without a degree of satisfaction, behold England, in imitation of Austria, making efforts disproportionate to her means, and the wants of her navy? What can she expect from this contest upon land, and man to man, with France, that shall not redound to her own injury and disgrace?

Sire, the French people will have to thank you Majesty for the inexpressible advantage and glory of a peace, conquered without maritime expeditions, from an enemy who, by his situation, thought himself free from all attack. Every serious attempt upon the Continent, on the part of the English, is a step towards a general peace.

The English ministers, who preceded the members of the present government, a more able set of men than the latter, were well convinced of this truth, and took good care not to commit themselves in an unequal contest. It did not escape their observation, that, to carry on a long war, it was necessary that it should press lightly upon the people who had to support it.

Within the last twelve months, the war has cost England more blood than she had previously shed from the period when she broke the peace of Amiens: committed in the

battles of Spain and Portugal, whence her duty and her interest forbid her to recede, she will see those countries become the tomb of her bravest warriors. Sorrow for their loss will at length produce in the minds of the English people a well-founded abhorrence of those cruel men, whose ambition and frantic hatred dared to pronounce the expression of eternal war. It will excite in that people the wish for a general peace, which every man of good sense may predict to be near at hand, if the English persist in a continental contest.

I am with respect, &c.

The Minister at War,  
COUNT DE HUNNEBURGH.

*Report of the Motives of the Project of the Senatus Consultum, relative to a Levy of 36,000 Conscripts, on the classes of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 and 1810, by the Count de Cessac, Orator of the Council of State.*

This Report, after many adulations on the genius of the Emperor and King, and a high-coloured panegyric on the loyalty and exertions of the French nation, proceeds to explain the causes of the levy:

"The enemies of France," says the Orator, "observing that we levied the classes of 1809 and 1810, before the period in which they were to be called into action, thought, without doubt, that we had recourse to that mode, because none of the resources of former years were left to us. How great was their mistake! If the French government had adopted that line of conduct, it was because it could  
never



never be brought to think that the English government had determined to wage perpetual war with France; it was because it could never be brought to think that the Austrian government, to which peace was so important, so necessary—that that government, to which a liberal and unexpected peace had been granted, had a right to cope again with the French armies, directed by Napoleon the Great, and electrified by his presence.

“Our Emperor, therefore, calculating upon a speedy and long peace, was willing to divide the weight of the war among several classes, in order that it might press the lighter upon each of them. He was also desirous that the French, who constituted these two classes, and who, according to the proper estimate of public duties, might have been deprived of their share of military glory, should be furnished with an opportunity of acquiring it. Disappointed in his first expectations, the Emperor had recourse to those supplies of men, which he had, from principles of prudence, left in reserve. Twice did he apply for succours, and twice were the contingents which he deemed necessary, furnished with rapidity. Our moderation, had thrown a veil over our strength, but our moderation is desirous now of manifesting our strength. Let us put an end to an error so fatal to our enemies, and which may become still more disastrous to them! When they shall be well acquainted with our resources, they will no doubt, be convinced that a frank and solid peace is the only part, the only post in which they can find safety. It belongs to weak governments to seek for security in the

concealment of their weakness, and the exaggerations of their strength. It is the duty of France to make known to her friends and enemies her true situation; that situation is such as to inspire the former with more energy, and to warn the latter, that, in taking up arms, they must expose themselves to certain loss.

“The following, Senators, is the precise state of the conscriptional force of France, and I can pledge myself for its accuracy: The class of 1806 consisted of 423,000, according to the lists of conscription.

That class comprising fifteen months, . . . . .	423,000
That of 1807 . . . . .	352,000
1808 . . . . .	361,000
1809 . . . . .	362,000
1810 . . . . .	362,000
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	1,867,000

Of these classes, until the present moment, there have been raised but 520,000 men.

1806 . . . . .	102,500
1807 . . . . .	102,500
1808 . . . . .	102,500
1809 . . . . .	102,500
1810 . . . . .	110,000
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	520,000

There consequently remains still at home, of the five classes, 1,317,000 men.”

The Orator next proceeds to shew the great facility with which the new levy must be raised, leaving an immense number still behind, and argues that such resources will be the most efficacious means of reducing the English to the necessity of demanding a peace, which, however necessary to France, is indispensable



to them, because their very existence may perhaps depend upon it.

*Treaty of Peace between Sweden and Russia. Dated 5-17th September, 1809.*

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity! His Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, equally animated with the desire of causing the advantages of peace to succeed to the calamities of war, and of re-establishing harmony and good understanding between their States, have, to this effect, appointed their Plenipotentiaries; namely, his Majesty the King of Sweden, Baron Count Louis Bogislas; Christopher de Stedínck, one of the Nobles of the kingdom of Sweden, General of Infantry of the Swedish armies, Knight and Commander of the Swedish Orders, Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class; and M. Andrew Frederick Skjolderand, Colonel and Commander of the Order of the Sword; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Count Nicholas Romanzoff, actual Privy Counsellor, Member of the Council of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of Commerce, Senator, actual Chamberlain, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Wladimir, and of St. Anne of the First Classes, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour of France, Knight of the Royal Prussian Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle, and of the Royal Dutch Order of the Union, and M. David

Alopeus, actual Chamberlain, Knt. of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Wladimir of the Second Class, and of St. Anne of the First; who, after the exchange of their respective full powers, found to be good and in due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. There shall henceforth be peace, friendship and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Sweden, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.—The high contracting parties will make it their chief study to maintain a perfect harmony between themselves, their states, and subjects, and will carefully avoid whatever may hereafter disturb the union so happily re-established.

II. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having manifested the invariable resolution not to separate his interest from those of his allies, and his Swedish Majesty wishing to give, in favour of his subjects, all the extent possible to the advantages of the Peace, promises and engages, in the most solemn and binding manner, to neglect nothing which, on his part, may tend to the prompt conclusion of Peace between him and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, by the means of the direct negotiations already commenced with these Powers.

III. His Majesty the King of Sweden, in order to give an evident proof of his desire to renew the most intimate relations with the august allies of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, promises to adhere to the continental system, with such modifications as shall be more particularly stipulated in the negoci-



negociation which is about to be opened between Sweden, France and Denmark.

Meanwhile, his Swedish Majesty engages, from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, to order that the ports of the kingdom of Sweden shall be closed, both to the ships of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, with the exception of the importation of salt and colonial productions, which habit has rendered necessary to the people of Sweden.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias promises before-hand, to consent to every modification which his allies may consider just and fit to be admitted in favour of Sweden, with respect to commerce and mercantile navigation.

IV. His Majesty, the King of Sweden, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, renounces irrevocably and in perpetuity, in favour of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his successors to the Throne and Empire of Russia, all his rights and titles to the governments hereafter specified, which have been conquered from the Crown of Sweden by the arms of his Imperial Majesty in the present war, namely—The governments of Kymenagard, Nyland, and Tavastchus, Abo and Bjorneborg, with the isles Aland, Savolax and Corelia, Wasa, Uleaborg, and part of West Bothnia, extending to the river of Tornea, as shall be fixed in the subsequent article in the demarkation of the frontiers.

These governments, with all the inhabitants, towns, ports, fortresses, villages and islands, as well as all the dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, shall hence-

forth belong, in full property and sovereignty, to the Empire of Russia, and shall remain incorporated with it.

To this effect, his Majesty the King of Sweden promises, in the most solemn and obligatory manner, as well for himself as for his successors, and all the kingdom of Sweden, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the said governments, provinces, islands, and territories, all the inhabitants of which shall, in virtue of this renunciation, be relieved from the homage and oath of fidelity by which they were bound to the Crown of Sweden.

V. The sea of Aland, (Alands Haf) the Gulph of Bothnia, and the rivers Tornea and Muonio, shall hereafter form the frontier between Russia and the kingdom of Sweden.

The nearest islands, at an equal distance from the main land of Aland and Finland, shall belong to Russia, and those which are nearest to the Swedish coast shall belong to Sweden.

The most advanced points of the Russian territory, at the mouth of the river of Tornea, shall be the isle of Bjorken, the port of Rentehamn, and the peninsula on which the town of Tornea stands. The frontier shall then be extended along the river Tornea, to the confluence of the two branches of that river, near Kengis. It shall then follow the course of the rivers Muonio, passing in the front of Muonioniska, Muonio Ofreby, Palajoeus, Rultane, Enontekis, Kelottijofoi, Paitiko, Nuimaka, Raunula and Kilpisjaure, to Norway.

In the course of the rivers Tornea and Muonio, such as it has been described, the islands situated to the east of the Thalwag shall belong to



Russia; and those to the west of the Thalweg to Sweden.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, engineers shall be appointed on each side, who shall proceed to the before-mentioned places, to fix the limits along the rivers Tornea and Muonio, according to the above described line.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having already given the most manifest proofs of the clemency and justice with which he has resolved to govern the inhabitants of the countries which he has acquired, by generously, and of his own spontaneous act, assuring to them the free exercise of their religion, rights, property, and privileges, his Swedish Majesty considers himself thereby dispensed from performing the otherwise sacred duty of making reservations in the above respects, in favour of his former subjects.

VII. On the signature of the present treaty, information thereof shall be transmitted immediately, and with the greatest celerity, to the Generals of the respective armies, and hostilities shall entirely cease on both sides, both by sea and land. Those acts of hostility which may in the mean time be committed, shall be regarded as null, and shall not infringe this treaty. Whatever may be, during the intervening period, taken or conquered, on the one side or the other, shall be faithfully restored.

VIII. Within four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia shall evacuate West Bothnia, and repass the river Tornea.

During the said four weeks, there shall be made no requisition of any

kind whatever on the inhabitants; and the Russian army shall draw its supplies and subsistence from its own magazines, established in the towns of West Bothnia.

If during the negotiations, the Imperial troops have penetrated in any other direction into the kingdom of Sweden, they shall evacuate the countries they have occupied, in virtue of the before stipulated conditions.

IX. All the prisoners of war, made on either side, by sea or land, and all the hostages delivered during the war, shall be restored in mass, and without ransom, as speedily as possible; but at the latest within three months, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications; but if any prisoners may be prevented by sickness, or other cause, from returning into their country within the period specified, they shall not thereby be considered as having forfeited the right stipulated above. They shall be obliged to discharge, or to give security for, the debts they may have contracted, during their captivity, with the inhabitants of the country in which they may have been detained.

The expences which may have been incurred by the high contracting parties, for all subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners, shall be reciprocally renounced, and provision shall respectively be made for their subsistence, and the expence for their journey to the frontiers of both places, where commissioners from their Sovereigns shall be directed to receive them.

The Finland soldiers and seamen are, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, excepted from this restitution, with reference to  
the



the capitulations which have taken place, if they grant them a different right.

The Military and other Officers, natives of Finland, who may wish to remain, shall enjoy that privilege, and the full exercise of all their rights over their property, debts, and effects, which they have now, or may hereafter have, in the kingdom of Sweden, on the footing of the 10th article of the present treaty.

X. The Fins now in Sweden, as well as the Swedes now in Finland, shall be at full liberty to return into their respective countries, and to dispose of their property, moveable and immoveable, without paying any duty of removal, or any other impost due on the like occasions.

The subjects of the two high powers, established in either country, Sweden or Finland, shall have full liberty to establish themselves in the other, during the space of three years, from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; but shall be held to sell or alienate, during the said period, to any subject of the power whose dominion they desire to quit.

The property of those who, at the expiration of the above term, have not complied with this regulation, shall be sold at a public sale, by authority of the Magistrate, and the produce thereof delivered to the owners.

During the three years above fixed, it shall be allowable to all to make such use as they may please of their property, the peaceable enjoyment of which is formally secured and guaranteed to them.

They may, themselves, or their agents, pass freely from one state to the other, in order to manage their affairs, without experiencing any ob-

stacle whatever, in consequence of their quality of subjects of the other power.

XI. There shall henceforth be a perpetual oblivion of the past, and a general amnesty for the respective subjects, whose opinions, in favour of one or the other of the high contracting parties during the present war, may have rendered them suspected or liable to punishment.—No trial shall hereafter be instituted against them on such grounds. If any process have been commenced, it shall be annulled and superseded, and no new proceeding shall be commenced.

All sequestrations of property or revenues shall, in consequence, be immediately removed, and the property shall be reserved to the owners; it being well understood that such as become subjects of either of the two powers, in virtue of the preceding article, shall have no right to claim from the Sovereign, of whom they have ceased to be a subject, the annuities or pensions which may have been obtained in virtue of acts of grace, concessions or appointments, for preceding services.

XII. The titles, domains, archives and other documents, public and private, the plans and charts of fortresses, towns and territories, devolved by the present treaty to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, including the charts and papers which may be deposited in the Surveyor's Office, shall be faithfully delivered up, within the space of six months; or if that period should be found too short, at the latest within one year.

XIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the high contracting parties shall remove all sequestrations which may have been



placed on the property or revenues of the respective inhabitants therein situated.

XIV. The debts, both public and private, contracted by the Fins in Sweden, and vice versa, by the Swedes in Finland, shall be discharged on the terms and conditions stipulated.

XV. The subjects of either of the High Contracting Parties, to whom inheritances may fall in the States of one or the other, may, without obstacle, take possession of the same, and enjoy it under the protection of the laws. The exercise of this right, however, in Finland, is subject to the stipulations of Article X. in virtue of which the proprietor shall either fix his residence in the country, or sell the inheritance within three years.

XVI. The duration of the Treaty of Commerce between the High Contracting Parties being limited to the 17th, (29th) Oct. 1811, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia consents not to reckon its interruption during the war; and that the said Treaty shall continue in force until the 1st (13th) February, 1813, with respect to every thing not contrary to the dispositions of the Commercial Manifesto issued at St. Petersburg, Jan. 1st, 1809.

XVII. The territories incorporated with the Russian Empire, in virtue of this Treaty, being attached to Sweden, by commercial relations, which long intercourse, neighbourhood, and reciprocal wants have rendered almost indispensable, the High Contracting Parties, desirous of preserving to their subjects these means of mutual advantage, agree to make such arrangements as may be necessary for con-

solidating them. In the mean time, until they come to an understanding on this subject, the Fins shall have the power of importing from Sweden, ore, smelted iron, lime, stones for building smelting furnaces, and in general all the other productions of the soil of Sweden.

In return the Swedes may export from Finland, cattle, fish, corn, cloth, pitch, planks, wooden utensils of all kinds, wood for building, and, in general, all the other productions of the soil of the Grand Duchy.

This traffic shall be re-established and maintained to the 1st (13th) of October, 1811, precisely on the same footing as it was before the war, and shall be liable to no interruption or burden, with the reservation of such restrictions as the political relations of the two States may render necessary.

XVIII. The annual exportation of 50,000 schetwerts of corn, purchased in the ports of the Gulf of Finland, or of the Baltic, belonging to Russia, is granted to his Majesty the King of Sweden, free of the export duty, on proof being shewn that the purchase has been made on his account, or in virtue of his authority.

Years of scarcity, in which the exportation shall be prohibited, are excepted, but the quantity in arrear, in consequence of such order, may be made up when the prohibition shall be removed.

XIX. With respect to salutes at sea, the two High Contracting Parties agree to regulate them on the footing of the most perfect equality between the two Crowns. When their vessels of war meet at sea, the salutes shall take place in conformity



ity to the rank of the Commanders, in such manner that he who holds the superior rank shall receive the first salute, which shall be returned gun for gun. If the commanders are of equal rank, no salute shall take place on either side; before castles, fortresses, and at the entrance of ports, the party arriving shall salute first, and the salute shall be returned gun for gun.

XX. Difficulties which may arise on points not determined by this Treaty shall be discussed and settled by Ambassadors or Ministers Plenipotentiary respectively appointed; who shall be guided by the spirit of conciliation which has dictated the Treaty.

XXI. This Treaty shall be ratified by the two Contracting Powers; and the ratifications exchanged in proper and due form, within four weeks, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present Treaty.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present Treaty of Peace, and have thereto affixed our seals.

Done at Friedricksham, this 5-17th of September, in the year of Grace, 1809.

Count NICHOLAS DE ROMAN-  
ZOFF.

DAVID ALOPEUS.

Count STEDINCK.

A. F. SKJOLDEBRAND.

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*Address of his most Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to the Conservative Senate, Sitting of the 3rd of October, 1809.*

Gentlemen;—His Imperial and

Royal Majesty, taking in with a single glance the present situation of affairs, finds it necessary to order a levy of 36,000 men.

This is the purport of the Decree which is to be submitted to your deliberation, and by which the new levy is imposed upon the new classes of the conscription of the years of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810.

Your wisdom will already have discovered the benefit of this arrangement. You will soon be assured that it is the result of a prudent foresight, and of the unceasing anxiety of his Majesty for the public interest.

Whatever, Gentlemen, may be the issue of the negotiations at Altenburgh, there are strong indications that the English, after having been driven back from our territories, will endeavour to prolong the war in Spain. The numerous battalions which his Majesty opposes to them in that kingdom, need only be kept up to their full complement, in order to baffle all the attempts of the enemy.

If the peace be renewed between France and Austria, it will be impossible, without great inconvenience, to suddenly transport the brave troops who will have conquered it, from the Banks of the Danube to those of the Guadalquivir. This remark has not escaped the paternal attention of his Majesty; and let us be persuaded, that, after such glorious exertions, he is desirous, and with justice, that the conquerors should receive the testimonies of public gratitude and general admiration.

These points, Gentlemen, will be explained to you by the Orators of the Council of State, and more particularly



particularly in the Report of the Minister of War; which the Emperor has ordered him to communicate to you.

The levy required is, moreover, much less than his Majesty could draw from the classes by which it is to be supplied; besides, it will be rendered as little burdensome as possible.

In this crisis the Senate will be anxious, as on former occasions, to forward the intentions of our august Sovereign, for the honour and glory of the French people.

*Copy of a Letter from Buonaparte to the Emperor of Russia, written during the late Negotiations with Austria.*

“Monsieur my Brother,—The Duke of Vicenza informs me, that your Imperial Majesty wished for peace with Sweden, and that you have obtained the advantages which you desired. Will your Majesty permit me to congratulate you upon the event?

“The negotiations of Altenburgh have been transferred to Vienna. Prince John, of Lichtenstein, conducts them with M. De Champagne, and I expect I shall soon be able to inform your Majesty of peace being concluded with Austria. You will see by the treaty, that, conformably to your wishes, the greater part of Gallicia will not change masters; and that I have managed your interests as you would have done yourself, conciliating every thing with what honour required of me. The prosperity and welfare of the Duchy of Warsaw require that it should possess the favourable regards of

your Majesty; and your Majesty's subjects may rest assured that, in no case, nor under any circumstances, have they to expect any protection from me.

“I have given Austria the most advantageous peace that she could expect. She only loses Saltzburg, and a mere trifle on the side of the Inn. She cedes nothing in Bohemia. On the side of Italy she cedes only what is indispensable for my communication with Dalmatia. The Austrian Monarchy, therefore, remains entire. This is the second experiment which I have been willing to make. I have used towards her a moderation which she had no right to expect. In this I hope I have done what is gratifying to your Majesty.

“I send your Majesty the English Journals last received. You will there see, that the English Ministers are fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the Ministry, and that all is perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that Cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from 25 to 30,000 men in the most horrible country in the world; it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea; so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren! In Spain they have lost a very considerable number of men. General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of 90 battalions, and from 40 to 50 squadrons, whilst he had in his front the army commanded by the King, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption.



sumption. It remains at present to be ascertained who are to succeed the late Ministry.

“The United States are on the worst terms with England, and seem disposed, sincerely and seriously, to approximate to our system.

“I pray God, Monsieur my brother, to have you in his high and holy keeping.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

“Schoenbrun, Oct. 10, 1809.”

*Treaty of Peace between France and Austria, Oct. 15, 1809.*

Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, &c. Having seen and considered the Treaty concluded, determined, and signed at Vienna, on the 14th of this month, by the Sieur Nompere de Champagny, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, in virtue of the full powers to that end given him by us, and the Prince John of Lichtenstein, Marshal of the Armies of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, equally provided with full powers—which Treaty is of the following tenor;—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, Mediator of the League of Switzerland; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, being equally animated with the desire of putting an end to the war which has arisen between them, have resolved to negotiate forthwith a Definitive Treaty of Peace, and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries namely:—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, the Sieur Jean Baptiste Nompere Count de Champagny, Duke of Cadore, Grand Eagle Bearer of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of the Iron Crown, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew of Russia, Grand Dignitary of that of the Two Sicilies, Grand Cross of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagles of Prussia, of the Order of St. Joseph of Wurtzburg, of the Order of Fidelity of Baden, of the Order of Hesse Darmstadt, his said Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Prince John of Lichtenstein, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, Chamberlain, Marshal of the Armies of his said Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and Proprietary Commander of a Regiment of Horse in his service.

Who having previously exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. I. There shall, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, be peace and friendship between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, their Heirs and Successors, their States and Subjects respectively, for ever.

II. The present peace is also declared to be common to his Majesty the King of Spain, his Majesty the King of Holland, his Majesty the King of Naples, his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his



Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, his Majesty the King of Saxony, and his Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Most Eminent Highness the Prince Primate, their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburgh, and all the Princes and Members of the League of the Rhine, the Allies, in the present war, of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, cedes, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the Princes of his House, their heirs and respective Successors, the principalities, lordships, domains, and territories, herein-after mentioned, and also all titles which may accrue from the possession of the same; and all properties, whether manorial or held by them under an especial title, lying within the said territories.

1. He cedes and transfers to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to form a part of the League of the Rhine, and to be placed at his disposition for the interest of the Sovereigns of the League:—The territories of Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgaden; that part of Upper Austria, situate on the further side of a line running from the Danube, at the village of Straas, therein comprehending Weissenkirch, Wedersdorff, Michelbach, Greist, Muckenhoffen, Helst and Jedina; thence in the direction of Schwandstadt on the Aller, and thence ascending the town of Schwandstadt along the bank of that river, and the lake of the same name, to the

point where the lake touches upon the territory of Saltzburg.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall only retain in property the Woods belonging to the Saltz-Camner-Gut, and forming part of the manor of Mondsee, with liberty to cut and carry thence the brushwood, but without enjoying any right of Sovereignty upon that territory.

2. He also cedes to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, the County of Goritia, the Manor of Montefalcone, the Government and City of Trieste, Carniola, with its dependencies on the Gulf of Trieste, the Circle of Wylach, in Carinthia, and all the territories lying on the right bank of the Saave, from the point where that river leaves Carniola, along its course to where it touches the frontiers of Bosnia; namely a part of Provincial Croatia, six districts of Military Croatia, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littorale, Austrian Istria, or the district of Castua, the islands depending on the ceded territories, and all other territories, howsoever named, upon the right bank of the Saave; the middle stream of the said river serving as the boundary between the two States.

Lastly, the Lordship of Radzuns lying in the Graubunderland.

3. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the King of Saxony, the territory of Bohemia depending upon, and included in the territory of the Kingdom of Saxony, namely, the parishes and villages of Guntersdorff, Taubantranke, Gerlochsheim, Lenkersdorf, Schirgiswald, Winkel, &c.

4. He cedes and makes over to the King of Saxony, to be united to the Duchy of Warsaw, the whole  
of



of Wester or New Gallicia, a district round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula, to be hereafter ascertained, and the Circle of Zamosc in Eastern Gallicia.

The district round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula, shall in the direction of Podgorze, have for its circumference the distance from Podgorze to Wieliczka. The line of demarkation shall pass through Wieliczka, and to the westward touch upon Scawina, and to the eastward upon the Beek, which falls into the Vistula at Brzdeg.

Wieliczka and the whole of the territory of the Salt-pits shall belong in common to the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Saxony. Justice shall be administered therein in the name of the Municipal Power; there shall be quartered there only the troops necessary for the support of the Police, and they shall consist of equal numbers of those of both nations. The Austrian Salt from Wieliczka, in its conveyance over the Vistula, and through the Duchy of Warsaw, shall not be subject to any toll-duties. Corn of all kinds, raised in Austrian Gallicia, may also be freely exported across the Vistula.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, may form such an arrangement with regard to these boundaries, as that the Save, from the point where it touches upon the Circle of Zamosc, to its confluence with the Vistula, shall serve as the line of demarcation between both states.

5. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in the easternmost part of Gallicia, a tract of territory containing a

population of 400,000 souls, the city of Brodi being, nevertheless, not therein included. This territory shall be amicably ascertained by Commissioners on the part of both Empires.

IV. The Teutonic Order having been abolished in the States of the League of the Rhine, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, in the name of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Anthony, abdicates the Grand Mastership of that Order in his States, and recognizes the dispositions taken with regard to the property of the Order, locally situated out of the Austrian territory. Pensions shall be assigned to those who have been on the civil establishment of the Order.

V. The debts funded upon the territory of the ceded provinces and allowed by the States of the said provinces, or accruing from expences incurred for their Administration, shall alone follow the fate of those provinces.

VI. The provinces which are to be restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, shall be administered for his behoof by the Austrian Constituted Authorities, from the day of exchanging the Ratification of the present Treaty; and the Imperial Domains, wheresoever situated, from the 1st of November next. It is nevertheless understood, that the French army in this country shall take for their use whatever articles cannot be supplied by their magazines for the subsistence of the troops and the wants of the hospitals; and also whatever shall be necessary for the conveyance of their sick, and the evacuation of the magazines.

An arrangement shall be made between



between the High Contracting Parties respecting all war contributions, of whatever denomination, previously imposed on the Austrian provinces occupied by the French and allied troops; in consequence of which arrangement the levying of the said contributions shall cease from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages to give no obstruction to the importation or exportation of merchandize into and from Austria, by way of the port of Fiume; this, nevertheless, not being construed to include English goods or manufactures. The transit duties on the goods thus imported or exported, shall be lower than upon those of all other nations, the kingdom of Italy excepted. An inquiry shall be instituted, to ascertain whether any advantages can be allowed to the Austrian trade, in the other ports ceded by this Treaty.

VIII. The titles of domains, archives, plans and maps of the countries, towns, and fortresses ceded, shall be given up within two months after the period of the Ratification.

IX. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, engages to discharge the yearly interest, arrears, and capitals, invested in securities of the Government, States, Bank, Lottery, or other public establishments, by subjects, companies, or corporate bodies in France, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Grand Duchy of Berg.

Measures shall also be taken to completely liquidate the sum due to Mont St. Theresa, now Mont Napoleon, at Milan.

X. His Majesty the Emperor of the French engages to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, who have taken a part in the insurrection; so that they shall not be prosecuted either in person or property.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria equally engages to grant a full and complete pardon to those inhabitants of the territories of Galicia, of which he returns into possession, whether civil or military, public officers, or private individuals, who have taken part in the levying of troops, or the formation of judicial or municipal administrations; or in any other proceeding whatsoever during the war, which inhabitants shall not be prosecuted in their persons or property.

They shall have permission, during a period of six years, to dispose of their properties, of whatever description they may be; to sell their estates, even those that have been considered inalienable, such as *fidei commissa* and *majordatus*; to leave the country, and to carry with them the produce of these sales, in specie, or effects of any other description, without paying any duty for the same, or experiencing any difficulty or obstruction.

The same permission, and for the same period, shall be reciprocally allowed to the inhabitants and landholders in the territories ceded by the present treaty.

The inhabitants of the Duchy of Warsaw, possessing landed estates in Austrian Galicia, whether public officers or private individuals, shall enjoy the revenues thereof, without paying any duty thereon, or experiencing any obstruction.

XI.



XI. Within six weeks, from the exchange of the present treaty, posts shall be erected, to mark the boundaries of Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula. For this purpose there shall be nominated Austrian, French, and Saxon Commissioners.

The same measures shall be adopted within the same period upon the frontiers of Upper Austria, Saltzburgh, Willach, and Carniola, as far as the Saave. The Thalweg (stream) of the Saave, shall determine what islands of that river shall belong to each power. For this purpose French and Austrian Commissioners shall be nominated.

XII. A military Convention shall be forthwith entered into to regulate the respective periods within which the various provinces restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall be evacuated. The said Convention shall be adjusted on the basis, that Moravia shall be evacuated in fourteen days; that part of Galicia which remains in possession of Austria, the city and district of Vienna, in one month; Lower Austria in two months; and the remaining districts and territories not ceded by this treaty shall be evacuated by the French troops, and those of their allies, in two months and a half, or earlier if possible, from the exchange of the ratifications.

This convention shall regulate all that relates to the evacuation of the hospitals and magazines of the French army, and the entrance of the Austrian troops into the territories evacuated by the French or their allies; and also the evacuation of that part of Croatia ceded by the

present Treaty to his Majesty the Emperor of the French.

XIII. The prisoners of war taken by France and her Allies from Austria, and by Austria from France and her Allies, that have not yet been released, shall be given up within fourteen days after the exchange of the ratification of the present Treaty.

XIV. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, guarantees the inviolability of the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the state in which they shall be, in consequence of the present Treaty.

XV. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria recognizes all the alterations which have taken place, or may subsequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

XVI. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, desirous to co-operate in the restoration of a maritime peace, accedes to the prohibitory system with respect to England, adopted by France and Russia, during the present Maritime War. His Imperial Majesty shall break off all intercourse with Great Britain, and, with respect to the English government, place himself in the situation he stood in previous to the present war.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall observe, with respect to each other, the same ceremonial in regard to rank and other points of etiquette, as before the present war.

XVIII.



**XVIII.** The Ratifications of the present Treaty shall be exchanged within six days, or sooner, if possible.

Done and signed at Vienna, Oct. 14, 1809. (Signed)

J. B. NOMPERE DE CHAMPAGNY.  
JOHN Prince of LICHTENSTEIN.

We have ratified, and hereby ratify the above Treaty, in all and every of the articles therein contained; declare the same to be adopted, confirmed and established; and engage that the same shall be maintained inviolable.

In confirmation whereof we have hereto fixed our signature, with our own hand, being countersigned and sealed with our Imperial Seal.

Given at our Imperial Camp at Schoenbrunn, October 15, 1809.  
(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor.—CHAMPAGNY, Minister for Foreign Affairs.  
H. B. MARET, Minister Secretary of State.

Certified by us, The Arch-Chancellor of State, EUGENE NAPOLEON.

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*Proclamation issued by Eugene Napoleon, Arch-Chancellor of State of the French Empire, Viceroy of Italy, Prince of Venice, and Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy to the People of the Tyrol, dated, Head Quarters, Villach, Oct. 26th, 1809.*

Tyroleans! Peace is concluded between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Pro-

tector of the Confederation of the Rhine, my august Father and Sovereign, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

Peace therefore prevails every where, except among you—you only do not enjoy its benefits.

Listening to perfidious suggestions, you have taken up arms against your laws, and have subverted them, and now you are gathering the bitter fruits of your rebellion; terror governs your cities; idleness and misery reign in you; discord is in the midst of you; and disorder every where prevails. His Majesty the Emperor and King, touched with your deplorable situation, and with the testimonies of repentance which several of you have conveyed to his throne, has expressly consented, in the Treaty of Peace, to pardon your errors and misconduct.

I then bring you peace since I bring you pardon. But I declare to you, that pardon is granted you only on the condition that you return to your obedience and duty, that you voluntarily lay down your arms, and that you offer no resistance to my troops.

Charged with the command of the armies which surround you, I come to receive your submission, or compel you to submit.

The army will be preceded by Commissioners appointed by me to hear your complaints, and to do justice to the demands you may have to make—But know that these Commissioners can only listen to you when you have laid down your arms.

Tyroleans! If your complaints and demands be well founded, I hereby



hereby promise that justice shall be done you.

**MANIFESTO**, *fixing the days when the General Cortes of the Spanish Monarchy are to be convoked and held; Dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Oct. 28, 1809.*

Spaniards!—By a combination of events as singular as fortunate, it has seemed good to Providence, that in this terrible crisis you shall not advance a step towards independence without likewise advancing one towards liberty. A foolish and feeble tyranny, in order to rivet your fetters and aggravate your chains, prepared the way for French despotism, which, with the terrible apparatus of its arms and victories, endeavoured to subject you to a yoke of iron. It at first exhibited itself, like every new tyranny, under a flattering form, and its political impostors presumed they should gain your favour by promising you reforms in the Administration, and announcing, in a constitution framed at their pleasure, the empire of the laws.

A barbarous and absurd contradiction, worthy certainly of their insolence. Would they have us believe that the moral edifice of the fortune of a nation can be securely founded on usurpation, iniquity, and treachery? But the Spanish people, who were the first of modern nations to recognize to the true principles of the social equilibrium, that people who enjoyed before any other the prerogatives and advantages of civil liberty, and knew to oppose to arbitrary power the eternal barrier directed by justice, will borrow from no other na-

tion maxims of prudence and political precaution; and tell those impudent legislators, that they will not acknowledge as laws the artifices of intriguers, nor the mandates of tyrants. Animated by the generous instinct, and inflamed with the indignation excited by the perfidy with which you are invaded, you ran to arms, without fearing the terrible vicissitudes of so unequal a combat, and fortune, subdued by your enthusiasm, rendered you homage, and bestowed on you victory in reward for your valour. The immediate effect of these first advantages was the re-composition of the State, at that time divided into as many factions as provinces. Our enemies thought that they had sown among us the deadly germ of anarchy, and did not advert that Spanish judgment and circumspection were always superior to French machiavelism. Without dispute, without violence, a Supreme Authority was established; and the people, after having astonished the world, with the spectacle of their sublime exaltation and their victories, filled it with admiration and respect by their moderation and discretion.

The central Junta was installed, and its first care was to announce to you, that if the expulsion of the enemy was the first object of its attention, the inferior and permanent felicity of the State was the principle in importance: to leave it plunged into the flood of abuses, prepared for its own ruin by arbitrary power, would have been in the eyes of our present Government, a crime as enormous as to deliver you into the hands of Buonaparte; therefore, when the turbulence of war permitted, it caused



to resound in your ears the name of your Cortes, which to us have ever been the bulwark of civil liberty, and the throne of national Majesty, a name heretofore pronounced with mystery by the learned, with distrust by politicians, and with horror by tyrants, but which henceforth signify in Spain the indestructible base of the monarchy, the most secure supports of the rights of Ferdinand VII. and of his family, a right for the people, and the Government an obligation.

That moral resistance, as general as sublime, which has reduced our enemies to confusion and despair in the midst of their victories, must not receive less reward. Those battles which are lost, those armies which are destroyed, not without producing new battles, creating new armies, and again displaying the standard of loyalty on the ashes and ruins which the enemies abandon; those soldiers who, dispersed in one action, return to offer themselves for another; that populace which despoiled of almost all they possessed returned to their homes to share the wretched remains of their property with the defenders of their country; that concert of lamentable and despairing groans and patriotic songs; that struggle, in fine, of ferocity and barbarity on the one hand, and of resistance and invincible constancy on the other, present a whole as terrible as magnificent, which Europe contemplates with astonishment, and which history will one day record in letters of gold for the admiration and example of posterity. A people so magnanimous and generous ought only to be governed by laws which are truly such, and which shall bear the great character of public con-

sent and common utility—a character which they can only receive by emanating from the august assembly which has been announced to you. The Junta had proposed that it should be held during the whole of the ensuing year, or sooner, if circumstances should permit. But in the time which has intervened since the resolution, a variety of public events have agitated the minds of the people, and the difference of opinions relative to the organization of the Government, and the re-establishment of our fundamental laws, has recalled the attention of the Junta to these important objects with which it has latterly been profoundly occupied. It has been recommended on the one hand, that the present Government should be converted into a Regency of three or five persons; and this opinion has been represented as supported by one of our ancient laws, applicable to our present situation. But the situation in which the kingdom was, when the French threw off the mask of friendship, to execute their treacherous usurpation, is singular in our history, and cannot have been foreseen in our institutions. Neither the infancy, nor the insanity, nor even the captivity of the Prince, in the usual way in which these evils occur, can be compared with our present case, and the deplorable situation to which it has reduced us. A political position entirely new requires political forms and principles likewise entirely new. To expel the French, to restore to his liberty and his throne our adored King, and to establish solid and permanent bases of good government, are the maxims which gave the impulse to our Revolution, are those



those which support and direct it; and that Government will be the best which shall most promote and fulfil these three wishes of the Spanish nation. Does the Regency of which that Law speaks promise us this security? What inconveniences, what dangers, how many divisions, how many parties, how many ambitious pretensions, within and without the kingdom; how much, and how just, discontent in our Americas, now called to have a share in the present Government? What would become of our Cortes, our liberty, the cheering prospects of future welfare and glory which now present themselves? What would become of the object most valuable and dear to the Spanish Nation—the preservation of the Rights of Ferdinand? The advocates for this Institution ought to shudder at the immense danger to which they exposed themselves, and to bear in mind, that by it they afforded to the Tyrant a new opportunity of buying and selling them. Let us bow with reverence to the venerable antiquity of the Law; but let us profit by the experience of ages. Let us open our annals, and trace the history of our Regencies. What shall we find?—a picture equally melancholy and frightful, of desolation, of civil war, of rapine, and of human depravity, in unfortunate Castile.

Doubtless, in great states, power is more beneficially exercised by few than by many. Secrecy in deliberation, unity in concert, activity in measures, and celerity in execution, are indispensable requisites for the favourable issue of the acts of Government, and are properties of a concentrated authority only. The Supreme Junta has therefore just

concentrated its own with that prudent circumspection which neither exposes the state to the oscillations consequent upon every change of Government, nor materially affects the unity of the body which is entrusted with it. Henceforth a section composed of the removable members, will be specially invested with the necessary authority to direct those measures of the executive power, which from their nature require secrecy, energy and dispatch. Another opinion hostile to the Regency, equally contradicts whatever innovation may be attempted to be made in the political form which the Government has at present, and objects to the intended Cortes as an insufficient representation, if they are constituted according to the ancient formalities, as ill-timed and perhaps hazardous, in respect to present circumstances; in short as useless, since it supposes that the superior Juntas, erected immediately by the people, are their real representatives. But the Junta had expressly declared to the nation, that its first attention in the great object would be occupied with the number, mode and class with which the meeting of this august assembly in the present situation of affairs should be carried into effect; and after this declaration it is quite superfluous, not to say malicious, to suspect that future Cortes are to be confined to the rigid and exclusive forms of our ancient ones. Yes, Spaniards, you are going to have your Cortes, and the national representation will in them be as perfect and full as it can and ought to be in an assembly of such high importance and eminent dignity. You are going to have Cortes, and to have them immediately, because  
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the urgent situation in which the nation is placed, imperiously demand it, and at what time, gracious God, can it adopt this measure better than at present? When an obstinate war has exhausted all the ordinary means; when the egotism of some and the ambition of others debilitate and paralyse the efforts of the government, by their opposition or indifference; when they seek to eradicate the essential principle of the Monarchy, which is union; when the Hydra of Federalism, so happily silenced the preceding year by the creation of the Central Power, dares again to raise its poisonous head, and endeavours to precipitate us into the dissolution of anarchy; when the subtlety of our enemies is watching the moment when our divisions disunite us, to destroy the State, and to erect their throne on the ruin which our distractions afford them. This is the time—this, to collect in one point the national dignity and honour; and when the Spanish people may will and decree the extraordinary surplus which a powerful nation ever has within it for its salvation. It alone can encounter and put them in motion; it alone can encourage the timidity of some and restrain the ambition of others; it alone will suppress importunate vanity, puerile pretensions, and enflamed passions, which, unless prevented, go to tear in pieces the Government. It will, in fine, give to Europe a fresh example of its Religion, its circumspection, and its discretion, in the just and moderate use which it is about to make of the glorious liberty in which it is constituted. Thus is it that the Supreme Junta which immediately recognized this national represen-

tation as a right, and proclaimed it as a reward, now invokes and implores it as the most necessary and efficacious remedy; and has therefore resolved that the General Cortes of the Monarchy, announced in the decree of the 22nd May, shall be convoked on the 1st day of January in the next year, in order to enter on their august functions the 1st day of March following. When that happy day has arrived, the Junta shall say to the Representatives of the Nation:—

Ye are met together, O Fathers of your Country! and re-established in all the plenitude of your rights, after a lapse of three centuries, when despotism and arbitrary power dissolved you, in order to subject this nation to all the evils of servitude. The aggression which we have suffered, and the war which we maintain, are the fruits of the most shameful oppression and the most unjust tyranny. The Provincial Juntas, who were able to resist and repulse the enemy in the first impetus of his invasion, invested the Supreme Junta with the Sovereign Authority, which they exercised for a time, to give unity to the State and concentrate its power. Called to the exercise of this authority, not by ambition or intrigue, but by the unanimous voice of the provinces of the kingdom, the individuals of the Supreme Junta shewed themselves worthy of the high confidence reposed in them, by employing all their vigilance and exertions for the preservation and posterity of the State. The magnitude of our efforts will be apparent from the consideration of the enormity of the evil which preceded. When the power was placed in our hands,



our armies, half formed, were unprovided and destitute of every thing, our treasury was empty, and our resources uncertain and distant. The despot of France, availing himself of the tranquillity in which the North then was, poured upon the Peninsula the military power under his command, the most formidable that has been known in the most warlike legions, better provided, and above all more numerous than others, rushed on every side, though much to their cost, against our armies, destitute of the same expertness and confidence. A new inundation of barbarians, who carried desolation through all the provinces of which they took possession, was the consequence of these reverses, and the ill closed wounds of our unfortunate country began painfully to open and pour with blood in torrents. The State thus lost half its strength; and when the Junta, bound to save the honour, the independence, and the unity of the nation from the impetuous invasion of the tyrant, took refuge in Andalusia, a division of 30,000 men repaired to the walls of Saragosa, to bury themselves in its ruins. The army of the centre being thus deprived of a great part of its strength, did not give to its operations that activity and energy which must have had very different results from those of the battle of Ales. The avenues of the Sierra Morena and the banks of the Tagus were only defended by ill armed handfuls of men, to whom could scarcely be given the name of armies. The Junta, however, by means of activity and sacrifices, rendered them such, so routed and dispersed in the two battles of Ciudad Real and

Metellin, instead of despairing of the country, they redoubled their efforts, and in a few days collected and opposed to the enemy 70,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry.

These forces have since fought, it is true, with ill success, but always with gallantry and glory. The creation, the reparation, and the subsistence of these armies have more than absorbed the considerable supplies which have been sent us by our brethren in America. We have maintained in the free Provinces unity, order and justice, and in those occupied by the enemy we have exerted our endeavours to preserve, though secretly, the fire of patriotism and the bounds of loyalty. We have vindicated the national honour and independence in the most complicated and difficult diplomatic negotiations; and we have made head against adversity, without suffering ourselves to despair, ever trusting that we should overcome it by our constancy. We have, without doubt, committed errors, and we would willingly, were it possible, redeem it with our blood: but in the confusion of events, among the mountains of difficulties which surrounded us, who could be certain of always being in the right? Could we be responsible because one body of troops wanted valour, and another confidence; because one General has less prudence, and another less good fortune? Much, Spaniards, is to be attributed to our inexperience, much to circumstances, but nothing to our intention. That ever has been to deliver our unfortunate King from slavery, and preserve to him a throne for which the Spanish people have made such sacrifices, and to main-



tain it free, independent and happy. We have, from the time of our institution, promised him a country; we have decreed the abolition of arbitrary power, from the time we announced the re-establishment of our Cortes. Such is, Spaniards, the use we have made of the unlimited power and authority confided to us; and when your wisdom shall have established the basis and form of Government most proper for the independence and good of the State, we will resign the authority into the hands you shall point out, contented with the glory of having given to the Spaniards the dignity of a nation legitimately constituted. May this solemn and magnificent assembly be productive of efficacious means, energy, and fortune; may it be an immense inexhaustible volcano, from which may flow torrents of Patriotism to revivify every part of this vast monarchy, to inflame all minds with that sublime enthusiasm which produces the safety and glory of nations, and the despair of tyrants; and yourselves, noble Fathers of the country, to the elevation of your high duties, and Spain exalted with you to an equally brilliant destiny, shall see returned into her bosom for her happiness, Ferdinand 7th, and his unfortunate family; shall see her sons enter on the path of prosperity and glory which they ought henceforth to pursue, and receive the crown of the sublime and almost divine efforts which they are making.

Marquis of ASTORGA, President.  
PEDRO DE RIVERO, Sec.-Gen.

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*Official Proclamation.*

“Considering the necessity of multiplying the resources of the

army of his Imperial Majesty, and of depriving the rebels and traitors of the means of procuring animals to accomplish their atrocious designs, it is hereby declared, that all the horses and mares belonging to the provinces in Upper Spain, viz. in the districts of Salamanca, Zamoras, Toro, Leon, Placentia, Burgos, Guipuscoa, and Alva, of the height of four feet four inches, or five feet half an inch of the measure of Spain, and from thence upward, are in requisition for the armies of France, and are to be conducted to the capital of the respective Governments, where they are to be received and maintained by the Governors, until the returns made to me shall enable me to give directions for the disposal of them.

“All the horses of less than four feet four inches, or five feet half an inch high, Spanish measure, also mares pregnant for more than three months, and horses and mares that are not 30 months old, and less than the height mentioned, are to have the left eye put out, and are to be rendered by other proper means unfit for military service by the proprietors themselves. Those who presume to disobey this command, are to be mulcted in four times the value of the animals.

“The execution of this order is to be committed to the Governors, Commandants of arms, and to the Commandants of Detachments and Flying Columns. (Signed)

“KELLERMAN,  
Gen. of Division, and Governor-General of Upper Spain.”

28th Oct. 1809.



*Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, at the opening of the meeting of the Legislative Body, Dec. 3, 1809.*

Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legislative Body.—Since your last Session I have reduced Arragon and Castile to submission, and driven from Madrid the fallacious Government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and termination of this fourth Punic War. Accustomed to the devotedness and courage of my armies, I must nevertheless, under these circumstances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my soldiers of Germany have given me.

The genius of France conducted the English army—it has terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues distant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived.

I owe particular thanks to the Citizens of the Departments of the Pas de Calais and the North. Frenchmen! every one that shall oppose you shall be conquered and reduced to submission. Your grandeur shall be increased by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and prosperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the Ancients.

I have united Tuscany to the Empire. The Tuscans were wor-

thy of it by the mildness of their character, by the attachment their ancestors have always shewn us, and by the services they have rendered to European civilization.

History pointed out to me the conduct I ought to pursue towards Rome: the Popes, become Sovereigns of part of Italy, have constantly shewn themselves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninsula—they have employed their spiritual power to injure it.

It was then demonstrated to me that the spiritual influence exercised in my States by a foreign Sovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of the pastors, I could not conciliate these grand interests but by annulling the donative of the French Emperors my predecessors, and by uniting the Roman States to France.

By the Treaty of Vienna, all the Kings, and Sovereigns of my allies, who have given me so many proofs of the constancy of their friendship, have acquired and shall acquire a fresh increase of territory.

The Illyrian Provinces stretch the frontiers of my great Empire to the Save. Contiguous to the Empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a situation to watch over the first interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraws herself from the fatal influence of England; I shall know how to punish her, if she suffer herself to be governed by cunning and perfidious counsels.

I have wished to give to the Swiss Nation a new proof of my esteem, by annexing to my titles that of  
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their Mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneasiness endeavoured to be spread among that brave people.

Holland, placed between England and France, is equally bruised by them. Yet she is the *debouché* of the principal arteries of my Empire.

Changes will become necessary; the safety of my frontiers, and the well understood interests of the two countries, imperiously require them.

Sweden has lost, by her alliance with England, after a disastrous war, the finest and most important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wise Prince that governs her now had ascended the throne some years sooner! This example proves anew to kings that the alliance of England is the surest presage of ruin.

My ally and friend, the Emperor of Russia, has united to his vast empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Gallicia.

I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that Empire. My sentiments for its illustrious Sovereign are in unison with my policy.

When I shall show myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil; of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of the Spains.

Gentlemen, Deputies of Departments to the Legislative body—I have directed my Minister of the

Interior to lay before you the history of the legislation, of the administration, and of the finances of the year just expired; you will see that all the ideas I had conceived for the amelioration of my people, have been followed with the greatest activity—that in Paris, as in the most distant parts of my empire, the war has not produced any delay in the public works. The Members of my Council of State will submit to you different projects of law, and especially the law upon the Finances; you will see in it their prosperous condition. I demand of my people no new sacrifice, though circumstances have obliged me to double my military means.

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*Sentence against General Monnet.  
From the Moniteur, Dec. 9.*

The Council of Inquiry appointed by his Majesty the Emperor and King, convened by his Excellency Count de Huneburgh, Minister at War, in obedience to his Majesty's Orders, dated Schoenbrunn, Sept. 7, 1809, and assembled at the General Military Depot, closed on the 25th of last month its deliberations, and pronounced the following Sentence:

That General Monnet, contrary to his duty, did not fulfil the orders of his Imperial Majesty, in case of his being pressed hard by the enemy, to cut the dykes rather than surrender.

That he surrendered the fortress at a time when it had only sustained a bombardment of thirty-six hours, when the garrison was still composed of more than 4,000 men, when no breach was made in the rampart, and the enemy was yet  
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more than 800 metres distant from the fortress, and when our troops were yet in possession of the out-works, and when, consequently, the place was not really besieged.

That the General is therefore guilty of gross misconduct, which cannot be attributed to any other motive than cowardice and treason. And the Council declares, moreover, that the General is guilty of extortion and embezzlement, since it appears in evidence, that he did receive, or caused to be received, for his own private benefit and use, from the year 1803 to the year 1806, the sum of ten Dutch stivers, or twenty sous Tournois for each half anker of Geneva which was exported. (Signed)

Count RAMPON.

Count d'ALZVELLE, Vice-Ad.  
HERENOUD.

Counts SONGER and BASON.

The above Sentence was confirmed by the Emperor and King on the 6th instant, and ordered to be transmitted to the Minister at War, for the purpose of being carried into execution against the delinquent.

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*The following Decree will assist in explaining the Designs of Buonaparte, with regard to one extensive branch of the Hanseatic League.—Imperial Edict.*

“Hamburgh, Nov. 17.

“It is hereby publicly notified, that all colonial produce is prohibited to be imported into, or exported from, our City of Hamburgh, from the date hereof. Should it be attempted in disobedience to this Decree, to convey any such produce to or from our said city,

either by land or water, the carriages or ships so employed, and the merchandize so transmitted, shall be put under confiscation. The Minister of Finances is ordered to carry this Decree into execution.

“Given at the Royal Palace of Fontainebleau, this 29th day of October, &c.”

(Signed and countersigned as usual.)

The immediate occasion of this Decree was the smuggling practised at Hamburgh. The ingenuity of trade is infinite, and its resources are inexhaustible. Those who are acquainted with this truth, will hear with incredulity that 5 or 600 women were engaged by the merchants of Hamburgh daily, to convey into the City each of them fourteen pounds of coffee and other produce concealed beneath their garments, by which expedient an immense quantity found its way into the warehouses of the dealers.

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*Divorce of the Empress Josephine.*  
Dec. 17, 1809.

By desire of his Majesty the Emperor, all the Members of the Senate assembled yesterday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, in full dress, in the hall of their usual sittings. The sitting of the Senate yesterday, at which the Kings of Westphalia and Naples, Grand Admiral the Prince Viceroy of Italy, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Vice-Grand Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector assisted, and at which the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presided, will form, on account of the importance  
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of the subjects which were discussed, an epoch in the annals of France.

On that day was presented to the Senators, a *Projet* of a *Senatus Consultum*, respecting a Dissolution of the Marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. This dissolution of marriage, required by the two high parties, and approved of by a Family Counsel, at which all the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial Family, present at Paris, assisted, received, the same day, the assent of the Senate, after having been the object of examination of a Special Commission named for this purpose. After having read the contents of the Imperial Decree, which enacts the convocation of the Senate; and of that which directs that it shall be presided by the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and that the Princes of the Imperial Family, hereafter named, should be present in the Senate, the official Journal gives an account of this memorable sitting in the following terms—[Here follows a speech from the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President, and the Duke of Parma]—The Count Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely laid before the Senate the *Projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, and explained the motives of it, which are, that they mutually sacrifice their conjugal happiness to the welfare and interests of their country.—[Here follows a speech from the Prince Viceroy of Italy; after which, the Count Garnier, Annual President, proposed to refer the *Projet* of the *Senatus Consultum* to the examination of a Special Commission of nine Members, which was named, and made its Report during its sitting.]

—At half past four, the Senate resumed its sitting, and Count Lacedepede, one of the Members of the Special Commission, made the Report, which terminated in proposing the adoption of the *Projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*; and also the adoption of two Addresses—one to the Emperor, and the other to the Empress.

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*Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate, of Saturday, the 16th Dec. 1809.*

The Conservative Senate, assembled to the number of Members prescribed by Art. the 90th of the Act of the Constitution, and dated the 13th December, 1799, having seen the Act drawn up the 15th of the present month, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, of which the following is the substance:

“In the year 1809, and the 15th day of Dec. at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambacères, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by Tit. 2, of Art. 14 of the Statute of the Imperial Family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his Majesty the Emperor and King, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:

“My Cousin;—Our desire is, that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Tuilleries, attended by the Civil Secretary of State of our Imperial Family, to receive from us and from the Empress, our dear consort, a communication



munication of great importance; for this purpose, we have ordered that this present private letter should be sent to you. We pray God to have you my Cousin in his holy and blessed keeping. Paris, 15th December, 1809."

On the back is written—"To our cousin the Prince Arch-Chancellor Duke of Parma."

We accordingly proceeded to the Hall of the Throne of the Palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Michel Louis Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely) Count of the Empire, Minister of State, and Secretary of State to the Imperial Family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the Grand Cabinet of the Emperor, where we found his Majesty the Emperor and King with her Majesty the Empress, attended by their Majesties, the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy, the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame, and her Imperial Highness the Princess Paulina.

His Majesty the Emperor and King condescended to address us in these terms:

"My Cousin Prince Arch-Chancellor—I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my Cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I, and the Empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure, that the Kings, Queens, and Princesses, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you."

"The politics of my Monarchy, the interest and the wants of my

people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require, that after me I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne, on which Providence has placed me; notwithstanding for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort, the Empress Josephine. This it is, which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart to attend to nothing but the good of the State, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of 40 years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please Providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, when it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that, far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of Empress; but, above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

"His Majesty the Emperor and King having ended, her Majesty the Empress Queen spoke as follows:

"By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the in-



interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty, it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of this throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendant of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart; the Emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy, and by interest so great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country.

“After which their Imperial Majesties have demanded an act of their respective declarations, as well as of their mutual consent contained in them, and which their Majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage; as also of the power which their Majesties conferred on us to follow up, as need shall require, the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their Majesties, have given the aforesaid act, and have in consequence executed the present *proces verbal*, to serve and avail according to law, to which *proces verbal* their Majesties have affixed their signature, and which, after having

been signed by the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses, present, has been signed by us, and countersigned by the Secretary of State of the Imperial Family who wrote with his own hand.

“Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the day, hour, and the year aforesaid; (signed)

NAPOLEON.

JOSEPHINE.

MADAME.

LOUIS.

JEROME NAPOLEON.

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

EUGENE NAPOLEON.

JULIE.

HORTENSE.

CATHERINE.

PAULINE.

CAROLINE.

CAMBACERES, Prince Arch-Chancellor.

COUNT REGNAULT, (de St. Jean d'Angely.)”

Having seen the *Projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, drawn up in the form prescribed by the 57th Article of the Act of the Constitutions of August 4, 1802; after having heard the motives of the said *Projet*, the Orators of the Council of State and Report of the Special Commission appointed in the sitting of this day; the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the 56th Article of the Act of the Constitution of August 4, 1802;

#### DECREES,

Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved.

II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned.

III. Her



III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

IV. All the assignments which may be made by the emperor, in favour of the Empress Josephine, on the funds of the Civil List, shall be obligatory on his successors.

V. The present *Senatus Consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

The two Addresses proposed by the Commission were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted.

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#### CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

*Sitting of the 16th Dec. 1809.*

At eleven o'clock in the morning, the members of the Senate assembled in full dress, in their palace, in virtue of the Act of Convocation :

His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire was received with the usual honours. His Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Majesty the King of Naples Grand Admiral, his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of State, and their Serene Highnesses the Prince Vice-Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector, were present. The sitting was opened by reading the Act of Designation.

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of State had the parole to take the oath of Senator. His Imperial Highness, previous to that ceremony, expressed himself as follows :

“ Prince, Senators—From the time when the goodness of his majesty the emperor has called me to sit among you, testimonies of his

confidence have kept me continually distant from Paris, and I have, this day, for the first time, the pleasure to appear in the midst of you. I am happy in being able to say, that among the benefits which his majesty has incessantly showered upon me, I have been particularly sensible to the honour which was granted me, of forming a part of the first public body in the empire. Accept, Senators, this expression of my feelings, and my assurance of the happiness I experience in pronouncing, in the midst of you, this oath, which is to me that of duty, of love, and of gratitude. I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor.”

The Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President, replied as follows to the speech of the Prince Viceroy :

“ Prince—When his majesty the emperor and king conferred on you the high dignity, whereof you have just exercised one of the most essential prerogatives, the Senate applauded this act of justice. They congratulated themselves on counting among their members a prince, whose brilliant qualities excited such just hopes. Now that these hopes are realised by the glory of your last campaigns, and by the wisdom of your administration, the Senate experiences great satisfaction in seeing you in its bosom, to concur in the important deliberation it is about to enter upon. You shew yourself truly the adoptive son of the hero who governs us; in like him silencing private affection, before the interests of nations. Your first steps within these walls could not be more worthily signalized, than by this great testimony of patriotism, of devotion, and of fidelity.



ty. I rejoice in being the organ of the sentiments of the Senate towards your Imperial Highness, and in expressing to you their wishes for your prosperity."

The Orators of the Council of State, Counts Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), and Defermont, Ministers of State, Members of the Council of State, being introduced, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, President, spoke as follows :

"Gentlemen--The Projet, which will, in this sitting, be submitted to the deliberation of the Senate, contains an arrangement which embraces our dearest interests. It is dictated by that imperious voice, which apprises Sovereigns and nations, that, to secure the safety of States, we must listen to the counsels of a wise foresight, incessantly recal to mind the past, examine the present, and extend our views to the future. It is under such high considerations, that in these ever memorable circumstances, his majesty the emperor has caused all personal considerations to disappear, and silenced all his private affections. The noble and affecting conduct of her majesty the empress is a glorious testimony of her disinterested affection for the emperor, and secures to her an eternal right to the gratitude of the nation."

Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely submitted a *Projet* of a *Senatus Consultum*, dissolving the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. The orator explained the motives of this *Projet* as follows ;

"My Lord, Senators--The solemn act fully set forth in the *Senatus Consultum* now read, contains all its motives. What words could

we address to the Senate of France, but would be far below the affecting sounds received from the mouth of these two august consorts, of whom your deliberations will consecrate the generous resolutions? Their hearts have coincided in making the noblest sacrifices to the greatest of interests. They have coincided to make policy and sentiment speak language the most true, the most persuasive, the most adapted to move and to convince. As sovereigns and as consorts, the emperor and empress have done all, have said all. There only remains for us to love, to bless, and to admire them.

"'Tis henceforth for the French nation to make themselves heard. Their memory is faithful as their heart. They will unite in their grateful thoughts the hope of the future with the remembrance of the past; and never will monarch have received more respect, admiration, gratitude, and love, than Napoleon, immolating the most sacred of his affections to the wants of his subjects; than Josephine immolating her tenderness for the best of husbands, through devotion for the best of kings, through attachment to the best of nations. Accept, gentlemen, in the name of all France, in the sight of astonished Europe, this sacrifice, the greatest ever made on earth, and, full of the profound emotion which you feel, hasten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your sentiments, of the sentiments of all Frenchmen, the only price that can be worthy of the fortitude of our sovereigns, the only consolation that can be worthy of their hearts."

The Prince Viceroy (the son of Josephine) spoke as follows :

"Prince,



“Prince Senators—You have heard the *Projet* of the *Senatus Consultum* submitted to your deliberation. I feel it my duty, under these circumstances, to manifest the sentiments by which my family are animated.

“My mother, my sister, and myself, owe all to the emperor. He has truly been to us a father. He will find in us at all times devoted children and obedient subjects.

“It is important to the happiness of France, that the founder of the fourth dynasty should, in his old age, be surrounded by direct descendants, who may prove a security to all, and a pledge of the glory of our country.

“When my mother was crowned, before the whole nation, by the hands of her august consort, she

contracted an obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interests of France. She has fulfilled, with fortitude, nobleness, and dignity, this first of duties. Her soul has often been moved at beholding exposed to painful struggles, the heart of a man accustomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm step to the accomplishment of his great designs. The tears which this resolution has cost the emperor, suffice for the honour (*a la gloire*) of my mother.

“In the situation she will now fill, she will be no stranger, by her wishes and her feelings, to the new prosperities which await us: with a satisfaction mingled with pride, she will behold the happiness her sacrifices will produce to her country and to her emperor.”







# CHARACTERS.

*Memoirs of the late General Melville.*

**G**ENERAL Melville was descended from the Melvilles of Carnbee, in Fife, a branch of the ancient and noble family of his name, of which the chief is the present Earl of Leven and Melville. The original stock of this family was a Norman warrior, one of the followers of William the Conqueror, who, on some disgust he conceived at his treatment in England, withdrew into Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, from whom he received lands in Lothian, about 1066; and branches of his family were afterwards established on lands in Angus and Fife.

General Melville's parents dying when he was very young, his guardians placed him at the grammar-school of Leven, where he soon distinguished himself by a quick and lively apprehension, united to a singularly-capacious and retentive memory. From this seminary, his rapid progress in his studies enabled him to be early removed to the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, where he continued to apply with the happiest success. His fortune being

but moderate, he, in compliance with the counsels of his friends to select one of the learned professions, turned his views to the study of medicine: but his genius strongly prompting him to follow a military life, and the war then carrying on in Flanders presenting a favourable opportunity for gratifying his natural tendencies, young Melville could not resist the temptation. Without, therefore, the knowledge of his friends, he privately withdrew to London, where, upon a statement of his motives and determination, he was furnished with the necessary means of carrying his projects into effect. He accordingly repaired to the Netherlands; and, early in 1714, he was appointed an ensign in the 25th regiment of foot, then forming a part of the allied army. That campaign he served under Field-marshal Wade, and all the following, up to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, under H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, partly in the Netherlands, and partly in Britain, whither the regiment had been drawn in 1745, on account of the political troubles in the kingdom. In the end of 1746, the regiment returning to the continent, Ensign Melville, at the battle of



Lafeldt, conducted himself in such a way, as to merit being selected by his colonel, (the Earl of Rothes,) to deliver to the commander-in-chief the colours of a French regiment, taken by the 25th, on which occasion he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

His regiment, after the battle of Fontenoy, was besieged in Ath, where Lieutenant Melville narrowly escaped destruction: for the enemy directing their fire at the fortifications alone, in order to spare the town, a shell from an overcharged mortar passing over the ramparts, fell in the middle of the night, when he was absent on duty in one of the out-works, on the house where he was quartered, and, piercing the roof, actually made its way through the bed he usually occupied.

On the termination of the war, Lieutenant M. proceeded with his regiment for the south of Ireland; and on the passage was shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy.

In 1751, being promoted to the command of a company in the same regiment, and employed in recruiting in Scotland, his unexampled success drew the notice of the commander of the forces, and he became aid-de-camp to the Earl of Panmure. In 1756, he was made major of the 38th regiment, then in Antigua, where it had been stationed for half a century, since its removal from Gibraltar.

That island had often been made a receptacle for offenders from regiments at home; and thus its military force had long been composed of the most disorderly troops. By the indefatigable zeal of the new major, and from the perfect

conviction he was able to inspire into the men, that he had their welfare, and that alone at heart, he at length, with the assistance of most of the other officers, succeeded in rendering the 38th regiment one of the most orderly in the service: and detachments from it accompanied him in the attack on Martinique, as also on the invasion of Guadaloupe, where Major M. commanded the light infantry, at the advanced posts. In one of the skirmishes, which were constantly successful, during an attack after a night's march, and the surprise of a post very close to the French camp, the major was entering a house just abandoned by the enemy, when it exploded, and he was blown to a considerable distance, and taken up for dead.

From the immediate effects of this accident he soon recovered; but to the same cause must be attributed the decay of sight, with which, in his latter years, he was afflicted, and which at last ended in total irremediable blindness. In recompense for his services in Guadaloupe, Major M. was directed by the commander of the forces, General Barrington, to succeed Lieutenant-colonel Debrisey, in the defence of Fort Royal, which he held until the reduction of the island, when, in addition to the government of that fort, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, with the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 63d regiment.

Brigadier-general Crump, who was made governor of the new colony, dying in 1760, Lieutenant-colonel M. succeeded to the government, with the command of the troops. In this situation he exerted



exerted himself to the utmost, and was at very considerable expense, in order to impress the new French subjects with favourable notions of the justice and liberality of the British government. In this attempt he was so successful, not only in the colony immediately under his command, but in Martinique and the other neighbouring French islands, that a secret correspondence was established with the leading people amongst the enemy, which in a great measure produced the speedy surrender of those islands to the British arms. Although a governor in chief from England had arrived in Guadeloupe, and Lieutenant-colonel M. had not only received his Majesty's leave to repair to Europe for the benefit of his health, but was at the same time promoted to the rank of colonel in the army, still resisting very tempting invitations to return home, he preferred to remain even as second in command, in the view of accomplishing his great object—the acquisition of the French colonies: which, from the intercourse he had now opened with them, must have suffered much interruption from his absence. In pursuance of these projects, Colonel M. proceeded as second in command, with Brigadier-general Lord Rollo, against Dominica, which was surprised and taken with very little loss. This expedition was concerted and conducted with so much skill and caution, that the island had surrendered before the French governor of Martinique was informed of the attack, although these islands are within sight the one of the other; and the importance of Colonel M.'s service in the attack,

as well as in the previous arrangements with certain inhabitants, were publicly acknowledged by Admiral Sir James Douglas, and Brigadier-general Lord Rollo, the two commanders of the expedition.

In the beginning of 1762, Colonel M. commanded a division in the attack under General Monkton, on Martinique; and, notwithstanding severe illness, was present in the successful assault of the hill and battery of Tortenson. The British had, however, obtained possession of a very small portion of the island, when a small party arriving at a certain spot in the interior, one of three agreed upon in Colonel M.'s correspondence with the principal inhabitants for that purpose, a general defection, with a cry of capitulation, took place; so that the French governor was compelled to capitulate at the moment, when almost the whole island, with St. Pierre, the capital, and several important fortifications, and all the fortresses in the mountains, were still in his possession; and which, if at all reducible by the British forces in the island, must have been carried with a very great loss of troops. This rapid conquest was the more important as, within a few days after the surrender, a French squadron, with a great body of troops, appeared off Martinique; but on learning the fate of the colony, the commander, without attempting its relief, immediately returned to St. Domingo.

On the fall of Martinique, the remaining French islands, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, submitted to a summons, receiving



conditions equally liberal with those granted to Martinique.

No sooner had the conquest of Martinique been effected, than Colonel Melville returned to his post in Guadaloupe, to avoid intercourse with the persons by whose means the defection of Martinique had been brought about: and it is remarkable that, although on the restoration of that, and some other islands to France, when the most rigid inquiry was instituted respecting the correspondence with the British, of whose existence little doubt was entertained by the French government, yet of all the persons suspected, and even punished on the occasion, not one of those actually connected with Colonel Melville was even so much as hinted at.

The conquest of the French islands, the great object of Colonel Melville's anxiety, being now accomplished, he repaired to England, where he found his services and general conduct highly approved; although, in fact, the measures he had privately followed to bring about the splendid success already stated, could not, for the sake of the persons implicated, be either publicly known or acknowledged: nor was the secret ever divulged. Many years afterwards, when General Melville was employed on a mission to the Court of Versailles, application was made to him, from a very high quarter, to learn whether certain persons, whose names were mentioned, were in any way connected with his projects in Martinique, &c. and upon his declaration that they were totally unknown to him, those persons, or their surviving relations, were instantly relieved

from the obloquy and losses they had till that time endured from the suspicions entertained concerning them by government.

Such was the impression made on the minds of his majesty's ministers, by the conduct of Colonel M. in the West Indies, that, in addition to the rank of Brigadier-general in 1763, he was, upon the recommendation of Lord Egremont, secretary of state for the colonies, appointed by his majesty, on the 9th of April, 1764, to the peculiarly arduous and important situation of captain-general and governor-in-chief of all the islands in the West Indies, ceded by France to Britain by the treaty of 1763, viz. Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago: to this appointment was added that of commander of the forces in those colonies.

In the autumn of 1764, Governor M. proceeded to his station, carrying out two large store-ships, with articles necessary for fixed settlements in West India islands. Tobago was, at that period, destitute of inhabitants, and almost totally covered with wood: thither, therefore, he first repaired from Barbadoes with the stores, and a few colonists from that island; and employed his stay in preparing measures for the projected settlement of the colony. His next object was to enter on the establishment of the British government, in all the islands under his jurisdiction, followed by legislatures formed on principles similar to those of the neighbouring British colonies.

During the whole of his government, which lasted about seven years, General M. only once quitted



quitted his post, and that was in 1769, when he returned to England on business of the highest importance to the future security and prosperity of the colonies intrusted to his care; and notwithstanding the numberless difficulties he had to surmount, in a government so extensive and so complicated, he had the satisfaction to see that his administration was duly appreciated, and gave very general satisfaction. Some partial complaints by a few disappointed individuals, brought against him while in London, but directed in fact rather against the king's council in Grenada than against the governor himself, were found to be utterly frivolous, and were of course deservedly disregarded by the king and council at home. As to any charges of peculation, the most common subject of complaint against persons in his situation, nothing of that sort was ever even insinuated against General M.; on the contrary, it was well known at home, as well as abroad, that with opportunities of amassing wealth, in the sole settlement and administration of so many newly-acquired colonies, such as had never fallen to the lot of any foreign governor, General M. resisted the frequent and pressing offers made to him by speculators, to enter into their schemes of acquisition, in which he might, with perfect propriety, have embarked; and that practising an honest and honourable abstinence, he retired from his government much poorer than many of the adventurers in it, who had realized their acquisitions, without any original property, on mere speculation and credit.

It is but justice to add, that although General M.'s salary from home, as governor of so many islands, hardly exceeded 1000*l.* per annum. yet he not only refused to accept of the offered and usual salaries from each colony, but gave up many official fees, where he conceived such a step might tend to the advantage of the new colonists. The duties of a major-general, throughout the several islands under his command, he also punctually discharged, without any allowance or charge whatever on the public on that account. Even in the small purchases of land he chose to make, in some of the islands under his command, General M. was swayed much more by considerations of public advantage than of private emolument. For Tobago, almost a desert, and Dominica, situated between and within view of the two great French islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe, presented so few attractions to new colonists, that, unless the governor, by selecting plantations in them, had evinced his confidence in their security as British possessions, few or no adventurers would have hazarded their property in either of those unpromising colonies.

From the period when he retired from his government, General M. adhering to his favourite maxim of taking nothing for doing nothing, never solicited, nor even wished, for any pension, salary, or other emolument whatever, from the public purse, although his eminent services, and his ill health, and total loss of sight, originally contracted in the discharge of his public duties, might well have encouraged him to proffer claims so



commonly made and allowed in similar circumstances.

When, by the public recognition, on the part of France, of the independence of the United States of North America, hostilities with that kingdom were deemed unavoidable, General Melville was consulted by administration on the means to be adopted for the security of our own West India colonies, and for the conquest of those belonging to France; and had the opinions he offered on those subjects accorded with the views already entertained by his majesty's ministers, the country would again have reaped the fruits of his local and military knowledge in an important command beyond the Atlantic. He was, however, too well acquainted with the nature of the service on which he was consulted, and, above all, with the talents and dispositions of the Marquis de Bouillé, commander-in-chief of the French forces in the West Indies, and this not from report only, but from personal intercourse in the course of his government:—with the formidable qualities of that distinguished commander, General M. was too well acquainted to undertake the services then in agitation, without being accompanied by a force far more respectable than that which it seemed to be in contemplation to place under his command. Other measures were accordingly adopted, and the result is well known: in a short time M. de Bouillé was in possession of the greater number of the British colonies in the West Indies.

The resemblance, in many important points, between these two commanders, was peculiarly strik-

ing; both men eminently endowed with all the qualities requisite for the discharge of their several duties; both men of consummate valour and military skill; both peculiarly distinguished by a high sense of honour, and actuated by motives the most disinterested, generous, and humane; both accustomed to service in the probable scene of action; and both personally acquainted with the quarters where that service would probably be required; both inflamed with ardent zeal in the cause of their respective countries; and each with a determination to recommend himself to his antagonist by the faithful discharge of his duties: a contest between two such commanders, on proper terms, must have furnished ample room for the instruction of every military man.

The last service rendered to his country by General Melville, in a public capacity, related to Tobago, an island originally settled by him, and long fostered with peculiar care. This colony, in the course of the conquests of M. de Bouillé, fell into his hands, after a defence in which the civil governor (George Ferguson, esq.) and the inhabitants so greatly distinguished themselves as to merit and to obtain from the captor a most liberal capitulation. By the preliminary articles of peace, concluded in the beginning of the year 1783, Tobago was ceded to France, without any of those stipulations for the advantage of the British settlers, proprietors, and traders, usually granted on similar occasions.

To remove as much as possible the alarm excited by this circumstance in



in the minds of all persons interested in the fate of Tobago, measures were adopted by those in Britain, for obtaining from the court of France some amelioration of their condition. The first step was to select a proper negociator; and for this purpose all eyes were turned towards General Melville, who was requested to repair to Versailles, there to solicit for the unfortunate colonists of Tobago those indulgencies to which, from the terms of the cession, they could form no claim. In acceding to this request, the general, that the application from the new subjects to their new master might appear the more decorous, suggested that a coadjutor should be given to him in the business; and Mr. Young (the present Sir William Young) was joined in the mission.

The success of the application at Versailles exceeded the most sanguine expectations: and to the beneficent magnanimity of the ill-fated Louis XVI. on the liberal suggestions of his truly-respectable minister for the navy and the colonies, the late Marshal Duke de Castries, that success was by General M. uniformly attributed. Let it, however, be added by one who, as secretary to the general on that occasion, had indubitable evidence of the fact, that the representations of the minister, and the consequent decisions of the sovereign, were very materially influenced by esteem for the character of General M. and confidence in the manly, candid, and honourable conduct he displayed in every part of the negotiation. The humanity, liberality, and disinterestedness, which had marked the whole of his administration in

Guadaloupe, while it remained under the British flag; and the whole of his general government of the ceded French colonies, had in the persons of some individuals, and in the connections of others of distinction in France, secured for General M. a cordial and confidential reception, which it may have been the happiness of few negociators to possess. At his last interview with M. de Castries, that minister expressed his royal master's entire satisfaction with the general's management of so delicate a negociation; adding, that his majesty was convinced the general had, throughout the whole business, performed the part of a genuine and impartial friend and umpire between France and Tobago:—*Vous avez agi en vrai tiers* was the expression.

*Ex pede Herculem.*—To present some idea of the spirit by which General M. was actuated in his administration of affairs, civil and military, in Guadaloupe and its dependent islands, the following specimen may suffice:—

By the capitulation, the French royal council had been preserved in the full exercise of all its functions and privileges, and the French laws, civil and criminal, remained in their original force: the governor, who was, *ex officio*, president of the council, was the only British subject in that body. At a meeting of the council, in the capital of the island, in 1760, while General M. was seated at the head of the council-table, the board being complete, and the crown-lawyers conducting the business of the day, the governor's ears were assailed by a horrid human shriek, proceeding from an enclosed area



under a window of the council-chamber. Springing instinctively from his seat to the window, he beheld a miserable wretch fast bound to a post, fixed upright in the ground, with one leg strained violently back towards the thigh, by means of a strong iron hoop, inclosing both the leg and the thigh, at some distance above and below the knee. Within this hoop, along the front of the leg, was an iron wedge driven in by an executioner, armed with a sledge-hammer. Near the sufferer sat, at a small table, a person habited like a judge or magistrate, and a secretary, or clerk, with paper before him, to mark down the declarations to be extorted from the criminal in agony. Filled with horror at this sight, and regardless alike of the assembly around him and of the consequences of his act with respect to himself, the general throwing open the window, ordered a serjeant in attendance to rush forward, to prevent a repetition of the stroke on the iron wedge, and to release the wretch from his torture. While this was going forward, the members of the council, no strangers to his dispositions, had surrounded the governor at the window, and the attorney-general of the colony respectfully, but earnestly, remonstrated against this interruption of the course of justice, styling it an infraction of their capitulation, which, in every other point and tittle, he acknowledged had been most religiously fulfilled by the governor, whose conduct in his office had, he added, given universal satisfaction.

To these representations, General M. answered, that he had always been, and always would be,

most solicitous to merit the good opinion of the colony, by a conscientious discharge of his duties; but that neither by his natural feelings, nor by his education as a Briton, could he be reconciled to the practice of torture. He concluded by solemnly declaring, that whether torture were or were not authorized by the French laws, a point he did not presume to determine, such a practice, where he commanded, he never would endure, and that they would find his conduct on that occasion, if an infraction of the capitulation, the only infraction on which they would ever have it in their power to complain.

All the members of the council dined that day with the governor; and although the object of his clemency was reported to have been singularly undeserving, were secretly well pleased with the occurrence, and the only effect produced by it on the minds of the inhabitants at large, of Guadaloupe and the other French islands, was to increase the popularity of their British commander, who, while he remained in the West Indies, never heard that recourse was had to torture, in judicial proceedings, either in Guadaloupe, after its restoration to France, or in any other French colony.

Having finally closed his relations with the West Indies, as a governor and commander-in-chief of the forces, with entire satisfaction to all concerned at home and abroad, as well as to his own mind, (for in the seven years during which he discharged all the duties of chancellor in his government, not one appeal from his decisions was brought home to the king



in council,) General M. seized the earliest opportunity of turning his attention to what had always been his favourite study—military history and antiquities. He had already visited Paris, Spa, &c. but the years 1774, 1775, and 1776, he devoted to a tour through France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, &c. during which, besides the objects of the fine arts, in which he possessed a very delicate taste, with great sensibility of their beauties and defects, he examined the scenes of the most memorable battles, sieges, and other military exploits, recorded in ancient or modern history, from the Portus Itius of Cæsar, on the margin of the English channel, to the Cannæ of Polybius, on the remote shores of the Adriatic; and from the fields of Ramilies, to those of Dettingen and Blenheim. With Polybius and Cæsar in his hand, and referring to the most authentic narrations of modern warfare, he traced upon the ground the positions and operations of the most distinguished commanders of various periods, noting where their judgment, skill, and presence of mind, were the most conspicuous, and treasuring up for future use the evidences of the mistakes and errors, from which the most eminent were not exempted. Relying on the authority of Polybius, and guided by *la raison de guerre*, or common sense applied to war; he traced the route to Italy pursued by Hannibal, from the point where he crossed the Rhone, in the neighbourhood of Roquemaure, up the left bank of that river, nearly to Vienne, across Dauphiné, to the entrance of the moun-

tains at Les Echelles, along the vale to Chamberry, up the banks of the Isere, by Conflans and Moustier, over the gorge of the Alps, called the Little St. Bernard, and down their eastern slopes by Aosti, and Ivrea, to the plains of Piedmont, in the neighbourhood of Turin.

In tracing this route, which seems to have been strangely disregarded by commentators, historians, and antiquarians, of the greatest note, although certainly the most obvious for that illustrious Carthaginian to have followed, General M. found the nature of the country, the distances, the situations of the rivers, rocks, and mountains, most accurately to tally with the circumstances related by Polybius; nay, even the *Leucopetron*, that celebrated *crux criticorum*, he discovered still to subsist in its due position, and still to be known under the identical denomination of *La Roche Blanche*. Not satisfied, however, with the evidence arising from so many coincidences, General M. crossed and re-crossed the Alps, in various other directions, pointed out for the track of Hannibal's march: but of those not one could, without doing great violence indeed to the text of Polybius, be brought in any reasonable way to correspond to the narrative.

Newton is reported to have said, that if he possessed any peculiar advantage over his fellow-labourers in the field of science, it consisted merely in his allowing himself to consider matters more patiently and deliberately than the generality of mankind. It was General M.'s practice, in his researches into truth,



truth, first to collect all the information to be procured on the subject, next to weigh the authorities and evidences, the one against the other, in order to ascertain those to which the greatest credit was to be allowed, and lastly to apply his own reason in tracing out the object of his inquiry, conformably to the evidences he had approved. By this process, simple in appearance, but which few men are able to follow, he solved difficulties and discovered truths, which had been abandoned by many able investigators as insoluble and unattainable. On other occasions, when evidences were evenly balanced, or where testimonies were perplexed, his method was to inquire what would be the conduct of a given person, endowed with ordinary faculties, and possessed of a due portion of information on his subject, for the attainment of a certain end. Placing himself thus, in that person's situation, he often arrived at an object which, in the usual mode of research, had remained for ages unknown. Of the former mode of investigation, an example has just been given, in the discovery of the true route of Hannibal across the Alps. Of the latter mode, a pregnant instance was, his theory of the order of battle employed by the ancient Romans. It has been assigned as one reason why military antiquities have been less satisfactorily explained than the other branches of antiquarian research, that scholars and antiquarians have seldom been military men; and that military men have seldom been scholars and antiquarians. Polybius's *Treatise on Tactics*, has unfortunately perished; and the other ancient writers who have no-

ticed military affairs, have only mentioned the legionary arrangement in battle, in a cursory way, as a subject familiar to their readers: little direct information, therefore, has been afforded by them on the subject. On the revival of learning in Europe, ecclesiastics, and other men of a recluse life, were almost its only encouragers and promoters; it is not, therefore, a wonder if these should, by their writings, furnish but little light on this matter. In the end of the sixteenth century, Justus Lipsius, of Louvain, a writer not more distinguished by his learning than by his singularity and love of paradox, sent into the world a system of the Roman art of war, professed to be drawn from certain passages in Polybius. This system, borrowed, with very little acknowledgment indeed, from a preceding work of Patrizzi, of Ferrara, coming from such an author, was implicitly received and repeated by all succeeding writers on the subject. The absurdity, nay, the utter impracticability, of the Lipsian system, placed in contrast with the learning and ability of its propagator, reduced other inquirers to the necessity of abandoning the matter as altogether inexplicable. Amongst these inquirers was General M. when but a young man: but happening in Scotland to be shewn what was called a Roman gladius, or legionary sword, (not, however, genuine,) he discarded at once all his systematic knowledge, and handling the weapon, asked himself in what manner men armed with that sword, in the right hand, and with a legionary shield in the left, ought to be arranged, in order that they might be able to make the



the best possible use of their arms offensive and defensive. He immediately saw that they ought to be placed, not in deep and dense bodies, as had been supposed, where it would be impossible for them to attain the enemy, but in shallow lines of two, or, at most, three ranks in depth. He discovered also, that the men ought to stand, not in files, or one directly behind another, but the men of the second rank opposite to, and covering, the intervals between the men in the front rank; and those of the third rank, opposite to the intervals between the men in the second rank. In other words, he found that the legionary soldiers were placed in a *quincunx* order, where every two men in the front and third ranks, forming a parallelogram in length, from front to rear, the man of the second rank occupied its centre, where, removed from the men before and behind him, at the greatest possible distance, or half the diagonal of the parallelogram, he had the greatest possible room in the same actual space, and from which he could, without interruption, employ his arms freely before, behind, or on either side, as necessity might require.

This theory once discovered, and duly unfolded, all seeming contradictions in ancient writers were reconciled, all perplexities were unravelled, and all difficulties were removed.

By a similar train of reasoning, the general had the good fortune to solve the long-contested question respecting the manner of distributing the oars and the rowers, in the war-gallies of the ancients. It is evident from history, that the an-

cients had vessels of different denominations, called by the Romans, *triremes*, *quadriremes*, *quinqueremes*, &c. and by the Greeks, *trières*, *tetrères*, *pentères*, &c. terms expressive (if the word may be used) of three, four, five rowings, &c. It is also evident, that by these rowings, were meant distinct rows of oars, from stem to stern, of the vessel, raised in order, the one above the other, from the water upwards. Commentators being in general still more ignorant, if possible, of naval than of military affairs, had propounded the most absurd notions concerning the nature of these ancient ships. The notion, however, the most generally received was, that the ship's sides being perpendicular, or nearly so, to the surface of the water, the oars were likewise placed vertically, the one immediately over the other below it. Other systems were also broached, tending, in some measure, to obviate the objections made to the former: but still the best were liable to insurmountable difficulties, arising from the placing of the rowers, the height of the ship's side, and particularly from the great length and weight of the oars, by which those in the upper rows, or tiers, must have become utterly unmanageable.

From a consideration of these objections, it was concluded by many inquirers on the subject, that the number of rowings related not to the rows of oars, but to the men employed to manage one oar, as is done on board the gallies in the Mediterranean; so that a trireme, a quinquereme, &c. meant a vessel in which one oar was worked by three men, five men, &c.

That



That this, however, was not the case, is too clearly shewn in various passages of the ancients, to admit of any doubt on the head.

General Melville, whose repeated voyages across the Atlantic had enabled him to unite to the theory of navigation much more practical knowledge than usually falls to the lot of a landman, despairing of being enabled to untie this Gordian knot, by his researches amongst the most enlightened and experienced seamen, at last, on his way home from his government, laying authorities and theories of every kind entirely aside, inquired in himself what were the objects of the ancients, in the arrangement of their rowers. To this question, the natural answer was celerity and impetus in their movements. The next question was, how this celerity was to be obtained; and the answer could only be by introducing the greatest possible quantity of motive power into a given space. By placing the rowers not vertically, but in diagonal order, up the perpendicular side of a ship, it was true that they could be placed in considerably less space than when arranged one directly over the head of another. This, however, was not enough: and, it occurred to the general, that, by means of a double obliquity in the arrangement of the rowers, every possible advantage might be obtained. He therefore supposed that the side of the ship, instead of rising vertically from the water, was at the distance of a few feet from the surface, laid outwards, diverging from the perpendicular at an angle of perhaps forty-five degrees. Upon this inclined side, the seats for the rowers were placed, slanting dia-

gonally upwards; at the same time that, by the inclination of the side, they slanted diagonally outwards. The consequences of this double obliquity were, that a rower raised only from fifteen to eighteen inches above the rower below him, instead of four or five times that distance, as in some other schemes, would be able to sit and row without receiving any interruption in his labour from the others adjoining to him, and that even the uppermost oars, in a quinquereme, were not of an unmanageable length.

This theory not only removed all the objections to the former systems, but it explained a multitude of passages in history, hitherto inexplicable; and it was discovered to be perfectly conformable to the representations still remaining on ancient coins, and in the paintings discovered in the subterraneous ruins of Herculaneum.

But a volume would be requisite to contain a distinct relation of the curious and important discoveries and inventions, made by General M. and of the systematic progress of his mind in such discoveries and inventions. Amongst those are to be reckoned, the discovery he made, from principles previously laid down, of the Roman camps in the vale of Strathmore, in Scotland; of the construction of the catapult, ballista, and other ancient warlike machines; of that species of artillery known by the name of carronades, from the great foundery in Scotland, where they were first made, of which the largest are now generally called, from the weight of the shot they receive, sixty-eight pounders. The grand improvement, however, which

General



General M. wished to introduce into that species of cannon, and of which the efficacy was established by experiments at Woolwich, before the late Duke of Richmond, when master-general of the ordnance was, by adopting a kind of ball, combining the properties of the solid shot, the shell, and the carcase, being cast with a hollow core, so that the weight of a ball, which, if solid, would be sixty-eight pounds, might be reduced to about forty-two pounds; the shot thereby becoming more manageable, and equally powerful, in sea-engagements, or short distances, and therefore peculiarly calculated for the use of British seamen, who it is confessed stand closer to their guns, and fire with greater expedition, than those of any other nation. The use of these Melvillades has hitherto been very confined.

Military and antiquarian researches were, however, far from occupying the capacious mind of General Melville. It is not perhaps generally known, that the Royal Botanic Garden, in the island of St. Vincent, now so richly stored, under the management of Dr. Anderson, with the most useful and ornamental vegetable productions, was originally projected, established, and supported, by General M. during his government, at his own expense and risk. It was at last taken under the special protection of his majesty, and

the expenses are now defrayed out of the public purse.

But, though the active life in which General Melville was engaged led him to the investigations just noticed, the turn, the natural bent of his mind, undoubtedly inclined to the study of the human mind, well-defined by Socrates, to be "*the knowledge of one's-self*\*." On this subject, as must be in the recollection of many persons capable of judging, the general displayed the utmost metaphysical acumen, as well as great solidity of understanding. A tendency to blindness had for the last twelve or fourteen years of the general's life, terminated gradually in almost total darkness. Under these circumstances his metaphysical genius was a great relief to him. It was indeed a complete resource against ennui. It furnished never-failing scope to the activity of his mind. It was the kind of study best adapted to the natural activity of his mind. As he said, he carried his whole laboratory, his whole apparatus for experiment, always about with him, for, as has been ably, and in the most satisfactory manner, maintained by Mr. D. Stewart, in his *Philosophical Essays*, *observation* differs from a course of *experiments* only in the rapidity with which the latter is pursued—the result of his observations on what passed within himself, for he did not allow that there were, properly speaking, any such thing as  
*operations*

\* Γνωσις Σωστον. *Know thyself*. It is not every one who readily comprehends the profound sense couched in these words: When a certain person was speaking of the profound sense and wisdom of Socrates, one of those self-taught philosophers, who make philosophy to consist merely in a contempt for learning, and all authority human and divine, said, "He must be a great fool who does not know himself."



operations of the mind, he communicated to the friends with whom he was wont to converse, on those subjects, in a printed card, of which the following is a copy :

*Multum in Parvo.*

A CREED,

Natural, invariable, and fundamental; ending where most creeds begin, yet in so far introductory to them as their contents may be found to be conformable to it.

1st. That, by my nature, I now am, and ever have been, while awake, and in a state of sensibility, passively existing, under an incessant succession of conscious sensations or re-sensations, produced by causes internal or external; both these sensations and re-sensations naturally and necessarily implying my existence; but the latter only so implies my identity.

2d. That also, by my conscious sensations and re-sensations, produced by causes external, is as naturally and necessarily implied the existence of these externals of nature around me; and these two sorts of sensation, internally and externally caused, are the sole and invariable sources of my knowledge of my own existence, and that of external nature.

3d. That there ever has been, is, and must be, an existence.

4th. That the existence eternal or infinite in duration or time, must be also infinite in extension or space; for any utmost limits to either are not conceivable.

5th. That the eternal and infinite existence must be either nature universal, or an eternal and infinite cause of nature, which did

create, does sustain, and might annihilate nature.

6th. That which ever of the two be the eternal and infinite existence, whether nature or nature's cause, is as unnecessary as impossible for man by his nature only to know.

7th. That the best state of nature, with the best use of it by man, in as far as naturally productive of his greatest sum of happiness in all stages of his existence, whether in individuality or society, is ever the most essential object of his nature.

8th. That this most essential object is naturally self-evident to, and so enjoyed by, man, while an individual in solitude, or is competently attainable by him in that state, from the best use of nature and experience.

9th. That this fundamental and important truth, although by nature in man, it was not only prior to, and independent of, any human laws of revealed religion, but must still be equally so in a supposed state of totally uneducated and perfectly solitary individuality; yet in that of society it will admit or require the concurring aids of both law and religion, in as far as they may be useful or necessary for the said most-essential object.

10th. That, lastly, the expediency or necessity in society for these aids from law and religion, will be precisely in proportion to the deficiency or inefficacy of the best use of right reason or natural religion; and the degree of perfection in both laws and religions for mankind, must necessarily and exactly be in the ratio of their conformity and conduciveness to the most essential object of human nature,



ture, as stated in the seventh article of this creed.—London, 1792.

The general, after printing and distributing this card, bethought himself that a neater and more satisfactory, though not in reality a more comprehensive and complete analysis and arrangement of the human mind, would be “sensations, re-sensations, and co-sensations:” the last called up, whether by sensation or re-sensation, by the well-known principle of the association of ideas. And he was wont to ask his literary friends if they could mention any idea or process of thinking, that might not be reduced to one or other of these heads. One of these, noted for self-sufficiency and briskness of manner, said, without hesitation, and with an air of triumph “Most certainly I do.” “What is it?” “Why, comparison.” “I grant you,” replied the general, “we have in comparison, not *one* idea of sensation or re-sensation only, but we have *two*.”

Another friend, to whom the general put the same question, said that neither *consciousness* of *identity*, nor even of *existence*, could be traced to sensation merely, or quatenus sensation: i. e. to the first sensation, or a few of the first sensations. For both *identity* and *existence* were abstractions not obtained by mere sensation, quatenus sensation, but by some posterior process. The general listened to this patiently. But he still maintained the justness of his own analysis. Some weeks afterwards, however, he said to the same person, I have been thinking of adding a “fourth limb to my structure,” so that the ana-

lysis will run thus, “sensation, re-sensation, co-sensation, and PRO-SENSATION:” by which last he seemed to understand what is called in the schools, *simple apprehension*, without any consideration either of actual existence, or of any relation to other objects. It was not the conversation just noticed, about existence and identity, or at least this alone, that drove the general to PRO-SENSATIONS, but Professor Stewart’s *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, illustrating and confirming Dr. Reid’s theory.—What the doctor calls *suggestion*, General Melville called *pro-sensation*; and this he contended was the just appellation—“For,” said he, “what does any thing suggest? certainly something known before; otherwise it could not be suggested. But, if known before, what other could it possibly be than an idea, or notion, if you will? (Some conversation had taken place about a difference between notion and idea). Answer me that question?”

It ought not to be omitted that General Melville was a completely well-bred gentleman; uniting, with good sense, and a natural benevolence and frankness of disposition, (which are the grand basis of good manners,) a long and great acquaintance with the polite world, and with all ranks of society. He retained as much of the ceremony, or outward demonstrations of respect of the old school, as must appear quite proper in the eye of sound criticism, and no more. In the present age, some fashionable people are so far from overwhelming you with attentions in their own houses, that they take little if



if any notice of you. They seem to study nothing so much as their own ease. This indifference is really a step backward into barbarism. Expressions of kindness and endearment nourish kind and endearing sentiments. Without such overt expressions or recognizances, social sentiments are apt to languish.

General Melville, while in private life, was the friend of "the widow, of the orphan, and of those who have no helper:" in public he was a ready and a liberal contributor to the support of the most valuable charitable establishments. The Scotch Corporation, or hospital, in London, by its management, as well as by its constitution, perhaps the least susceptible of abuse, of the multitude of similar benevolent institutions, will long remember the services, and long regret the loss of its venerable recruiting general. The patron of unassuming merit, the encourager of ingenuous youth, his stores of knowledge were ever open to the candid inquirer. A genuine and ardent lover of truth, in every pursuit in which mankind can be interested, and from whatever quarter it proceeded, truth was ever by him most cordially received. By the uniform tenor of his conduct, General Melville evinced himself to be, in the strictest sense of the terms, the true friend and lover of his country.

General Melville was a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London and Edinburgh, by the university of which last city, his *alma mater*, he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was also an honorary member of the Board of Agriculture, and

an active member of the Society in London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Although he never had a regiment, a home-government, or any other military emolument whatever, since he quitted the West Indies, he was appointed a full general on the 12th of October, 1798; and at his decease was, with one exception, the oldest general in the British army.

Dying a bachelor, General Melville succeeded in name and estate by his cousin, John Whyte Melville, of Bennoch, in the county of Fife, esq.

General Melville had nearly completed his eighty-sixth year, having been born at Monimail, in that county, of which parish his father was minister, on the 12th of October, 1723: his mother was a daughter of Robert Whyte, of Bennoch, esq. advocate, and a sister of the late celebrated Dr. Robert Whyte (Whytt) his majesty's physician in Scotland, and professor of medicine in the University of Edinburgh.

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#### *Major Stanhope.*

The honourable Charles Banks Stanhope, who was slain in the field of battle, near Corunna, in the 24th year of his age, was the second son of Earl Stanhope. At an early period, for reasons not necessary to be here assigned, he and his brother, the honourable James Hamilton Stanhope, now a lieutenant in the first regiment of foot-guards, quitted the house of Lord Stanhope, and placed themselves under the protection of Mr. Pitt, by whom they were ever after



after treated not only with the attention of a guardian, but with the affectionate care of an indulgent father. The genius of Mr. Stanhope inclined him to a military life; and his wishes being made known to the Duke of York, his royal highness presented him to an ensigncy, without purchase, in the twenty-fifth regiment of infantry, then stationed at Gibraltar. There he served for some time under the command of the Duke of Kent, and by his punctuality in the discharge of professional duties, the integrity of his principles, and the mildness of his disposition, which tempered his extraordinary firmness and intrepidity, acquired the esteem of his superiors, and the respect and friendship of his equals. On his return to England, he was promoted to a company in the fifty-second, commanded by General Moore. A long course of regimental duty, under such a leader, inspired by his own military ardour, and improved by the strictest attention, and most persevering industry, gave him a perfect knowledge of the discipline and order of his own regiment. The merits of Captain Stanhope were not likely to be unnoticed, or undervalued by Sir John Moore, from whom he received the most satisfactory mark of his approbation, in being appointed one of his aids-de-camp. To that skilful officer he looked up, as to the perfect model of military excellence. He studied his theory, entered into his plans, and by the free and friendly intercourse which the kindness of the general allowed him, was enabled to familiarize himself with the different branches

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of the military art. In attending that general to Sicily, he had an opportunity of increasing his knowledge of the world, as well as extending his military pursuits; and on his return from that country, was promoted to the rank of major, in the sixth garrison-battalion then in Ireland. Major Stanhope's knowledge of his profession was well known to his grace the late Duke of Richmond, who immediately placed him on his staff, but at the same time kindly dispensed with his services at the castle, that, by the habit of discharging his regimental duties, he might further pursue that perfection which he was ambitious to attain. In the garrison-battalion, however, he did not long remain, but exchanged into the fiftieth regiment, and obtained permission to accompany his gallant general to Sweden, where the inactivity of the army little corresponded with his anxious wish of being engaged in active service. He returned from Sweden with General Moore, and landed with him in Portugal soon after the battle of Vimeira, where he was ordered to join the first battalion of his regiment, Major Hill having been disabled by a wound. He accompanied the army in its laborious march from Lisbon, and the borders of Castile, and during the toilsome and melancholy period of its retreat to Corunna. On the arrival of the British troops at that place, the fiftieth was one of the regiments destined to form the outposts, and was stationed next to the fourth regiment, on the right of the British position.

Major Stanhope, though at that

3 B

moment



moment suffering severely in his health from the fatigues and hardships he had undergone, firmly rejected the proposal of his retiring into sick quarters, though this was strongly recommended by the medical staff, and warmly advised by his general and friend. Against Lord W. Bentinck's brigade, as being our weakest point, the principal efforts of the enemy were directed. The event is well known. The fiftieth, commanded by Majors Napier and Stanhope, charged the French with the same invincible bravery, which they so conspicuously displayed in the battle of Vimiera, drove them with great slaughter from the village of Elvina, and forced them to retreat on their own position. General Moore, in person, saw and animated their valour and their success, and "well done the fiftieth! well done *my majors!*" was the last expression of encouragement and approbation that he uttered on the field. At this period Major Stanhope fell by a musquet-shot; Major Napier soon after was wounded and taken prisoner; and the regiment having expended their ammunition, and being greatly diminished in numbers, reluctantly obeyed the order to retire.

His body was brought from the field by his mournful companions in arms, and was interred the same evening in the presence of his brother, if not with the solemnities, at least with the unfeigned reality of woe.

During the life-time of Mr. Pitt, Major Stanhope spent the intervals of repose from military duty in the society of that illustrious statesman, to whom he looked up, almost as to a being of superior order, with an affectionate respect,

mingled with every endearing sentiment of attachment, gratitude, and duty. Nor was his regard unreturned: and if his clearness of conception, his assiduity of research, and capability of labour, were highly valued by his great protector, not less forcibly did his singular purity and benignity of mind, his perfect disinterestedness, his fidelity, sincerity, elevation of sentiment, and exalted honour, speak to his praise in that breast which was the chosen seat of virtues like his own. Few persons had an opportunity of estimating the full value of his solid and various worth. Major Stanhope was sensible that he did not possess the advantages and accomplishments of a scholar; and this conviction, as it made a deep impression on his mind, kept him often silent, and always reserved in mixed society, and his natural modesty, supported by a real magnanimity of spirit, induced him to avoid the common opportunities of shining, and to reserve the exertion and display of his talents, till some worthy occasion should call him forth in the service of his country. Such qualities were naturally associated with that calm spirit of heroic bravery, which is at once the fundamental strength and the chief ornament of a soldier's character. With him courage was not an effort, but an habit; not, as in lower souls, the mere effect of animal instinct, but the happy result of natural spirit, tempered and refined by deliberate reflection. It was such as supports the Christian in danger, calamity, and death; such as those who surrounded the couch of Moore, admired in their dying chief.



From the time of his entering the army, his sister, Lady Hester Stanhope, was his constant and dearest companion, and every moment he could spare from superior duties, he fondly dedicated to her society, whose greatest happiness consisted in witnessing the hopes Mr. Pitt entertained of his professional success, the approbation which he bestowed on his conduct, and the affection with which he regarded him.

It would be a vain and painful office to indulge our imagination in contemplating the career of glory which, if fate had spared him, he might have ran—but he doubtless would have fulfilled the high expectations which might not unreasonably be entertained of the adopted son of such a statesman as Mr. Pitt, and the *élève* of such an officer as Sir John Moore.

Major Stanhope's regiment were best able to form an estimate of his merits, and they strongly testified their regard for his memory, and their sorrow for his loss, by the marked, because unusual compliment, of a general mourning for him and his brave companion, Major Napier, who is since happily restored to life and liberty, to dispel the agonizing fears of an amiable and affectionate family, and who can bear witness to the worth of his lamented friend in the fatal but victorious field.

“ I decus i nostrum, melioribus utere satis.”

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*Extracts from Memoirs of William Paley, D.D. By George Wilson Meadley.*

Young Paley, as he grew up, was educated under his father's

eye. At school he soon surpassed his early class-fellows, by the exercise of greater abilities, united to a more studious disposition, than usually belongs to boys of that age; and, by successive promotions from one class to another, at length obtained pre-eminence over all. The son of the second master, indeed, was for awhile his competitor; during which, as the masters in the upper and lower school, at stated times, exchanged departments, he found himself or his rival invariably raised to the head of the class, as they went up with their lessons to the father of the one or the other respectively; a circumstance which he often mentioned, as a striking instance of the absurd partiality of parents for their children. He did not, at this period, distinguish himself by any sort of compositions, even as school-exercise, but was considered a very fair, though by no means an accomplished, classical scholar. He was even then more attentive to things than to words, and ardent in the pursuit of knowledge of every kind. He was curious in making inquiries about mechanism, whenever he had an opportunity of conversing with any workmen, or others capable of affording him satisfactory information. In his *mind* he was uncommonly active; in his *body* quite the reverse. He was a bad horseman, and incapable of those exertions which required adroitness in the use of his hands or feet. He never engaged in the ordinary sports of school-boys; but was fond of angling, an amusement in which he did not then excel, though his attachment to it seems to have continued through life. He was much esteemed by his school-fellows,



lows, as possessing many good qualities, and being at all times a pleasant and lively companion. To the great amusement of the young circle, he would often successfully mimic the tricks of a quack-doctor or mountebank, recommending his nostrums to the crowd. Having one year attended the assizes at Lancaster, he was so much taken with the proceedings in the criminal court, that, on his return to school, he used to preside there as a judge, and to have the other boys brought up before him as prisoners for trial.

Soon after he had completed his fifteenth year, young Paley accompanied his father to Cambridge, for the purpose of admission, and was admitted, Nov. 16th, 1758, a sizar of Christ's College; a college otherwise highly respectable from the members who had done it honour, but sufficiently immortalized by the illustrious name of Milton alone. He performed this journey on horseback, and used often thus humourously to describe the disasters which befel him on the road:—"I was never a good horseman, and when I followed my father on a poney of my own, on my first journey to Cambridge, I fell off seven times: I was lighter than I am now, and my falls were not likely to be serious, so that I soon began to care very little about them. My father, though at first a good deal alarmed at my awkwardness, afterwards became so accustomed to it, that, on hearing a thump, he would only turn his head half aside, and say, 'Get up, and take care of thy money, lad.'"

Soon after his return to Craven, as the classics alone were taught at Giggleswick school, he went for

mathematical instruction to Mr. William Howarth, a teacher of some eminence at Ditchford, near Topcliffe, about three miles from Ripon, under whose care he laid an excellent foundation of knowledge in algebra and geometry. During his residence at this place, the attention of the whole neighbourhood was taken up by the discovery of a human skeleton at Knaresborough, which accidentally led to unfold the circumstances of a murder, committed there fourteen years before. This stimulated his curiosity to attend the county assizes at York, where he was present in the court, August 3d, 1759, when Eugene Aram, a man of extraordinary learning and acuteness, was tried for the murder of Daniel Clark, and convicted on the circumstantial evidence of Richard Houseman, an accomplice, and of his own wife. The evidence brought forward on this occasion, and the ingenious defence of the prisoner, seem to have made a forcible impression on young Paley's mind. When he returned to Giggleswick, a few weeks after this, before his departure for college, he entertained and astonished all around him, by his spirited harangues and judicious remarks on this important trial. Even then, young as he was, he paid particular attention to cases of law, and, in speaking of them, was singularly fluent and nervous in his language. He seems, indeed to have attributed the conviction of the prisoner, in a great measure, to the ingenuity of his defence; for, many years after, when he was conversing with a few friends about the *lives* of some obscure and undeserving persons having been inserted in the



*Biographia Britannica*, and one of the party exclaimed—"Eugene Aram, for instance!"—"Nay," replied he, "a man that has been hanged has some pretension to notoriety; and especially a man who has got himself hanged by his own cleverness, which Eugene Aram certainly did."

In October, 1759, he became a resident member of Christ's College; and on the first evening after his departure for Cambridge, his father observed to a pupil, who was then his only boarder, "My son is now gone to college,—he'll turn out a great man—very great indeed,—I'm certain of it; for he has by far the clearest head I ever met with in my life." When he commenced his residence in the university, he was little more than sixteen; an age which he frequently mentioned afterwards, as too early to encounter the dangers of a college life. But he always had an old look, which, together with the superior strength and vigour of his understanding, impressed his companions with the idea of a much maturer age.

In his second year at college, when his character became more generally known, and the number of his acquaintances increased, he was often engaged in company during the latter part of the day. But still reading was not neglected, and, amid scenes which would have dissipated any other man's attention, he displayed a most extraordinary concentration of mind. His room (for he seldom locked his door, either by night or day) was the frequent rendezvous of the idle young men of his college; yet, notwithstanding all their noise and

nonsense, he might be often seen in one corner, as composed and attentive to the subject in which he was engaged, as if he had been quite alone.

He was never remarkable for early rising, but was generally the last at morning-prayers, "running," to use the poet's phrase, "with hose ungartered,

"To reach the chapel ere the psalms began."

And, of the leave of absence given twice a-week to the undergraduates, he uniformly took advantage on the first and second days, when he lay in bed till a late hour in the forenoon.

On the death of King George II. Mr. Paley wrote a few lines in imitation of the poems attributed to Ossian, then much in vogue; and, as this tribute was excluded from appearing amongst the poetical effusions of the university, by reason of the style which he adopted, he afterwards inserted it in some periodical miscellany, under the signature of *Tommy Potts*, which was a cant name with him at the time.

He discovered an early propensity to study the human character, as displayed among the lower ranks of society, particularly in their pastimes and sports. This led him to frequent the fair held annually at Stirbitch, a village about two miles from Cambridge, where, mixing with the crowd, at puppet-shows or other exhibitions, he watched the various changes of countenance in the spectators, and listened attentively to their remarks. In forming from thence an opinion of their characters,



though fanciful enough in many cases, he gave strong proof of that keen penetration for which he was afterwards so eminent.

The most cordial friendship had subsisted between Mr. Paley and Mr. Law from the period of their first acquaintance, whilst under-graduates in 1762; and they now passed much of their leisure in each other's company, making excursions, during the long vacation, into different parts of the kingdom, and travelling usually in a single-horse chaise. They are said to have once passed the evening at a country inn, with an ingenious and witty stranger, whom they afterwards discovered to be the celebrated John Wilkes. Mr. Paley, who always told a good story with point and humour, even at his own expense, used often amusingly to detail the various adventures which they met with; or the little disasters which occasionally befel them in their progress; so that these tours not only excited a present interest, but became a permanent source of social entertainment. Whilst he treated others at times with playfulness, he invariably looked up to Mr. Law; and, respecting the affairs of the university, as well as of their own college, they usually went hand in hand. Their portraits were taken by Vandermyn, a Cambridge artist, about 1769, both very striking and characteristic likenesses; Mr. Paley in a full clerical dress, Mr. Law in a master-of-arts gown.

This intimacy naturally introduced Mr. Paley to his friend's father, Dr. Edmund Law, a divine no less distinguished by great intellectual attainments, than by un-

wearied exertions in the investigation of moral and religious truth, and who, by a patronage which does honour to the Duke of Grafton's administration, was promoted to the see of Carlisle, in January 1769. After his elevation, however, he continued to reside chiefly at Cambridge, as master of Peterhouse, but making an annual visit to his diocese, and episcopal seat at Rose Castle, where Mr. Paley usually accompanied him as his chaplain.

Mr. Edward Law, his lordship's third son, at this time a student of Peterhouse, is said to have been in no small degree indebted to his intercourse with Mr. Paley, in the cultivation of those talents, which have since raised him to one of the first judicial situations. Their future celebrity, indeed, was once predicted by a very intelligent gentleman, who met with them, whilst they were together on a visit in Buckinghamshire, at the house of a common friend.

No studious man perhaps ever entered more into the pleasures of society than Mr. Paley, or presented so rare an assemblage of attractive qualities. His *naïveté*, his good humour, his fund of knowledge, and great powers of conversation, made him at once the life of the combination-room at his own college, and the delight of all who elsewhere associated with him in his unbending hours. He was at all times easy of access, and ready to enjoy the company of the rational and intelligent, as a relief from his professional engagements and his private studies. Amongst his friends no man was more highly esteemed; for, great as were his talents and attainments, even these

were



were far exceeded by his many traits of frankness and good nature.

Engaged one day to dine with a party at a coffee-house in London, he came in late, and found the conversation turning upon the rumour of an apprehended rupture with the Court of Versailles. He heard the opinions of several gentlemen for and against the probability of such a thing, and then said, "I am not inclined to credit the reports of shallow speculative politicians: I have gone to the fountain-head of intelligence." The attention of the whole company was now completely rivetted. "I am just come," continued he, "from Soho-square, where I walked into the court-yard of his excellency the French ambassador's house. I saw a most noble sirloin of beef roasting at the kitchen-fire for his excellency's dinner. This is as it should be, said I: there will be no war now between France and England."

Mr. Paley kept a horse, which, though it drew the gig in his summer excursions, in winter, having no employment for it, he quartered at a neighbouring village, to which he frequently extended his morning walks; and thence took occasion to observe, that though his horse afforded him good exercise in summer, it gave him still better for the remainder of the year. "Paley," says a friend, who wished to rally him on this subject, "for what can you keep a horse, which is always two or three miles off at grass, or in a straw-yard at Ditton?" "Why," replied he, "for what do others keep horses: for exercise to be sure."—"But you never ride,"

rejoined the other. "No," said he, "but I walk almost every day to see it, and that answers just as well."

Mr. Paley having prosecuted one of the college servants for theft, when the day of trial approached, fee'd a counsel to assist the culprit in his defence. On the singularity of this conduct being remarked to him, he replied, that "he thought it his duty to society and to the college to institute the prosecution; but let the fellow have fair play on his trial," added he; "and if through any of the loop-holes of the law he then escape conviction, I have done my duty, and shall be content." The man, through some defect, either of the indictment or the evidence, was actually acquitted.

In a debate one evening on the justice and expediency of making some alteration in the ecclesiastical constitution of this country, for the relief of tender consciences, Dr. Gordon, Fellow of Emmanuel College, afterwards archdeacon and precentor of Lincoln, an avowed tory in religion and politics, when vehemently opposing the arguments of Mr. Jebb, a strenuous supporter of all such improvements, exclaimed, with his usual heat, "You mean, Sir, to impose upon us a new church government."—"You are mistaken, Sir," said Mr. Paley; "Jebb only wants to ride his own horse, not to force you to get up behind him."

Mr. Paley having frequently declared that he would quit college, whenever he could do so with the prospect of a clear annual income of two hundred pounds, announced his early intention of retiring,



when the Bishop of Carlisle presented him to the rectory of Musgrave, in Westmorland, a living scarcely worth above eighty pounds a-year. He was inducted to this little benefice, May 28th 1775, and afterwards passed much of his leisure, during the long vacation, between Rose Castle and Mr. Law's prebendal house at Carlisle. In the autumn of this year he attached himself to Miss Jane Hewitt, a handsome and pleasing young lady of that city, to whom his suit was successfully preferred. He returned, however, to Cambridge at the usual time.

Public attention was now more especially directed to the rising celebrity of Mr. Pitt, who had been for some time distinguishing himself in parliament, as the determined enemy of corruption, and the intrepid advocate of economy and constitutional reform. By his early career, however, auspicious as it was, Mr. Paley was so far from being dazzled, that in a large party, in the north of Yorkshire, in 1783, he exposed the young patriot's pretensions to public confidence with such force of ridicule, as to displease some of his most zealous admirers, and particularly one gentleman, who afterwards discovered, with regret, that on his *promises and pledges*, as a *man* and a *minister*, he had placed far too firm a reliance.

A report has been long in circulation that Mr. Paley, being appointed to preach before the University of Cambridge, on the day when Mr. Pitt, after his elevation to the premiership, in 1784, made his first appearance at St. Mary's, chose this singular but ap-

propriate text—"There is a lad here, who hath five barley loaves and two small fishes, but what are they among so many?" John vi. 9. A lady who had seen this story in a newspaper, once asked the facetious divine if it was true. "Why no, Madam," replied he, "I certainly never preached such a sermon, I was not at Cambridge at the time, but I remember that, one day, when I was riding out with a friend in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and we were talking about the bustle and confusion which Mr. Pitt's appearance would then cause in the university, I said, that if I had been there, and asked to preach on the occasion, I would have taken that passage for my text."

On the hint of such a text, Mr. Paley was the very man to have preached a sermon, which, without personal virulence, would have sufficiently shown his opinion of the unmanly adulation paid at that time, by several members of the university, to the aspiring premier, whom but a few months before they had rejected as unworthy of their votes. The son of Chatham, it is true, when he first solicited their suffrages, had no other recommendations than the high character of his father, his own promising talents, and the constitutional principles of his early years: when he returned to them, after a short interval, he was the first ostensible minister of the crown. On his former appearance, he was not, indeed, without supporters, but they were men of a very different stamp from those who became his most devoted adherents afterwards: they were men of the first talents and integrity, of strict  
and



and steady patriotism, but who withdrew their confidence from the minister, when he openly abandoned what they deemed the great cause of their country. The conduct of the majority, however, on these occasions, is not without a parallel of a much more recent date, in the treatment experienced from several members of the same university by an ingenious youth, when newly invested with office, and when he had no longer any share of the loaves and fishes to dispense.

But whilst others were thus rooting for preferment, Mr. Paley was engaged in the composition of an important work, the general outlines of which had been delivered to his pupils at Christ's College. The Bishop of Clonfert, to whom the merit of his friend's lectures was well known, and who justly thought that those on morals, in particular, might be expanded into a most useful treatise for public instruction, had strenuously urged their publication in an improved form. Mr. Paley at first suggested, as an objection, the little attention usually paid to such subjects, and the risk of publishing a book which might not sell: but when he found himself in possession of a competent income from his patron's kindness, he no longer hesitated to employ his leisure in the execution of this great design.

When the manuscript was ready for the press, it was offered to Mr. Faulder, of Bond-street, when dining at Rose Castle, for one hundred guineas; but he declined the risk of publishing it on his own account. After the success of the work was in some measure ascer-

tained, Mr. Paley would again have sold it to him for three hundred pounds, but he refused to give more than two hundred and fifty. Whilst this treaty was pending, a bookseller from Carlisle, happening to call on an eminent publisher in Paternoster-row, was commissioned by him to offer Mr. Paley one thousand pounds for the copy-right of his work. The bookseller, on his return to Carlisle, duly executed the commission, which was communicated without delay to the Bishop of Clonfert; who, being at that time in London, had undertaken the management of the affair. "Never did I suffer so much anxious fear," said Mr. Paley, in relating the circumstance, "as on this occasion, lest my friend should have concluded the bargain with Mr. Faulder, before my letter could reach him." Luckily he had not, but on receiving the letter, went immediately into Bond-street and made this new demand. Mr. Faulder, though in no small degree surprised and astonished at the advance, agreed for the sum required before the bishop left the house. "Little did I think," said Mr. Paley, in allusion to this affair, "that I should ever make *a thousand pounds* by any book of mine; a strong proof of unassuming merit; but, after the offer above-mentioned, he was authorized to have asked a still larger sum.

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Soon after Dr. Paley's arrival at Bishop-Wearmouth, some of the principal land-holders in that parish, wishing to remove all cause of future dispute, offered to treat with him, on the basis of an annual compensation, for the tithes. Af-



ter inspecting the accounts of his predecessor, he demanded seven hundred pounds a-year, as a fair equivalent, with which the other party complying, he granted them a lease for his life; and thus, by sacrificing any eventual interest of his own in the agricultural improvement of the parish, avoided one great source of disquietude and vexation. As a writer, he had already reprobated tithes, as “noxious to cultivation and improvement,” and recommended “their conversion into corn-rents, as a practical and beneficial alteration, in which the interest of all parties might be equitably adjusted; and he now acted in strict conformity to these principles, “leaving to the industry of his parishioners its full operation and entire reward.” By this agreement, the lessees were generally enabled to return from sixpence to eighteen pence in the pound, on the annual amount of the great tithes, to those who were punctual in their payments, whilst they seldom attended much to the small. Dr. Paley, on the other hand, found himself perfectly at ease by this arrangement, and, when he heard of a bad crop, used to say—“Aye, aye, now I am well off; my tithes are safe, and I have nothing to do with them, or to think about them.”

He also granted long leases of his glebe lands, and particularly of a limestone quarry to the old tenant, upon very moderate terms. From the great rise in landed property, which took place immediately after, his tenants had very advantageous bargains: a circumstance to which he sometimes, indeed, alluded in conversation, but

without the least marks of dissatisfaction or regret.

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On the sudden elevation of Bonaparte to the supreme direction of affairs in the French republic, Dr. Paley observed to a party of gentlemen, who dined with him at Bishop-Wearmouth, after the first intelligence of that extraordinary event—“The French are rapidly approaching to absolute monarchy again:—the conventional government was established on a very broad basis, which has been narrowed on every subsequent alteration, and is progressively tending to a point.” In allusion to the various actors, who had successively filled the busy scene in that distracted country, from the commencement of the revolution, he still more forcibly remarked—“In similar convulsions, none can ultimately succeed in bearing sway, but men of great intrepidity, great ability, and great roguery. Without great intrepidity, no man will intentionally venture upon so hazardous a career; without great ability, no man can get forward; and without great roguery, no man can bring his designs to a successful close.”

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Literature was an invariable source of recreation to him; and he was in the habit of giving his opinion freely on the most eminent productions of the day. He had long indulged himself in desultory reading, which, however dangerous in the early stages of education, is well adapted to improve a mature and vigorous understanding, where each new acquisition finds a ready arrangement. “A reader,” he observes, in his admired



mired remarks on *human happiness*, “ who has inured himself to books of science and argumentation, if a novel, a well-written pamphlet, an article of news, a narrative of a curious voyage; or the journal of a traveller, fall in his way, sits down to the repast with relish; enjoys his entertainment while it lasts, and can return, when it is over, to his graver reading without distaste. Another, with whom nothing will go down but works of humour and pleasantry, or whose curiosity must be interested by perpetual novelty, will consume a bookseller’s window in half a forenoon; during which time he is rather in search of diversion than diverted; and as books to his taste are few and short, and rapidly read over, the stock is soon exhausted, when he is left without resource from this principal supply of innocent amusement.”

By blending scientific inquiries, therefore, with general literature, Dr. Paley was never deprived of this resource, but seems to have continued anxious in the pursuit of knowledge to the last,

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With the Dissenters at Bishop-Wearmouth, Dr. Paley carefully avoided every sort of altercation, and with a few of their leaders associated upon friendly terms. He entertained, indeed, a very favourable idea of their motives, and readily acceded to the application of Dr. Coke, one of their most eminent preachers, for a contribution to the Missionary Society, and civilly invited him to drink tea at the Rectory. His allusions to this society, both in his lectures, writings, and conversation, evinced his

candour and good sense; discriminating accurately, as far as his subject required, between what he deemed objectionable and praiseworthy. Their mode of life he speaks of, as not unlike that of the early Christians; their preaching, as too often transgressing the limits of decorum and propriety, and wounding the modesty of a cultivated ear. “ I feel a respect for Methodists,” he again declares, “ because I believe that there is to be found amongst them much sincere piety, and availing, though not always well-informed, Christianity: yet I never attended a meeting of theirs, but I came away with the reflection, how different what I heard was from what I read; I do not mean in doctrine, with which at present I have no concern, but in manner; how different from the calmness, the sobriety, the good sense, and, I may add, the strength and authority of our Lord’s discourses.” The ability of their two great founders he was at all times ready to admit; and seems to have estimated the character of each with no small discernment: “ Whitfield,” he said, “ was a lover of souls: Wesley also, was a lover of souls; but he was a lover of power.”

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Superior minds are ever conscious of each other’s worth. Had Mr. Fox succeeded sooner to that situation in the government of his country, which he held at the time of his lamented death, Dr. Paley might probably have attained the highest dignities of his profession. Dr. Paley, on the other hand, though never professing himself the indiscriminate partizan and admirer, has  
been



been often heard to speak, in terms of very high approbation, of the genius, the extensive knowledge, the liberality and candour of Mr. Fox. To a friend, who was expressing his surprise at the extraordinary acquirements of that celebrated statesman, considering the well-known follies of his early life, he once pointedly replied—“Why, Sir, some men are never idle; and Mr. Fox is one of these: whether engaged in business, in study, or in dissipation, his mind has been actively employed. Such men lose no time; they are always adding to their stock of information; whilst numbers, with grave appearance, trifle life away, and pursue nothing with advantage or effect.”

The character of Dr. Paley, however, can never be justly estimated from his public exertions alone; for he appeared, at all times, with still greater advantage in the intercourse of private life. He was a good husband, an affectionate father, an indulgent master, and a faithful friend. He was ready on all occasions to promote the general interests of society, or to accommodate his more immediate neighbours with any civilities or kind offices in his power. Though economical from principle as well as from early habit, he was liberal, and even generous in all his pecuniary transactions with others. He was charitable to the poor, and known to be in the habit of serving street-beggars, on this avowed principle, that the hard-heartedness which might arise from an indiscriminate rejection of all who thus implore assistance, was a far greater evil than the chance of being sometimes im-

posed upon. He was invariably more highly esteemed and beloved, in proportion as he was better known; for he had none of those seeming virtues, which dazzle only at a distance, but shrink from more accurate examination: he acted on no false pretences, and assumed no disguise. His little defects, it is possible, might strike the common observer more forcibly; but they were not only such as might well be borne with, but such as afforded his friends continual opportunities of discovering under them the goodness of his heart.

In his latter days he appeared to the greatest advantage at home; particularly when surrounded by an interesting family, who looked up to him at once with reverence and affection, and by their young visitors, who frequently formed the happy inmates of his house. To those who were honoured with his more intimate acquaintance, his domestic circle then afforded an unrivalled treat. The master of the house was himself the most important actor in the social scene; and his conversation being constantly fraught either with intelligence or with humour, he was listened to with undivided attention, whether engaged in serious observations, or indulging in more lively anecdotes and unpremeditated sallies of wit.

Dr. Paley was the farthest man in the world from any of that formality which dullness puts on to conceal its ignorance: he was a master in the art of accommodating himself to the reach of all capacities, and displayed the solidity of a philosopher, without his solemnity and reserve. “He could concern himself with trifles at intervals, and



converse among the vulgar, without taking off his thoughts from higher matters, or interfering with the proper functions of his station." With his great predecessor, Locke, he was probably of opinion, "that in order to employ one part of life in serious and important occupations, it was necessary to spend another in mere amusements." But, unlike the great mass of mankind, his hours of recreation were not idly wasted; and the innocent pleasures, in which he then indulged himself, were frequently conducive to some important end.

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*The famous Victor Alfieri's Passion for Music, Abhorrence of Dancing, and Aversion to the French Nation. [Extracted from Memoirs of his Life and Writings. Written by himself.]*

He was admitted to an opera, for the first time in his life, when he was only about twelve years of age. "The varied and enchanting music," he observes, "sunk deep into my soul, and made the most astonishing impression on my imagination; it agitated the inmost recesses of my heart to such a degree, that for several weeks I experienced the most profound melancholy, which was not, however, wholly unattended with pleasure. I became tired and disgusted with my studies, while at the same time the most wild and whimsical ideas took such possession of my mind, as would have led me to pourtray them in the most impassioned verses, had I not been wholly unacquainted with

the true nature of my own feelings. It was the first time music had produced such a powerful effect on my mind. I had never experienced any thing similar, and it long remained engraven on my memory. When I recollect the feelings excited by the representation of the grand operas, at which I was present during several carnivals, and compare them with those which I now experience, on returning from the performance of a piece I have not witnessed for some time, I am fully convinced that nothing acts so powerfully on my mind, as all species of music, and particularly the sound of female voices, and of *contro-alto*. Nothing excites more various or terrific sensations in my mind. Thus the plots of the greatest number of my tragedies were either formed, while listening to music, or a few hours afterwards.

"To the natural hatred I had to dancing, was joined an invincible antipathy towards my master—a Frenchman, newly arrived from Paris. He possessed a certain air of polite assurance, which, joined to his ridiculous motions and absurd discourse, greatly increased the innate aversion I felt towards this frivolous art. So unconquerable was this aversion, that, after leaving school, I could never be prevailed on to join in any dance whatever. The very name of this amusement makes me shudder and laugh at the same time—a circumstance which is by no means unusual with me. I attribute, in a great measure, to this dancing-master the unfavourable, and perhaps erroneous, opinion I have formed of the French people, who, nevertheless, it must be confessed,



confessed, possess many agreeable and estimable qualities: but it is difficult to weaken or efface impressions received in early youth. Reason lessens their influence as we advance in life; yet it is necessary to watch over ourselves, in order to judge without passion; and we are frequently so unfortunate as not to succeed. Two other causes also contributed to render me, from my infancy, disgusted with the French character. The first was the impression made on my mind by the sight of those ladies who accompanied the Dutchess of Parma in her journey to Asti, and were all bedaubed with rouge—the use of which was then exclusively confined to the French.—I have frequently mentioned this circumstance several years afterwards, not being able to account for such an absurd and ridiculous practice, which is wholly at variance with nature; for when either sick, intoxicated, or from any other cause, human beings besmear themselves with this detestable rouge—they carefully conceal it, well knowing that, when discovered, it only excites the laughter or pity of the beholders. These painted French figures left a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and inspired me with a certain feeling of disgust towards the females of this nation.

“From my geographical studies resulted another cause of antipathy to that nation. Having seen

on the chart the great difference in extent and population between England or Prussia and France, and hearing every time news arrived from the armies that the French had been beaten by sea and land; recalling to my mind the first ideas of my infancy, during which I was told that the French had frequently been in possession of Asti, and that during the last time they had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners to the amount of six or seven thousand, without resistance, after conducting themselves, while they remained in possession of the place, with the greatest insolence and tyranny; all these different circumstances being associated with the idea of the ridiculous dancing-master, tended more and more to rivet in my mind an aversion to the French nation.”

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*Condition and Character of the  
Inhabitants of West Barbary.  
[From Mr. Jackson's Account  
of the Empire of Marocco.\*]*

The inhabitants of the Emperor of Marocco's dominions, may be divided into four classes, namely, Moors, Arabs, Berebbers, (which latter are probably the aborigines,) and Shellubs.

The Moors are the descendants of those who were driven out of Spain; they inhabit the cities of Marocco, Fas, Mequinas, and all the coast towns, as far southward

\* Meaning Morocco. The miserable affectation of singularity displayed, in so many instances, by Mr. Jackson and other travellers, in the spelling of words, is not only disgusting, but sometimes leaves the reader in some doubt, as to the place or person meant. Mr. Jackson for Fez, writes *Fas*; for HAR-AM, *Horem*; for MUSSELMEN, *Mooselemis*, &c. &c. &c.



as the province of Haha. Their language is a corrupt Arabic intermixed with Spanish.

The Arabs have their original stock in Sahara, from whence they emigrate to the plains of Marocco, whenever the plague, famine, or any other calamity depopulates the country so as to admit of a new colony, without injuring the territory of the former inhabitants. These Arabs live in tents, and speak the language of the Koran, somewhat corrupted. They are a restless and turbulent people, continually at war with each other: in one province a rebellious kabyle, or clan, will fight against a neighbouring loyal one, and will thus plunder and destroy one another, till, fatigued by the toils of war, they mutually cease, when the next year, perhaps, the rebellious clan will be found fighting for the emperor against the former loyal one, now become rebellious. This plan of setting one tribe against another is an act of policy of the emperor, because, if he did not, in this manner, quell the broils continually breaking out amongst them, he would be compelled, in order to preserve tranquillity in his dominions, to employ his own army for that purpose, which is generally occupied in more important business.

The Berebbers inhabit the mountains of Atlas, north of the city of Marocco, living generally in tents; they are a robust, nervous people, having a language peculiar to themselves, which differs more from the Arabic, or general language of Africa, than any two languages of Europe differ from each other; it is probably a dialect of the ancient Carthaginian. In travelling

through the Berebber Kabyles of Ait Imure, and Zemure Shelluh, I noticed many who possessed the old Roman physiognomy. The general occupation of these people is husbandry, and the rearing of bees for honey and wax.

The Shelluhs inhabit the Atlas mountains, and their various branches south of Marocco; they live generally in towns, and are, for the most part, occupied in husbandry, like the Berebbers, though differing from them in their language, dress, and manners; they live almost entirely on (assoua) barley-meal made into gruel, and barley roasted or granulated, which they mix with cold water, when travelling: this is called zimeta. They occasionally indulge in cuscasoe, a nutritive farinaceous food, made of granulated flour, and afterwards boiled by steam, and mixed with butter, mutton, fowls, and vegetables. Many families among these people are reported to be descended from the Portuguese, who formerly possessed all the ports on the coast; but who, after the discovery of America, gradually withdrew thither. East of Marocco, near Dimenet, on the Atlas mountains, there is still remaining a church, having inscriptions in Latin over the entrance, supposed to have been built by them, which, being superstitiously reported to be haunted, has escaped destruction. Their language is called Amazirk.

The Moors, as well as the other natives of this country, are generally of a middle stature; they have not so much nerve as the Europeans, and are, for the most part, thick and clumsy about the legs and ankles, insomuch that a

well-



well-formed leg is seldom seen among them; this may proceed from their constantly sitting cross-legged, with their legs under them, like the tailors of Europe, or perhaps from their wearing no covering to their legs, which are thus exposed to all weathers. Deformed persons are rarely met with; the loose Arabian dress covers deformity, and their mode of bringing up children, (every thing being left to follow nature) generally prevents it. Corns and deformed feet are unknown; the toes take their natural growth, and are as useful to the mechanics as their fingers. Lame people are seldom seen; but the blind are more numerous than in Europe. Both sexes have very fine teeth. Their complexion, from frequent intermarriage, or intercourse with the Soudanic race, is of all shades, from black to white. The women of Fas are as fair as the Europeans, with the exception of their eyes and hair, which are universally dark. Those of Mequinas are in general so handsome, that it is a rare thing to see a young woman in that city who is not pretty. With large, black, and expressive sparkling eyes, they possess a healthy countenance, uniting the colours of the lily and the rose, that beautiful red and white so much admired by foreigners in our English ladies; indeed their beauty is proverbial, as the term Mequinasia is applied to any beautiful woman of elegant form, with sparkling eyes, and white teeth; they also possess a modesty and suavity of manners rarely met with elsewhere. It is extraordinary that the inhabitants of two great and populous cities, situated with-

in a day's journey of each other, should discover such a physiognomical difference, as is apparent between the females of Fas and those of Mequinas, the former being generally of a sallow or pale complexion. The women of Duquella are ordinary and diminutive, whilst the men are the reverse; being tall, and well-limbed, with regular features. The men of Temsena, and Shawia, are a strong, robust race, of a copper colour: their women possess much beauty and have features highly expressive; and the animation of the countenances is increased by the use of el kahol filelly, with which they tinge their eye-lashes and eyebrows, as already described. In these provinces they are particularly fond of dyeing their hands and feet with a preparation of the herb henna, which gives them a beautiful orange colour, and, in hot weather, imparts a pleasing coolness and softness to the hands, by preventing, in a considerable degree, the quickness of perspiration.

The people of this empire being born subjects of an arbitrary despot, they may be said to have no established laws: they know no other than the will of the prince, and if this should deviate, as it sometimes does, from the moral principles laid down in the Koran, it must be obeyed. Where the emperor resides, he administers justice, in person, generally twice, and sometimes four times a week, in the (M'shoire) place of audience, whither all complaints are carried: here access is easy: he listens to every one, foreigners or subjects, men or women, rich or poor; there is no distinction, every one has a right to appear before him,



him, and boldly to explain the nature of his case; and although his person is considered as sacred, and established custom obliges the subject to prostrate himself, and to pay him rather adoration than respect, yet every complainant may tell his story without the least hesitation or timidity; indeed, if any one is abashed, or appears diffident, his cause is weakened in proportion. Judgment is always prompt, decisive, plausible, and generally correct.

In places remote from the emperor's court the (Kalif) vice-regent, or bashaw, has his M'shoire, where he administers justice, sometimes according to the laws of the Koran, and at others as his caprice dictates; for the same imperious despotism which the emperor too frequently exercises over his bashaws and alkaid, is exercised by them over those who fall under their government; and the same is done again by their subalterns, when they have it in their power; thus tyranny proceeds progressively from the prince to the lowest of his officers; these petty tyrants are dispersed over the whole empire, and often give sanction to their extortions by effecting them in the name of their master; the accumulation of wealth is the grand object of all their desires; when they learn from their emissaries, or spies, that an individual has acquired considerable property, they contrive to find out some cause of accusation against him, and by that means extort money from him. It often happens, however, that those who amass the greatest sums in this way enjoy them but a very short time; some unexpected order from the emperor, accusing them

of crimes or misdemeanors, is made a pretext for depriving them, in their turn, of their ill-gotten wealth, which his majesty never fails to inform them can be of no use to them, being more than sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, and ought, therefore, to belong to the (Biet el Mel el Mooselmin) Mohammedan treasury, into which it is accordingly delivered, never more to return to its former possessor!

The influence of this mode of government upon the people, is such as might naturally be expected; they are suspicious, deceitful, and cruel; they have no respect for their neighbours, but will plunder one another whenever it is in their power; they are strangers to every social tie and affection; for their hearts are scarcely susceptible of one tender impression; the father fears the son, the son the father; and this lamentable mistrust and want of confidence diffuses itself throughout the whole community.

The pride and arrogance of the Moors is unparalleled: for though they live in the most deplorable state of ignorance, slavery, and barbarism, yet they consider themselves the first people in the world, and contemptuously term all others barbarians. Their sensuality knows no bounds: by the laws of the Koran, they are allowed four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to support, but such is their wretched depravity, that they indulge in the most unnatural and abominable propensities; in short, every vice that is disgraceful and degrading to human nature, is to be found amongst them.

It must be confessed, however,



that some of the well-educated Moors are courteous and polite, and are possessed of great suavity of manners. They are affable and communicative where they repose confidence; and if in conversation the subject of discussion be serious, and the parties become warm in dispute, they have generally the prudence to turn the subject in a delicate manner; they are slow at taking offence, but, when irritated, are noisy and implacable.

There is one noble trait in the character of this people which I cannot avoid mentioning, that is fortitude under misfortune; this the Moor possesses in an eminent degree; he never despairs; no bodily suffering, no calamity, however great, will make him complain; he is resigned in all things to the will of God, and waits in patient hopes for an amelioration of his condition.

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*Character of several Nations, by Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, and Emperor of Russia. [From Porter's Travels in Russia and Sweden.]*

You may give to a Frenchman liberal pay: he never amasses money, and loves pleasure. The case nearly answers to the German; only he spends what he labours for in good-living, not on the gay vanities of the Frenchman. To an Englishman more must be given: he will enjoy himself at any rate; should he even call into his aid his own credit. A Dutchman rarely eats enough to pacify nature: his sole object is economy; less, consequently, will serve him. An Italian is by nature inoculated with

parsimony; a trifle, therefore, will do for him: almost out of nothing he will contrive to save; making no mystery of it, but acknowledging that he serves from home with no other view than to amass money to enable him to return with affluence, to the heaven of Europe, his own dear Italy.

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*Dwarfs and Fools, exhibited in the Houses of the Nobles of Moscow. [From the same.]*

They are here the pages and the playthings of the great; and, at almost all entertainments, stand for hours by their lord's chair, holding his snuff-box, or awaiting his commands. There is scarcely a nobleman in this country who is not possessed of one or more of these frisks of nature; but, in their selection, I cannot say that the noblesse display their gallantry, as they choose none but males.

These little beings are generally the gayest drest persons in the service of their lord, and are attired in a uniform or livery of very costly materials. In the presence of their owner, their usual station is at his elbow, in the character of a page; and, during his absence, they are then responsible for the cleanliness and combed locks of their companions of the canine species.

Besides these Lilliputians, many of the nobility keep a fool or two, like the motleys of our court, in the days of Elizabeth; but like in name alone; for their wit, if they ever had any, is swallowed up by indolence. Savoury sauce, and rich repasts, swell their bodies to the most disgusting size; and, lying about in the corners of some splendid



splendid saloon, they sleep profoundly, till awakened by the command of their lord to amuse the company. Shaking their enormous bulk, they rise from their trance; and, supporting their unwieldy trunks against the wall, drawl out their heavy nonsense, with as much grace as the motions of a sloth in the hands of a reptile fancier. One glance was sufficient for me of these imbruted creatures; and, with something like pleasure, I turned from them to the less humiliating view of human nature in the dwarf.

The race of these unfortunates is very diminutive in Russia, and very numerous. They are generally well-shaped, and their hands and feet particularly graceful. Indeed, in the proportion of their figures, we should no where discover them to be flaws in the economy of nature, were it not for a peculiarity of feature, and the size of the head, which is commonly exceedingly enlarged. Take them on the whole, they are such compact, and even pretty little beings, that no idea can be formed of them from the clumsy deformed dwarfs which are exhibited at our fairs in England. I cannot say that we need envy Russia this part of her offspring. It is very curious to observe how nearly they resemble each other: their features are all so alike, that you might easily imagine that one pair had spread their progeny over the whole country.

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*Description of the King (Gustavus IV.) and Queen of Sweden.*  
[From the same.]

As soon as the king was seated,

a piece of music with, I suppose, appropriate words (for it was in Swedish), burst from the orchestra. His majesty seemed very attentive to what was sung; while the queen, with a less impressed countenance, sometimes listened, and at others looked round on the assembly with a delightful complacency. I confess that my observation was most particularly directed to Gustavus. He bears a striking resemblance to the best portraits of Charles the Twelfth, and seems not to neglect the addition of similar habiliments; for really, at the first glance, you might almost imagine the picture of his renowned ancestor had walked from its canvas. He is thin, though well made; about the middle stature, pale, and with eyes whose eagle beams strike with the force of lightning; look at them, and while he is in thought they appear remarkably calm and sweet; but when he looks at you, and speaks, the vivacity of his manner, and the brilliancy of his countenance, are beyond description. His mouth is well shaped, with small mustachios on his upper lip; and his hair, which is cropped, and without powder, is combed up from his forehead.

Her majesty is most interestingly beautiful; very much resembling her sister, the Empress of Russia. She is fair, with expressive blue eyes. Her features are fine; but the affability of her countenance, her smile, and engaging air, independently of other charms, would be sufficient to fascinate every heart, almost to forget she was a queen, in her loveliness as a woman. She was drest with exquisite taste. Her hair, in light but luxuriant



luxuriant tresses over her brow and head, was looped up with a double diadem of jewels. Her robe was splendidly embroidered; and on her breast she wore the badges of the order of St. Catherine. And certainly it must be acknowledged, that the star, whether of distinction or of beauty, never shone brighter than on the bosom of the fair Helen of the North; for thus this beautiful queen is generally distinguished; though, were I to give her a title, it should rather be that of Andromache, whose beauties, lovely as they were, were yet transcended by the more endearing graces of the chaste wife and tender mother.

During the whole of the evening, after the musical salutation, their majesties mingled with the company, conversing with every person with the kindest condescension. Every citizen was spoken to; and their eyes sparkled with joy, while their tongues faltered out a reply to the address of their sovereign. His conversation with the subjects of his brother in arms, our revered monarch, was of the most gratifying complexion; no coldness, no form; all was frank, great, and consistent with himself. In short, it would have been impossible for any potentate to have shown more graceful, knight-like courtesy to all present; or for a sovereign to be received with deeper homage from a brave and loyal people. In many courts I have seen the body of loyalty; here its spirit was felt.

*Moors and Jews. [From Semple's Second Journey in Spain.]*

Could we have reconciled ourselves to the delay, and to the insults to which we were exposed, if we moved out alone, there was every thing in the country surrounding Tetuan to make our time pass away agreeably. Sometimes we crossed the river, and rode along the narrow paths which intersected the orange-gardens, while the whole air was perfumed with their blossoms. A small sum procured us admission into any of them, and the liberty of loading ourselves with the fruit. I found the trees planted in rows, with small trenches, to conduct the water to the roots, exactly as in the plantations near Palma, at the junction of the Genil and Guadalquivir. Among these gardens, the most celebrated is that of Kytan, in the centre of which are the ruins of the palace of a basha, who formerly contended for some time against the emperor of his day. He had pretensions to the crown, and was supported by the wild and hardy race which still people the neighbouring mountains; but he was unsuccessful, and his ruined palace alone remains a memorial of his fate. At every step we meet with innumerable proofs of the extreme ignorance of these people in the art of war, and consequently in almost every other art. This palace, which stood a long siege, is commanded by heights within musket-shot. Yet the Moors have a high idea of their own military character. Talking to our soldier one day, he expressed great hatred of the French. We asked, why



so more than of the English? "Because," he replied, "the French would take our country, if they could, as they have done in Spain, and as they did with Egypt. But," added he, "they would not find us Egyptians; we are men of Barbary."

I must confess I was astonished to find this hatred of the French very common among so ignorant a people. Their partiality to the English (if they deign to shew a partiality for any Christian) may be accounted for by the vicinity of Gibraltar, where many of their countrymen are established and protected, and which is supplied with a great part of its provisions from the Barbary coast. But the hatred against Spaniards is still greater than against Frenchmen. They ever keep in remembrance that their forefathers, and the companions of their forefathers, were formerly masters of all the opposite and fertile shores of the Mediterranean; and that even after submission, and the most solemn compacts with their Spanish conquerors, they were driven from their homes and their native land. The circumstances attending that expulsion may be forgotten; but the hatred excited by it, and by the wars afterwards carried on, still exists in all its force. We were repeatedly stopped in the streets by an exclamation addressed to us, and which our interpreter explained to be "the Englishman is very good, but the Spaniard stinks." At other times, however, we were subjected to those insults which every man in the European dress must be prepared occasionally to encounter among Mahometans. The names of infidel and dog be-

came familiar to our ears. Some of the lowest classes at times held up their hands in a threatening manner, as if to strike us as we passed, and that without the slightest provocation: the boys especially took great delight in following and insulting the Christians: they called us by every opprobrious epithet, and not content with that, often, at the city-gates, saluted us with a volley of stones, which we could neither avoid nor punish. There is much more of this barbarism here, than at Smyrna or Constantinople.

But the insults to which Christians are exposed, are nothing, when compared with those which the Jew must hourly suffer. As Christians we entered the gates on horseback, when returning from our ride, accompanied by a soldier. This sometimes created murmurs; but our Jewish companion was always obliged to dismount, and enter on foot, nor was he allowed even to ride through the streets. In passing a mosque, be the path ever so muddy, the Jew must take off his slippers; scarcely dare he to look upon the pure house of prayer. At any time a Moor of the lowest cast may enter the house of a Jew, and commit a thousand insolences, which the other has not the power even to resent. It is on this account that the Jews reside in a separate quarter. A Mahometan keeps the gates, and by making suitable presents to him, the miserable children of Abraham live in tolerable security. But their hatred against their tyrants cannot be described: it is mixed with all that is base; with fear, with rancour, with cunning. A Jew takes off his cap to a Moor,



and curses him in his heart. He is pleased when they go to war, because they destroy each other. Our interpreter used to take a malicious pleasure in witnessing the Moors receive the *bastinado*, and in talking of it afterwards. When all human patience and resources fail, they have recourse to their religion: "We are obliged," said a Jew to me, "to submit in this world to every species of indignity, but in the next we shall shine forth the chosen people of the Most High. Here we ride upon asses, and are insulted by the Moors; there we shall ride upon horses, with crowns of gold on our heads; the Moors shall hold our stirrups, and run by our sides, whilst we kick them, strike them, and spit in the rascals' faces."—So saying, he spat upon the ground with great violence.

The dress of the better sort of Moors consists of a linen shirt without a collar, and with long and wide sleeves; next a caftan or vest of cloth, which reaches to the calf of the leg, and is girt round the middle by a sash of party-coloured silk, or of fine cotton; a pair of loose trowsers scarcely reaching below the knee; and lastly, a kind of wrapper of light woollen stuff, which is thrown round them in folds; the legs are bare, and on the feet they wear yellow slippers: a red peaked cap for the head completes the dress. Only the higher ranks wear turbans, generally those who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Mustachios or beards are universally worn. In rainy weather they carry a kind of watch-coat of thick cloth, with a sharp-peaked cowl to cover the head; this, with a

shirt and a pair of slippers, often forms the sole dress of the lower classes, who may be seen sitting in rows in the sun or the shade, models of dirt and indolence.

The women have all an appearance of wretchedness in their external covering, which consists, like that of the men, of a wrapper of light woollen, enveloping them from head to feet. Every part of the head and face is covered except the eyes. The better sort wrap linen round their legs, but by far the greater part of those we saw in the streets, were bare-legged; all wore yellow slippers. But notwithstanding this miserable appearance, we were informed by the Jewish women that it was merely external. When they enter a house where they are paying a visit, and where no men are present, they throw aside their wrappers, and display great richness in their dress beneath; caftans of silk, or the finest cotton, broad sashes of silk, ornamented with gold and silver, their hair adorned and perfumed, and bracelets set with pearls, on their arms.

The Jewish women, on the contrary, go with their faces unveiled; and among them may be seen some of extraordinary beauty. They are fond of party-coloured robes, of silken sashes, of large rings, and broad bracelets. They universally stain their nails of a yellow colour, and wear the hair formed into two long plaits, one hanging from each side of the head, and adorned with ribbons. The common language both of men and women is a very bad Spanish. Such also I found to be the language of the Jews at Smyrna and Constantinople; a clear proof of  
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the amazing number of that people that must have been formerly driven out of Spain, and scattered all over the coasts of the Mediterranean.

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*Moorish Encampment, or Village. [From the same.]*

The ground on the western side of the heights, or towards Tangiers, we found far less interesting than that near Tetuan. No sooner did we begin to descend than the difference became perceptible. The country was stretched out into plains or slopes of comparatively small fertility, and the hills were rounded and bare, not broken into clefts with sharp peaks. We were informed that we should that night pitch our tent near a small village, and we felt not a little curious to see one in this country. Towards sunset we arrived on the slope of a hill, at ten or twelve low tents, formed of a coarse dark stuff of woollen and horse or camel hair stretched upon sticks, and in some instances stopped round at the sides with bushes and clods of earth. We were not a little surprised to hear this called a village; but as one of our party, who had been before unwell, was totally unable to proceed farther, we had no alternative but to pitch our tents, and prepare for passing the night as comfortably as we could. Our guide inquired for the head man of the place, when a stout and well-made Moor presented himself, and graciously gave us permission to encamp near them. In a short time our tent was pitched, and a sufficient quantity of dry sticks collected to make a fire at the door

of it. Our kettle was soon prepared, and the Moors, for a trifling sum, supplied us with abundance of milk, butter, and eggs, which, with our bread and other provision, enabled us to make a cheerful repast. Mats were spread upon the ground, our saddles formed our pillows, and our clokes were our covering. Our horses were picketed near us. As the night advanced, the Moors assembled and squatted round the fire, which they were careful to keep up, at the entrance of our tent. They were in general very stout men, of a serious but not a melancholy cast of countenance, their complexion a dark olive, and their sole dress a wrapper of light woollen, folded round them. If we attempted to stir out of the tent they strictly watched us, lest we should stray near any of their huts; whilst we in return, from beneath our clokes, watched the bright gleaming of the expiring embers thrown on their dusky forms. Before midnight they dispersed, our guard stretched himself across the entrance of the tent, and we slept in safety.

In the morning, while the baggage was getting placed on the mules, we had time to examine the encampment. We ventured to look into the huts, but were prohibited from entering. The entrances were all fronting to the east; and it was evident by a glance at the interior, that the first advantages of the division of labour were not yet understood in this simple state of society. In every hut or tent the occupations were the same, the women or female children solely were employed; one spinning a coarse kind of thread, another grinding corn be-



tween two flat stones, whilst the children made the butter by swinging backwards and forwards a skin full of milk, which hung from the top of the tent. The manners of these wandering Moors are simple and rude like their wants. They seldom eat meat, or even fowls or eggs; these they carry to the towns for sale. Their principal and favourite dish (called kouscousou) is made of millet and butter-milk, into which if a fowl and eggs boiled hard are introduced, it is reckoned the greatest of all delicacies. There are evidently two distinct races of men among these mountaineers, immediately distinguishable by the difference of their features; and I regretted not to be able to trace these distinctions farther, or to discover whence they probably arose. One has the face long, perfectly oval, the nose regular and slightly aquiline, the lips delicate, and the complexion a light olive. The men of the other race are of a far stouter make, a broader forehead, a nose shorter and more square, with thicker lips, and a darker complexion.

Before our departure, the chief of the place made a secret request to our interpreter for a glass of brandy. Unlike the simple shepherds of the preceding day, he swallowed it with infinite delight in the sight of heaven and his prophet. In return he brought before us a celebrated snake-catcher, who had just come down from the mountains. He carried with him a long narrow basket, containing several tolerably large serpents, which he handled with great indifference. They appeared, however, evidently stupefied, either by art, or by long confinement and frequent hand-

ling; and Doctor Darwin was going to touch them, when the man hastily returned them into the basket, pretending great alarm on his account. He affirmed that not even a true believer could touch them without being stung. Had the Christian, therefore, been suffered to expose the fallacy of this assertion, the injury to his character might have been still greater. The gaping Moors, however, applauded both his superior skill and his humanity, and the delusion was still farther strengthened.

At length we proceeded. In our route we passed several small villages, or encampments, similar to that where we had spent the night. Here, as in Spain, the stork is protected, and is in some degree social with man. These birds seemed to know that we were strangers, but they scarcely moved at the approach of a Moor. They build their nests on the tops of huts, or in trees near human dwellings, and are regarded with a kind of superstitious affection. One of our party made a motion as if to shoot one which stood near the road, but our guard prohibited it. "Not even Christians," said he, "molest that bird."

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*Customs and general Occupations of the Inhabitants of the Paramaribo. [From the Narrative of Baron Albert Von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty.]*

A wealthy inhabitant of Paramaribo generally employs his time in the following manner: He rises at six o'clock, and, to enjoy the pleasantness of the morning, takes his



his breakfast under his piazza, at which he is attended by a number of female negroes, and a boy who presents him with a segar-pipe; during this time he orders the domestic concerns for the day; then, putting on a light dress, he takes a walk by the side of the river, to see if there are any new vessels arrived, and to converse with their captains. About eight o'clock he returns home, and till ten employs himself in business, then takes a second breakfast, which consists of more solid articles than the first, and would be considered in Europe as a tolerably good dinner; after this he occasionally returns to business till about two o'clock, when he goes to a club, of which there are two principal ones; here he learns the news of the day, takes some refreshment, or cordials, and returns home at three to dinner, which is often in the society of his friends. Some have the same custom here as prevails in the south of Europe, of indulging themselves with a nap in the afternoon, but others rather prefer a walk. About six o'clock, after taking his tea, if he is not engaged in any other company, he again visits the club to play at cards or billiards, and about ten he returns home to his supper, and then to rest.

Several gentlemen who have a taste for music, hold a concert almost every week, to which they invite company. There is likewise a theatre here, and gentlemen, for their amusement, have given us several representations; amongst them were some very excellent performers.

Besides the balls given by the governor and general in honour of some particular days, there are

also subscription-balls, where the colour of the dresses cannot afford more variety than the different complexions of the company.

The inhabitants who are born here of European parents, or the creoles, shew, in their infancy, an early display of extraordinary talents; but they are like the fertile soil of the tropics, which, if not well cultivated, will soon be overspread with weeds. Some, who have the good fortune to obtain proper instructions, prove that they are capable of being brought up to any line of business. They possess a strong memory for learning languages, and they are all distinguished by the excellence of their hand-writing; fencing they learn well, as also the use of other arms, and they shew a great deal of address in all bodily exercises. The people of colour born in this colony possess much the same talents as those born of European parents, and are well made. The women are remarkable for their fine figure, beautiful eyes, and fine teeth; but their dark complexion admits not the rosy colour of the cheeks: the hair is crisped; but the mestizos, who are born of an European father and a mulatto woman, are a degree more remote from the negro; and these persons are often so fair as to be hardly distinguishable from the Europeans. The quaderoons are still a degree nearer the Europeans, all the distinctions between them are no longer perceptible, and the laws themselves give them the same rights as Europeans. They possess a great deal of vivacity in their temper, much natural wit, and, it is said, they are very constant in their affection. A curious custom  
1 prevails



prevails here among the free coloured women, who will sometimes challenge one another, when they are offended, before a tribunal of their own sex. They appoint a day, and fix a place, which is in general a handsome garden, where a large tent is erected, and in the evening is well lighted up. The lady who first gave the challenge is seated in the principal part of the tent, surrounded by her own slaves, and those of her friends, finely dressed. A circus of chairs is placed for the visitors. The lady (or to whom she gives the commission) sings a line containing part of her complaint, or some reflection upon her antagonist; and this is repeated in a chorus by the attending female slaves, and followed by other lines until it becomes a complete song, between the different parts of which there is a dance; and the negro females accompany the movements, and mark the time with fruit-shells strung on a string like beads. This method of treating the dispute gives at least, to the adversary, a fair opportunity of knowing what is spoken of her, and, of course enables her to answer it. The next week she invites the company, when it becomes her turn to expose the character of her antagonist; and this kind of alternate contention is sometimes carried on for several weeks, during which they are visited by some of the principal inhabitants, as the scene affords considerable entertainment. Sometimes, indeed, these females of colour will challenge a friend, in a frolic, to arrange such parties against one another, and a great deal of humour is then displayed, in which even the visitors are often

not spared; but, to prevent any disorder at such numerous meetings, some of the police-officers are always in attendance.

The free negroes are esteemed to be about equal in number at Paramaribo to the people of colour: they are handicrafts, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, &c. but they work extremely slow, and are very negligent, so that little dependence can be put in most of them. There is, however, a great difference between those who have been instructed in the Christian religion, by the Moravians and the others; and I have found by experience how much more their word may be relied on; but in general all the free negroes are reported to be very idle, and will only labour just for a present subsistence. The negro slaves often declare that they are better off than the free negroes. In the songs which the plantation negroes frequently sing there is one of a very lively tune, and is always accompanied with much laughter and mirth; the words are, mackarele Saneda, mackarele Monday, mackarele Tuesday, mackarele alleday, &c.; the meaning is, mackarel Sunday, mackarel Monday, mackarel Tuesday, mackarel every day, &c. Seeing the negroes so very merry when they were singing this song, I asked them the meaning of the words, when one of them answered, "Mastera, when we have good master, we find ourselves more happy than those free negroes are, and when we see one of them, we make him hear this, for they live upon nothing but mackarel, whilst we other negroes have plenty of different provisions on the plantations."



tions." Mackarel is a very cheap diet here; and that the plantation negroes have some reason for their exultation, I am inclined to think, as I have seen very few among the free negroes as strong and hearty in appearance as they are.

The custom which the free negroes have of following their funerals, gives me an opportunity of observing them collectively.\*

The number of slaves kept in the town are estimated, as I observed in one of my former letters, at eleven thousand: they are not only employed in the management of the house, but are also put out to different mechanics, to learn those occupations of which their master stands most in need. But there is one method here of employing the negroes, which should not be tolerated; some of the inhabitants, when they find a slave possessing sagacity, will make him a pedlar, or strolling trader, furnishing him with different articles, and leaving entirely the management of the business to him; but he is obliged to pay so much per week to his master, who cares not what means he employs to obtain it; now, when the man has been some weeks without selling enough for his regular payment, instances have occurred of his endeavouring to supply the deficiency by imposition: or even by theft, thinking

that even if he should be detected, his master would, from a regard to his own interest, screen him as much as possible from severe punishment.

The great vivacity in the temper of the negroes is never more displayed than in their Sunday amusements; you know the lively play which is performed in the south of Europe, where one party shews with his finger a certain number, to which the other is to add with his fingers a number, and quickly to answer how many the number is together, which is performed with a great deal of gesticulation; but the negroes here have still a more lively game; one of them makes, with his feet, all the extraordinary figures that are possible to be invented, and the other is to imitate them instantly, trying who can tire the other most. They play also with balls, but not in the European manner, by turns, but he is considered the best who can first catch the ball; and being all of them constantly employed together, you may judge how fatiguing this must be to the players. The negro girls, while they are washing the floors of the houses, are frequently singing, and beating time to their merry songs, with the cloth with which they are at work.

The creole-negroes, particularly the women, have in general a more

\* By the laws of Surinam, it is enacted, that if a master wishes to emancipate a negro, he must first prove how the negro is to gain his future living; or to give him a house with some land attached to it; besides which the master must give security to the value of three thousand florins, in case the negro should become so poor or infirm, or otherwise as to prove a burthen to the colony. It is observed, however, that the free negroes, whatever be their condition at first, decline too often in their condition, particularly their posterity; but some who merit to be excepted from this reproach, I know myself.



cheerful countenance than those brought from the coast of Africa, and though they cannot be compared to a beauty of a fair complexion, yet if a statue of a fine figured nymph executed in black marble can please you, then some of these sable females might likewise engage your admiration. There are here also some Indian slaves, but they are only allowed to be purchased when those Indian nations, who live on the territory of the colony, have been at war with some distant tribes, and have taken prisoners from them; the inhabitants of the colony who buy them, employ them only as hunters, or servants, as they are never used for tilling the ground, for though they are very active, yet they do not possess any remarkable bodily strength; and besides they are in their disposition rather of a melancholy turn. They sometimes feel an unusual eagerness to return to their own nation, but will not venture the passage, for fear they might fall into the hands of Indians, who do not belong to their own tribe, and thus become their slaves again, therefore they rather prefer to stay with their European masters; but then they soon fall into a decline; grief and stupor end their lives.

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*Arrawouke Indians of Surinam.*  
[From the same.]

The Indians who are mentioned in this letter all belong to the Arrawoukes nation, who are in every respect the best among the different tribes that have settled in this

part of Guiana. The Arrawoukes were never known to be guilty of the horrid custom of killing their prisoners and devouring them, as is related of the Caribs, with whom they were often in hostilities; and gentlemen who have had the best opportunities of getting information of the disposition and habits of these people, have assured me that they are not addicted to a crime which the Abbé Raynal has charged upon all the Indian nations, without any exception; the Arrawoukes cannot, without injustice, even be suspected of this, as they are far from a state of brutal savageness, and still further from a degenerated stage of civilization; they therefore are not so abominable as to be addicted to the most disgusting of all vices.

The greatest fault of the Arrawoukes seems to be an inordinate fondness for strong liquors, though they generally drink water, and use spirits only at public festivals; but when they come to Paramaribo, the greatest part of what they sell is exchanged for rum, in which they then indulge themselves, so far as to become completely intoxicated; but even then it happens that some among them are quite sober, and take charge of their inebriated brethren; so that it seems either there are some of them who never fall into this excess, or that they get drunk by turns. Notwithstanding the too great inclination for strong liquors, which the Arrawoukes have in common with all the other Indian nations, yet in other respects the comparison is much in their favour, as they possess more talents, and it is to be wished that more pains were



were taken for their civilization. The Moravians have lately engaged in this good work; but as I have not yet visited those parts of the country where these missionaries labour, I can give you no further account of them or their success; but I intend to visit them as soon as I can get an opportunity.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, Habits, Dress, and Language of the Catalonians. [From L'Aborde's View of Spain.]*

The Catalans are charged with asperity of character, roughness of expression, and vehemence of action. There are grounds for this charge; but if we inquire into the cause, and at the same time recollect the good qualities which atone for those defects, we shall perhaps be less disposed to blame them.

The Catalans, accustomed, under the kings of Aragon, to share the legislative power with the sovereign, to look upon their prince only as Count of Barcelona, and to pay no taxes but such as they chose to grant, considered themselves as all partaking of the supreme authority, and each in particular as a little sovereign. In those days they had ideas of independence which they long cherished, and which at length degenerated into a republican spirit. Hence the haughtiness peculiar to the inhabitants of this province, the authoritative tone, the repugnance to whatever has the slightest appearance of command in another, or even of subordination.

The Catalan tongue contributes to the roughness of expression

complained of; its pronunciation is hard, sharp, and dry, and it often utters the tenderest and most impassioned sentiment, without grace or delicacy.

Activity is the basis of the Catalan character; it is blunt in persons who have not received the polish of education. But we must do the Catalans justice: this propensity to motion, this natural vivacity, impelled them to great undertakings; it frequently rendered them victorious in the times of the counts of Barcelona and kings of Aragon; it led them into Greece, and gained them important conquests; it carried them to the island of Majorca, and there destroyed the empire of the Saracens, it established the dominion of the kingdom of the kings of Aragon in the island of Sardinia; it guided them on the seas, and carried them to every part of the new world; it opened the career of the sciences to them; it turned their genius to commerce, and expanded it in every branch; it developed, sustained, and increased their industry; it improved their agriculture; it was the grand spring of the establishment of their manufactures, and, in fine, of the opulence of their province.

The Catalans are indefatigable in their undertakings; they have a horror at idleness; no obstacle can deter them. The activity of their genius, and the ambition that attends it, lead them to every part of the world: there is not a town, not a port in Spain, India, or Spanish America, where Catalans are not to be found; they are to be met with in France, Italy, England, Germany, in all the ports of Europe, and throughout the colonies.



ies. They are valiant, and sometimes even rash; they are not to be terrified by the greatest dangers; in war they never fly, nor do they ever give up an enterprize. They, the Aragonese, and Galicians, are the best soldiers in Spain. Their bravery and firmness have been so often proved, that for ages past no doubt has ever been entertained of them; they have several times displayed them with the greatest energy, and in the remotest periods; and in the beginning of the eighteenth century they sustained the united efforts of the armies of France and Spain against Catalonia.

After what has been just said, it will be easily imagined that they have very violent passions: in fact, they can encounter any thing to satisfy them. The desire of wealth makes them industrious; emulation makes them active, leads them to every part of the world, and enables them to brave the perils of long voyages; and glory blinds them to every kind of danger. When they love, they love warmly; but their hatred is implacable, they have rarely sufficient strength of mind to stifle their resentment. But we are not, therefore, to imagine the Catalan disposed to mischief; he is not so naturally. He works himself into a rage, and is loud, but seldom commits acts of violence. In a political point of view the Catalan is restless and factious; he is for ever sighing for a liberty, or rather independence, which he has often attempted to acquire, and which has so frequently impelled him to take up arms. But, as devoted in his attachment as terrible in his hatred, he is ready to make every sacrifice for a prince

who knows how to gain his love. At the commencement of the war with France, Catalonia made the king an offer to defend him themselves against all the troops of the enemy. In the number of the volunteers there were thirty thousand monks or priests; this offer was not accepted, chiefly on account of the nature of the war, which was to be an offensive one, and required an army of regular troops. Catalonia, far from having suffered by the campaigns of which it was the theatre, grew rich by the sums expended in the province, and it is obvious that a war with France is as useful to it as one with England is disastrous.

The Catalans are charged with an eagerness for money which induces them to undergo any labour in the acquisition of it, and to take the greatest care to keep it. But the fact is, they spend as readily as they earn, and are capable of generosity, of which they gave a striking proof in the unhappy periods of the French revolution. A multitude of French people, men, women, and children, of all ranks, found help and consolation in this province. Reuss, Monblanc, Blanas, and the frontiers towards France, particularly distinguished themselves in that respect.

The inhabitants of Catalonia have a decided taste for the ceremonies of the church, for processions, public feasts, assemblies, balls, dances, and other meetings. The romerias are in great vogue; these are journeys on certain days to solitary chapels, and to hermitages, whither the people flock in crowds. The bull-feasts have scarcely found their way here.

The



The Catalan has a national pride peculiar to him: he sees nothing above himself. He looks down on other Spaniards, he even despises a part of the nation, and his hatred of the Castilian is beyond all expression. He does not love strangers; the French, with whom he has most occasion to communicate, he hates the most; the cause of which is very ancient; it takes its source in the old quarrels and frequent wars between the kings of France and those of Aragon; the wars of the last century increased it; Catalonia gave itself to France, and the Catalans can never forgive the French for giving it up to its old masters. The war of the succession at the beginning of the last century completed the animosity; the French sacked Catalonia, subdued the spirit of its inhabitants and compelled them to acknowledge the legitimate authority of their king. The facts are impressed on the minds of these people with indelible characters, and they retain in their hearts an invincible aversion to the nation that brought them into subjection.

The mantle and round hat, common in the other parts of Spain, are not worn in Catalonia; and the Mayo jacket is scarcely ever seen; a close coat, in the French fashion, is the usual dress in almost all conditions. The peasants who live in the mountains wear a double-breasted waistcoat, and over it a kind of wide great coat, which goes no lower than the knees; they call it a gambeto. There is besides these a variety of dresses, among the common people of both sexes, the details of which would be too long for insertion here.

The Catalans have a tongue peculiar to themselves; it is the ancient language of the provinces of the south of France, the inhabitants of which took Catalonia from the Moors, and, peopling it, introduced their laws, customs, and usages; and their patois, or dialect, called the Limousine tongue, has continued down to our days in Gascony, Languedoc, and Provence; where it has undergone alterations more or less remarkable, occasioned by the mixture of the modern French; it has remained purer in Catalonia and Roussillon, but with a mixture of Castilian in the former of these two provinces. The Catalan tongue has lost that agreeable sweetness which formerly characterized it, and which is better preserved in the kingdom of Valencia; it has taken, in the mouth of the Catalan, hard terminations and a rough and disagreeable pronunciation: it has likewise at present a great resemblance to the modern French tongue, in the construction and turn of expression, in the grammar rules, and in the sameness of a great many of its words, which differ from the French only in the termination. It is spoken throughout Catalonia with considerable variation, according to the different districts; with greater purity in the mountains, and more altered in large towns. The national prejudice of the Catalan makes him prefer his language to that of the Spaniards, the Castilian is therefore little in use in Catalonia, and when it is heard there, it is disfigured and scarcely to be known in consequence of the mixture of Catalan phrases and turns.

*Character,*



*Character, Manners, Customs,  
and Habits of the Estramadurans.* [From the same.]

The inhabitants of Estramadura live in a country which seems to be insulated from every other, and where opportunities of communicating with the different parts of the Spanish monarchy are not frequent. Hence this province appears to be concentrated in itself, and to think only of its own existence. The people of it neither know the comforts or the conveniences of life, nor the means of procuring them. Little habituated to the world, they dread mixing with it, and avoid society. Hence they appear taciturn, and are, perhaps, the gravest of all the Spaniards. They fear to be accosted by strangers, shun their company, and take a pleasure in confining themselves, all their lives, to their own province. A certain distaste for employment, and the want of knowledge, keep them from work, and make them constantly idle.

They possess, in other respects, excellent qualities; they are frank, sincere, full of honour and probity, slow in planning enterprizes, but firm in their projects, and consistent in their notions. They have always been excellent soldiers; they are strong, vigorous, and robust, supporting, without murmuring, the fatigues and dangers of war; they have always displayed an astonishing courage; they prefer the cavalry to the infantry.

This province has produced several great captains, who did honour to their country by brilliant exploits. It gave birth to the famous Garcias de Paredes, and to

several of the conquerors of America, Fernando Cortez, Francisco Pizarro, the Marquis del Valle de Goanaca, and some other of their companions in arms.

The labourers or workmen of this province are likewise accused of an excessive sloth. The charge appears to be true; but they ought to be treated with indulgence, when it is known that they are necessarily led into the habits of idleness, being, in spite of themselves, without work, without resource for two thirds of the year, and without any means of industry to support their existence. Being paid for their work a very moderate price, living in a country where commodities are very dear, and out of their reach, without hope of ameliorating their condition or their lot, they sink into listlessness. If they are observed when they are employed, they will be found alert, indefatigable, working without relaxation at noon-day, in a burning climate, and under a scorching sun.

No kind of dissipation or pleasures are known in Estramadura; there is no variety; every thing is regular, and melancholy. Persons of high birth, and those who have fortune, or are at their ease, seldom associate, and that but accidentally.

It is still worse with the common people; they are so poor that they are constantly experiencing deprivations of every kind, and often want the necessaries of life, without looking forward to any favourable change of this pitiable condition. This excess of poverty, which spreads from family to family, oppresses the soul, and enervates



vates the body. What a situation to seek for pleasure, and to be able to give oneself up to the gaiety which attends it!

We find in this province a singular example of what may be called a democratic constitution, which excludes all superiority of men over one another. The inhabitants of the little town of Casar de Cáceres, two leagues from Cáceres, who are in number about 5000 persons, consider themselves, among each other, *all equal* in rank, quality, and condition; they take the greatest care to prevent this equality ever being altered by any exterior sign of honours or distinction. In short, they have carried their vigilance in this respect so far, that, some years ago, they had an inscription, which had been placed over the grave of one of their fellow-citizens, removed, though he was generally esteemed and regretted.

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*Manners, Habits, Customs, Dress, and Language of the Andalusians. [From the same.]*

The Andalusians are the Gascons of Spain; they have neither the reserve of the Castilians, nor the cold haughtiness of the Aragonese, nor the petulance of the Biscayans, nor the roughness of the Catalonians, nor the nullity of the Valencians; they speak a great deal, and particularly of themselves, of their merit, their wealth, or of the valuable or pleasing things which they possess. They have a natural propensity to boasting; their conversation is full of it, the turn of their phrases, their

air, their gestures, their customs, carry the stamp of it.

But these qualities are not equally conspicuous in every part of Andalusia; they are carried to the highest pitch in the kingdom of Seville; and higher nearer the sea than in the interior of the country. They are stronger, though less evident, in the kingdom of Grenada, and become considerably weaker as we go farther into the kingdoms of Cordova and Jaen.

Their country is a country of boasters, who distinguish themselves from others by their dress; who speak in a high and menacing tone; who bully when they are feared; who fawn when they fail to inspire terror; who are always dangerous when they can strike without risk: in a word, of that kind of coxcombs, known by the appellation of *majos*.

Is is likewise the country of *majas*, or of women, who ought not, from the name, to be confounded with those beings that have been just mentioned; and who are as engaging as the *majos* are repulsive. A free air, an easy turn, a noble mien, a lively, attracting, animated eye, an arch and pleasing smile, a slender shape, neatness about the feet, a light and elegant dress, various graces, an harmonious voice, a natural softness, and expressive gestures, are the attributes of these women, as dangerous as they are lovely. Skilled in the art of seducing, they are acquainted with all the means of gaining their aim; they use it with address, and in general successfully; free in their expressions, and freer still in their behaviour, they allure, they attack, they in-



vite, and it is very difficult to resist them.

Andalusia was formerly the refuge of the Gitanos, that dangerous and perfidious race, irreligious and dishonest vagabonds, without either faith or law, who were the curse of Spain, the disgrace of the nation which suffered them, the terror of the roads and of the country, and whom the government of Spain have at last proscribed by severe laws. They were countenanced by the Andalusian nobility, who were in their turn protected by them; these noblemen furnished them with asylums, where they could secret themselves with their booty from the pursuit of justice; but, in turn, they spared in their incursions their estates, property, persons, servants, and farmers; they were the agents of their vengeance, and afforded them as many satellites as there were Gitanos.

The Andalusians were formerly celebrated among the Romans for their dexterity; they have often shone upon the theatres of Rome; the young female Andalusians have very frequently attracted there the applause of the multitude by their wanton dances, have captivated the hearts of consuls, tribunes, prætors, senators, over whom they exercised the most absolute dominion. The modern Andalusian women are not degenerated; they are now the most agreeable and attractive dancers in Spain. They are in general well made, their complexion is delicate, their figure slender, their turn of countenance arch, their eyes black, lively, and full of fire; they are affected but graceful. Those of the kingdom of Granada are the best made; and

of those, the women of Malaga have the superiority.

They smoke more in Andalusia than in any country in Spain; the men have a strong passion for it, and many of the women indulge in it sometimes.

In the kingdom of Granada the men think little of their excellent wines, they prefer the *mistela* and the *rosolis*, of which they drink to excess; yet it does not appear that they ever suffer any inconvenience from it.

In Andalusia there are three *maestranzas*, or associations of the nobility, the principal end of which appears to be, that of keeping up the ancient spirit of chivalry, but the true motive of which is a combination of pride and the love of pleasure. There is one of them at Granada, one at Seville, and one at Ronda, in the kingdom of Seville.

Andalusia has no language peculiar to itself. The people speak Castilian, but it is altered, corrupted, and very much disfigured by a prodigious mixture of Arabian words; it is still more so by a vicious pronunciation, which renders the language difficult to be understood; it is more guttural than in the other parts of Spain. It is also more full and thick; a Castilian often finds it difficult to understand an Andalusian, though he speaks the same language as himself.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Murcians. [From the same.]*

The Murcian scarcely ever goes out of the town which gave him birth;



birth; he is not to be seen at courts or in camps, in courts of justice, universities, or commercial towns; he lives with apathy, a life of sloth and indifference. He eats, drinks, sleeps, counts his beads, and drags his cloak to a place where he sits himself down to think of nothing. He does not even suspect that there is a more agreeable life than that which he now leads; that there is a greater extent of knowledge than that which he possesses; that there are abodes happier than that which he inhabits; nay, he does not think that there exist men more useful than himself. We may consequently read the history of Spain from one end to the other, without finding any names of Murcians who have distinguished themselves in arms, or in the arts and sciences. The common people participate this indolence; a countryman or a porter employed to carry ever so light a load, if it even weighed no more than twenty-five pounds, would lay it on an ass, and refuse to carry it himself.

Ignorance and sloth render the manners of this town disagreeable: prejudices are carried to the greatest height, and the inhabitants are extremely litigious. Each pries into the actions of his neighbour, in order to censure his conduct, whence arises a general distrust; they fear and avoid one another; every one lives by himself and to himself, away from his relations, without friends or connections: this detached life fomented suspicion, sours the temper, and produces savage habits: dissention

makes its way into families, who seldom if ever assemble together. Through curiosity to know foreigners and travellers, the Murcian seeks them, but only to avoid them afterwards with pointed affectation. Thus the society here takes a complexion of that savageness with which the Murcians unaptly reproach their predecessors the Moors.

This account is not overcharged; it is confirmed by the testimony of Cardinal Belluga, who long occupied the see of this city, and who was distinguished for his learning and virtue; he justly estimated the character of the Murcians; he said, and all Murcia knows it, *El cielo y el suelo buenos, el entre suola malo*; the sky and the ground are good, it is what is between them that is bad\*. An exception should be made in favour of the Murcian women; they are mild and affable, and would be fond of society, but their husbands allow them very little liberty, and are always ready to find fault with their conduct, however innocent.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Biscayans. [From the same.]*

There is an opinion pretty generally received, that the Biscayans and Irish sprang from one origin. Some historians assert that about two hundred years before the Christian æra, a colony of Biscayans sailed to Hibernia, landed,

\* The point of this saying is lost in English, but from the correspondence of customs is preserved in French; *Le ciel et le sol sont bons, l'entresol mauvais.*



took possession of it, and established themselves there. Yet there is a tradition of long standing in Scotland, and generally credited at present in England, that the Irish are descended from the Caledonians. It is easy to reconcile the two opinions. The Caledonians may have subjected or peopled Ireland in very remote times, and the Biscayans may have established themselves there at a later period.

The Biscayans consider themselves as the descendants of the ancient Cantabri, who were a rustic people, high spirited, brave, intrepid, passionately fond of independence, who would sacrifice their lives, the lives of their wives and of their children, to their love of liberty; who resisted for a length of time the forces of the republic of Rome, who defeated its armies, who were subjugated without being subdued; in short, who were the last people of Spain that yielded to its different conquerors.

The Cantabri are described in history as an active and robust people, having a ferocious temper, and extraordinary customs; unacquainted with money, endowing the women whom they married, very constant and firm, resisting obstacles, facing every kind of danger, and easily supporting fatigue and labour.

The modern Biscayans are represented as still preserving strongly-marked traces of the character of their ancestors, but considerably softened by civilization. They are equally robust and strong, brave and active. Very light in running, they climb the mountains with the greatest

facility. They are, in the main, high-minded, proud, and independent; they are said to be very self-conceited, obstinate, easily made angry, very irritable and impatient.

These defects are compensated by several good qualities: they are in general laborious, industrious, active, ingenious, studious, faithful to their word, humane, hospitable, noble in their proceedings, gay, lively, and sociable.

The inhabitants of Alava in general devote themselves to agriculture; those of Biscay and Guipuscoa are as much merchants as farmers; they are considered as the best sailors in Spain. We have already noticed their expedition to Ireland in remote times. It is said, that with a fleet composed of boats made of the trunks of trees, hollowed and covered with skins, they then conquered that country: which is not very credible. After that period they carried their commerce into very distant countries; at the end of the fourteenth century, they had factories, and a consul at Azoff, at the mouth of the Tenais, on the confines of Europe and Asia.

The inhabitants of the province of Biscay are generally of the common stature; they have a fresh colour, an animated, lively, and cheerful face, and an open countenance. They live to a good old age, to which the tranquil and healthy life they lead a great deal contributes. Their domestic happiness too is founded upon a solid basis, the social virtues; the women appear to be good, faithful, and attentive to their domestic concerns; the children obedient and respectful. Their ideas rarely extend



tend beyond the narrow circle of their duties, as their sight extends no further than the enclosure of their mountains: they are perhaps right in not attempting to pass either the one or the other.

The Biscayans are not reputed to have the sobriety of the Spaniards in general; it is said of them, that they consume the produce of their wine in buying foreign wines; they eat and drink a great deal, but are seldom intoxicated. The idea of a nobility descending to all the natives of Biscay, has a striking influence on the character of the people of the three cantons; it preserves in their houses a principle of dignity, which, even in the lowest offices, gives them a noble mein and an elevation of soul.

The wives of the ancient Cantabri were as courageous as their husbands; they did not carry arms, or fight, but they attended on them in battle, supported their courage, and provoked their vengeance. Animated by an heroic pride, they resolved to be free, and spurned every idea to the contrary, preferring death to servitude. They sacrificed all that was dear to them to their independence. Carrying always a dagger about them, they were often seen, during the wars of the Romans against the Cantabri, to plunge it in the breasts of the children whom they suckled, at the moment they were about to fall into the power of their enemies, preferring the grief of losing them, to that of seeing them in slavery.

The Biscayan women are still high-minded, courageous, and determined, and would perhaps dis-

play the same energy, if there were occasion for it. Their features are in general regular, and their complexion fresh, brown, yet ruddy, bespeaks vigour and health: a bold countenance, a lively eye, a confident look, and a certain haughty air, mark in them the sentiment of independence which has reigned in this province.

The Cantabrian women used to carry the heaviest burthens; they cultivated the lands, ploughed the fields, and did every kind of work; they got up soon after their lying-in, and nursed their husbands, who went to bed in their stead, a custom which was likewise common among the inhabitants of Navarre, and for which it is impossible to give any reason.

The Biscayan females of the present day have not degenerated. They work in the field as well as the men, and more diligently: at the sea-ports they are more employed than the men; they manage the boats, and likewise act as porters. Bilbao particularly is the place to judge of them. Without shoes or stockings, with a short petticoat, their arms naked to the shoulders, and displaying vigorous muscles, they are not dismayed with the heaviest burdens; it often requires the assistance of two stout men to help up the load, and, while the stranger is terrified to look on, they run off with it as if it were nothing. After working in this manner all day, they shew no signs of fatigue at night; they often return home, several of them together, holding hands, dancing to a tambourine. They are sometimes seen working on the sides of mountains, climbing rapidly over steep



rocks, running along them, and coming down with incredible boldness.

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*Character of the Asturians.*

[*From the same.*]

A strong attachment to their country, an unshaken fidelity to their sovereign, a passive obedience to the laws, an ardent zeal for religion, and a probity, proof against all temptations, are the hereditary features of the character of the Asturians, to which we may add boldness and courage. They have no vivacity in their manners; they may be accused, and they are, of dullness; and yet the Asturias have given birth to distinguished men of every kind. The Asturian's probity may be considered as proverbial; he is even disinterested, taking this word in its strictest sense. Theft is unknown amongst these honest mountaineers, and with regard to what is called dissipation, amusement, or pleasure, their simple manners differ from those of the other Spaniards. They do not know what is every where else called the highest degree of civilization; they are sheltered from it behind their rocks, where, happy and peaceful, they confine themselves to their duties, and in general live to a good old age, because their constitution is healthy and robust.

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*Character, Manners, Genius, and Language of the Galicians.*

[*From the same.*]

The Callaici were the oldest inhabitants of Galicia. Those people

employed themselves in nothing but war and hunting; and such as were not strong enough for that kind of life, occupied themselves in fishing. Their wives ploughed the land, sowed, gathered the harvest, and took care of their families. When they lay in, their husbands took to their beds in their stead; a custom as ridiculous as absurd.

The modern Galicians do not preserve the wildness of those of those primitive natives, but merely a distaste to what is called in general civilization. We find in their mountains only simple and pure manners, a quiet and hospitable people, without any idea of luxury.

The Galicians are large, strong, very muscular, and robust; they easily support fatigue. The women are fair, tolerably handsome, with black hair and eyes, fine teeth, and regular but not very expressive features. The men, women, and children, go barefoot. As in Biscay and the Asturias, this kingdom is entirely composed of the *Christianos viejos* (old Christians), who have never intermarried with converted Jews or Moors.

The Galicians, like the Asturians, very frequently quit their fire-sides, to seek at a distance the means of fortune, or to acquire a greater degree of ease; they are attached to religion, and faithful to the king. Serious, grave, free, sober, and prudent, they lead a melancholy life, and keep little company. In other respects they distinguish themselves by their probity and courage.

The Galicians furnish a great number



number of soldiers for the army. Every year, in the month of October, the militia is assembled, and the young men are taken for it from the age of fifteen years. The peasants are seen running with pleasure to the place of assembling, delighted to see themselves armed, and treated as *cavalleros*, *nobles soldados del rei*. They are naturally disposed to arms; the inhabitants of the county of Montforte are remarked for this, as well as those of Lemos, which is watered by the little river Cabe, and the capital town of which is situated upon a steep and lofty mountain. This town is reputed to have been founded by emigrant Greeks; and what supports this opinion is the vivacity, wit, and bravery, of the inhabitants of this canton.

The Galicians were the first poets of Spain. Before the descent of the Romans, they composed and sung verses, some traditions of which remain in their ancient language, yet they made little progress in this art.

The present language of Galicia is a mixture of the ancient Castilian, of the time of Alphonso the Wise, and of Portuguese, with several expressions which it has retained of the ancient Roman language.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, Habits, Dress, and Language of the Old Castilians. [From the same.]*

It is the remark of an acute writer, that the Old Castilians are gloomy and taciturn, and bear in their swarthy aspect the expression

of dejection and poverty. It must be acknowledged they have little relish for the pleasures of society; they are serious, grave, reserved, and somewhat stately, and in their movements are perhaps more solemn and slow than any other people in Spain; but it must be admitted also, that their morals are incorrupt and ingenuous; that they are upright in conduct, strangers in artifice, and unpractised in cunning or duplicity; probity is their birthright; they are naturally obliging; they are also disinterested, and so perfectly free from affectation that they may justly be called the honest people of Spain. Placed in one of the poorest provinces of the Spanish empire, without wealth, and without the means to obtain it, their energy is constantly repressed by poverty, their industry languishes from discouragement, and whilst they are stigmatized with apathy and sloth, they are in reality oppressed with accumulated difficulties, and left by an unfortunate destiny, to inactivity and despondence. In general they are averse to conversation, they have little intercourse with one another, and still less with strangers; their few amusements are of the same sombre cast; subjected to an imperious etiquette, equally circumscribed, constrained, and monotonous, they afford no variety, and inspire no gaiety, but are uniformly characterized by circumspection, gloom and solemnity; different shades of character are however often perceptible in this province. The inhabitants of the valley of Mena, in the country of Burgos, who believe themselves descended from the ancient Cantabres, still retain a large portion of their



their constitutional courage and vivacity. The habits and manners of the mountaineers of Burgos correspond with those of the Biscayans.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, Habits, Dress, and Language of the New Castilians. [From the same.]*

It might naturally be expected, that the influence of the court should operate on the manners of New Castile, or at least on such parts of it as are placed in its vicinity. It has been already observed, that Madrid is isolated from New Castile, the capital is always elevated above the province. On leaving its walls you are instantly transported from a seat of luxury to a scene of indigence; and instead of activity, industry, and wealth, are presented with a dreary picture of sadness, sloth, and beggary.

The inhabitant of New Castile, though marked by a lofty aspect, is not proud, and with the expression of extreme gravity, is, in reality, prone to excessive mirth. With superior capacities for reflection, he thinks much but demonstrates little, and acts less; he is rather slow in yielding his confidence, but, when he trusts at all, it is with his whole heart and soul; he is neither prompt in enterprize, nor disposed to acquire the regular habits of industry. There are, perhaps, not many active occupations he is likely to pursue with success; his aptitudes are to science, particularly to such abstruser branches as are connected with speculation and research; his conceptions are strong and vigorous; his judgment solid; his imagination vivid and viva-

cious; he devotes himself completely to the objects of his pursuit, but he is seldom capable of embracing more than one at the same moment; his genius only requires culture and encouragement; but he possesses not the power to obtain knowledge, and the government fails to afford him the means of instruction.

With acute and vivid feelings he is more reflective than the native of Catalonia or Aragon; he is never precipitate; he weighs, he deliberates, and is slow in forming his decision; and, consequently, is not easily induced to leave his own sphere.

His vivacity belongs to the mind; it impels not to activity or to personal exertions. Hence his apparent sloth, and slowness, so frequently cited with reproach; on examination it will, however, appear, that his failings have originated rather in his situation than his character. It should be remembered, that the Castilian was formerly devoted to the art of war, and taught to despise the occupations of agriculture and science, as inferior and ignoble objects. This prejudice has been transmitted from his ancestors, and is perpetuated by indigence and ignorance. Fortune places a barrier to his progress in science. The same adverse circumstances impede him in agriculture and the arts; he beholds a fertile soil; but he commands no ports; no marts to remunerate the care and toil of assiduous cultivation.

The New Castilian possesses qualities of genuine excellence; he is honourable and humane, sober and temperate, and revolts from every species of falsehood or duplicity. In his temper he is more docile



docile than the native of Old Castile, who pertinaciously retains the inflexibility of his ancestors, whilst the other readily assimilates with the character of the neighbouring provinces. In general the observer may trace in him a complexional resemblance to the country he approximates; he is most civilized in the environs of Madrid; most useful in the borders of Andalusia; most active and industrious on the confines of the kingdom of Valencia; most arrogant and rude on the frontiers of Aragon and the Sierra de Cuenca; most indolent in the neighboured of Estramadura, whilst generosity, nobleness, and benevolence, are the bonds that unite him to Old Castile. In particular we should select for praise the inhabitants of Alcarria, distinguished by their frankness and simplicity; their cheerful love of labour; their social affections, and ready hospitality.

In the course of several centuries the character of the Castilian has scarcely undergone any change. From the era of 1230 it has been fully developed; the principles of magnanimity, generosity, fidelity, valour, and integrity, which then entered into its constitution, are still apparent in all the revolutions which have convulsed the country. The Castilian has still preserved that decorous composed gravity, that calm reflective prudence, that fortitud in adversity, which characterized him in the fifteenth century.

The Catalonian hates the Castilian, who requites the sentiment with detestation and contempt. The loyal Castilian burns with indignation against the revolts so fre-

quent in Catalonia, and stigmatizes its native by the name of rebel.

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*Character, Manners, and Customs of La Mancha. [From the same.]*

The manners of this province differ little from those of Castile. The people are more grave and solemn in their deportment, and more attached to ancient customs, etiquette, and old fashioned ceremony, and their constitutions are more robust and fitter for labour; their temper in general is mild and peaceable, and they are truly good-humoured. Persons in the higher ranks pass their lives in ease and apathy; on the other hand, the common people are laborious and frugal; and both orders take no pleasure in any sort of dissipation, or even of diversion. Every thing is grave and formal.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, Dress, and Language of the Aragonese. [From the same.]*

The Aragonese, proud and serious, speaks little, and defends his opinion with firmness. He extols his country above all others; nor does he spare hyberbole in boasting of its beauties and advantages; and the least contradiction irritates him. He is blind to its faults, and to those of his countrymen; he has a natural asperity in his voice and manners; and his address consequently is not prepossessing. His haughtiness, his dry reception, his serious air, cold manners, and abrupt



rupt tone, have something very repulsive to those who do not know him. This is what he is charged with; but truth obliges us to observe, that these defects are fully compensated by truly estimable qualities.

If the Aragonese are cold and serious, they are considerate, prudent, possessed of solid judgment and good sense. Their prepossessions in favour of their country do not blind them to the advantages possessed by others; they know them, and readily pay respect to the merit of foreigners. If they are proud, they are likewise civil; their reception of strangers, although cold and serious, is perhaps more sincere than the politeness met with in other provinces. They have a lively imagination, and quick conception. They are skilful courtiers without falsehood, courageous without ostentation, and brave to rashness: their soldiers have always distinguished themselves in the Spanish army, and the province has produced many excellent commanders. Their character is naturally decided, firm, and immovable: they are haughty, daring, and ambitious, to which they often add indocility; and they never yield when it is necessary to fight for the defence of their privilege and their laws; this has often given rise to the reatest troubles.

This character of the Aragonese influences their habits and customs. They have always an air of reserve and ceremony, which gives a gloomy appearance even to their amusements. Every thing among them is done by rule and compass; every thing influenced by ancient usages; and the little they have

copied from their neighbours is confounded with their old habits.

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*Character, Manners, Habits, and Customs of the Valencians.*  
[From the same.]

Valencia, take it altogether, is an agreeable town, inhabited by an opulent nobility, a great number of rich merchants, an active and industrious people, and a wealthy clergy; it has play-houses, and other places of resort; a taste for pleasure is manifested every where; the streets are clean, the houses agreeable, and we meet with smiling faces; all is gaiety, pleasures are multiplied, and feast succeeds feast: we scarcely believe that we are in Spain, on finding ourselves in the midst of an airy, lively people, passionately fond of singing and dancing, of all that can amuse them, and who outwardly appear warm and cordial.

The Valencians are described as light, inconstant, and only sociable for the sake of pleasure, not associating through affection. This is the picture drawn of them throughout Spain, the picture given by their own authors: "The agreeable town of Valencia," says Gracian, "noble, handsome and gay, replete with all that is un-substantial." Murillo has painted the Valencians as "light both in mind and body." It is even become a proverb among the Spaniards, who say, in speaking of Valencia,

La carne es yerva, la yerva agua,  
Los hombres mugeres, las mugeres nada:

that



that is, the meat is grass, the grass water, the men are women, the women nothing. But they have been judged too harshly; the contrast of their manners with that of the rest of Spain, of their lively disposition, ever ready for pleasure, with Spanish gravity and reserve, have been the grounds of this opinion.

It is true that the Valencians have a great degree of levity, a fickleness of disposition, and a gaiety in their manners; that they are swayed by the love of pleasure; that they are fond of singing, dancing, banquetting, and all kinds of feasting; that these are perpetually running in their head, at work or at prayers, abroad or at home, in the streets or in company; the very festivals of the church become with them objects of recreation; but, notwithstanding all this, they can be serious when circumstances require it; they are not the less active in commerce, the less industrious in the arts, the less assiduous in agriculture, or the less profound in the sciences; Valencia can adduce scholars, literary men, artists, and able merchants enough to overturn the imputation of frivolity, which the imposition of appearances only could have given rise to.

The women are still less deserving of reproach, they are mild and amiable, and sometimes show more courage and energy than the men.

On juster grounds are the nobility of Valencia charged with an excessive pride, which the prejudices of an erroneous education keep up. They are, by themselves, divided into three classes, blue blood, red blood, and yellow blood. Blue blood is confined to

families who have been made grantees, and to some other houses thought entitled to it. Red blood comprehends families of great antiquity, and the old titles of Castile and Arragon. Yellow blood comprehends the modern titles of Castile, and families, the date of whose nobility extends no farther back than two centuries. This division generates envy in the second class against the first, and in the third against the two others, so that no attachment takes place except among the nobles of the same class.

The tradesman of Valencia loves pleasure and good living; so would the lowest class of people if they had the means of gratification. These appear gentle, but are charged with concealing their hatred: they were formerly accused of making frequent use of the dagger, and it has been even said that there were a great number of professed assassins for hire in Valencia. One shudders in passing through the streets, particularly those near the Mercado-square, at the sight of crosses on the walls with inscriptions containing the names of persons assassinated near the spot. We must, however, do justice to the modern Valencians: they are more civilized; there are no assassins for hire among them; the dagger is no longer used; and murders are much less frequent, though they are still heard of now and then.

The Valencian women are naturally gentle, but the ascendancy they have acquired over the men renders them at times imperious; they know their superiority, and some of them abuse it. The more active and industrious the men of the middle classes are, the more  
lazy



lazy are the women of every class, the more do they fly from every kind of occupation. The women of the lowest class work against their inclination to gain their living; but, the moment they can do without working, they give themselves up to sloth, till necessity compels them to work again: those of a higher class never think of work at all, not even of such as belong to the sex, or of reading: this indolence is the fault of their parents, who accustom them to idleness from their infancy.

However, in consequence of the mutability of disposition peculiar to the country they live in, the Valencian women are always in motion; they walk about the streets, go from shop to shop without buying, and frequently into the churches; the festivals, and the variety of appointed times and occasions for prayer afford them excuses for their trips. They have a singular predilection for St. Catherine-square, which is a place for the men to meet in; they never go abroad without passing through it, if it be ever so much out of their way. If a man were to remain a whole day in the square, he would see three-fourths of the women of Valencia go through it twice or thrice.

The Valencians are among the most superstitious people in Spain: they mix religious works with profane customs, and think by exterior observances, which have nothing to do with the worship due to the Divinity, to obtain pardon for their sins. They have particularly great confidence in the saints to whom they attribute the power of protecting from accidents and diseases. St. Roche protects against

the plague, St. Anthony against fire, St. Barbara against lightning; St. Casalida cures the loss of blood, St. Appollonia the tooth-ach, St. Augusta the dropsy; St. Raymond has the care of pregnant women, St. Lazarus of lying-in women, and St. Nicholas of marriageable girls. Every waggoner carries about him the image of a saint to whom he expresses his gratitude if his journey be fortunate; but should any mishap overtake him on the road, woe be to his protector! he tramples him under foot, loads him with abuse, and sends him *al Demonio, santa Barbara! a los Diabolos, S. Francisco! al inferno nostra senora del Carmen!* There are several other superstitions, but we shall only notice that called the *mal de ojos, fascination*: the Valencian women secure themselves from it by little ivory hands, moles' feet or scarlet tufts, and likewise tie them about their children's necks.

Though the Valencians, in general, are rich, they do not know how to make life agreeable: each class of nobility, as we have said, live among themselves; they have a great many useful servants. They are pillaged by attorneys and advocates, whom they cannot do without; drained of their money by priests, convents, churches, and saint days, and ruined in their income by the excessive luxury of the women; so that at the end of the year happy is he who is not in debt. Sometimes they give entertainments in which gallantry and magnificence unite; these, however, rarely take place but on two occasions, where a nobleman marries, or when it comes to his turn to take the lieutenancy of the *maestranza*: in the latter case, tournaments,



tournaments, balls, and refreshments thrice a year create a great expense, but nothing equal to that incurred by the old French lords in the feasts they gave.

The merchants are not surrounded by those *apoderados*, those lawyers and agents who prey upon the nobility: they transact their own business, and of course know better how to turn their wealth to account.

The tradesmen would all be in easy circumstances if they knew how to make a better use of their business; but their gains are squandered in expenses for the table and in gaming; in gifts to monks, convents, chapels; in payments to pious societies, in illuminations of altars, and in alms to sturdy beggars, by which a great many persons who would rather live by begging than by honest labour are supported in idleness and vice, and consequently it is impossible to go into the streets, particularly in the night, without being assailed by a crowd of those wretches.

Valencia, in spite of its opulence, of the taste of its inhabitants for pleasure, and of their natural affability, is far from being an amusing town. It is difficult to gain admission into private houses; and, without great intimacy, no one sees the ladies but from twelve at noon to one o'clock. There are no coffee-houses; some out of the way places, called *botellerias*, supply their place, but are not used for sociable meetings. The Valencians seldom give dinners. The nobility meet generally in large and boisterous parties, in which they do not converse but play, an amusement of which the women are passionately fond. In

these assemblies strangers are admitted without much difficulty; the party meet because it is necessary, and separate with indifference, going away with minds as vacant as they came. The second-rate societies are much less numerous, but are perhaps more amusing: they often make parties to go and dine at Grao, or other adjacent places, and spend the time agreeably enough.

There was formerly a play-house at Valencia said to have been very handsome. An archbishop of the town, through a mistaken zeal, caused it to be demolished. After the death of that prelate, a temporary one was erected, decorated simply but with taste. There are plays in it every night, and the prices of admission are moderate.

The women of every class carry the luxury of dress to the highest pitch: those of the first and second never wear Spanish clothes but when they go out on foot or to church; at home, in visiting, in parties, at balls, or plays, in carriages, or on the promenade, they dress in the French fashion. Their stuffs are handsome and choice; they are elegantly made up, and arranged with taste: they come from France. In their head-dresses they wear flowers and feathers, and they are very attentive to their shoes and stockings. With all this richness of dress, their earrings and other trinkets are of false stones: there are very few who wear diamonds.

The women are not more elegant than the men are simple and modest in their dress. The nobility find the uniform of the *maestranza* very economical, as it exempts them from following the fashions.

The



The same luxury appears in the carriages. There is a great number of coaches, and many of them very elegant. The physicians have a peculiar kind of carriage of a ridiculous appearance.

Luxury, however, does not extend to the interior of the houses: the furniture is simple; tapestry and carpets are very rare. We see none of those glasses or clocks, none of those diversified pieces of furniture which embellish our apartments: no elegant chimneys, girandoles, chandeliers, bronzes, and china ornaments; the walls are bare, or at most, lightly painted with some festoons; the floors are matted; the chairs are straw-bottomed; and their large lustres, which constitute the principal ornaments of their rooms, are of white glass.

The women are tolerably handsome; their persons, which are above the middle size, are slim and light: they have large fine eyes, and a whiter skin than is commonly met with in Spain.

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*Character, Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Spaniards in general. [From the same.]*

The Spaniards are usually represented as lean, dry, meagre, and of a yellow and swarthy complexion. They are not indeed of the gross habit usually observed in the inhabitants of the north; but their thinness is neither excessive nor disagreeable; it is suitable to their stature. Their complexion is swarthy in some provinces; those, for instance, of the south; it is so also, but in a less degree, in the Castiles, though

a shade brighter in New than in Old Castile. It inclines to yellow or olive in the kingdom of Murcia, but white skins are still very common in Spain, especially amongst women and children.

The general appearance of the Spaniards is usually very good; the shape delicate, the head beautiful, the countenance intelligent; their eyes are quick and animated, their features regular, their teeth even.

The Castilians appear delicate, but they are strong. The Galicians are large, nervous, robust, and able to endure fatigue. The inhabitants of Estramadura are strong, stout, and well made, but more swarthy than any other Spaniards. The Andalusians are light, slender, and perfectly well proportioned. The Murcians are gloomy, indolent, and heavy; their complexion is pale, and often almost lead-coloured. The Valencians are delicate, slight, and effeminate; but intelligent and active in labour. The Catalans are nervous, strong, active, intelligent, indefatigable, and above the middling stature. The Aragonese are tall and well made; as robust, but less active than the Catalans. The Biscayans are strong, vigorous, agile, and gay; their complexion is fine, their expression quick, animated, laughing and open; the Roman historians describe them as brave, robust, endowed with constancy and a firmness not to be shaken; fierce in their disposition, singular in their customs; always armed with daggers, and ready to give themselves death rather than suffer themselves to be subjugated or governed by force; roused to opposition by obstacles, and patient of



of labours and fatigue. In fact the Calabrians were the Spanish people who longest resisted the arms of the Roman republic.

The Spanish women here deserve a separate article; compared with the men, they seem to form a different nation.

The females of Spain are naturally beautiful, and owe nothing to art. The greater part are brown; the few that are fair are chiefly to be found in Biscay. They are in general well proportioned, with a slender and delicate shape, small feet, well-shaped legs, a face of a fine oval, black or rich brown hair, a mouth neither large nor small, but agreeable, red lips; white and well-set teeth, which they do not long preserve, however, owing to the little care they take of them. They have large and open eyes, usually black or dark hazel, delicate and regular features, a peculiar suppleness, and a charming natural grace in their motions, with a pleasing and expressive gesture. Their countenances are open, and full of truth and intelligence; their look is gentle, animated, expressive; their smile agreeable; they are naturally pale, but this paleness seems to vanish under the brilliancy and expressive lustre of their eyes. They are full of graces, which appear in their discourse, in their looks, their gestures, in all their motions, and every thing that they do. They have usually a kind of embarrassed and heedless manner, which does not fail, however, to seduce, even more than wit and talents. Their countenance is modest, but expressive. There is a certain simplicity in all they do, which sometimes gives them a rustic, and sometimes a bold

air, but the charm of which is inexpressible. As soon as they get a little acquainted with you, and have overcome their first embarrassment, they express themselves with ease; their discourse is full of choice expressions, at once delicate and noble; their conversation is lively, easy, and possesses a natural gaiety peculiar to themselves. They seldom read and write, but the little that they read they profit by, and the little that they write is correct and concise. They are of a warm disposition; their passions are violent, and their imagination ardent, but they are generous, kind, and true, and capable of sincere attachment.

With them, as with the women of other countries, love is the chief business of life; but with them it is a deep feeling, a passion, and not, as in some other parts, an effect of self-love, of vanity, of coquetry, or of the rivalries of society. When the Spanish women love, they love deeply and long; but they also require a constant assiduity, and a complete dependence. Naturally reserved and modest, they are then jealous and impetuous. They are capable of making any sacrifices; but they also exact them. On these occasions they discover all the energy of their character; and the women of no other nation can compare with them in this point. The Castilian women excel all the rest in love. There are many shades of difference in the manner in which this passion is displayed by the females of different provinces. Those of Castile have most tenderness and sensibility; the Biscayans are more ardent; the Valentians and Catalans more impetuous; the Aragonese



Aragonese most exacting and imperious; the Andalusian women most adroit and seducing; but the general disposition is nearly the same in all.

There is a freedom in the manners and conversation of the Spanish women, which causes them to be judged unfavourably of by strangers; but on further acquaintance, a man perceives that they appear to promise more than they grant, and that they do not even permit those freedoms which most women of other countries think there is no harm in allowing. A modern traveller, who is sometimes severe, often hasty in his judgments; has anticipated me in this remark; but he deduces from it an inference unfavourable to the Spanish women. "Feeling," says he, "their own weakness, and knowing how inflammable they are, they are distrustful of themselves, and fear they should yield too easily." This is supposing them very abandoned, and very calculating, and they are neither one nor the other. This reserve belongs to their notions and manners; it sometimes proceeds from the embarrassment of which we have spoken, and oftener from their ideas of love, which forbid them to grant their favours by halves, or to employ that coquetry so common among the women of other countries.

If the Spanish ladies are agreeable, if they are sometimes well-informed, they owe it only to themselves, and in no degree to their education, which is almost totally neglected. If their native qualities were polished and unfolded by a careful instruction, they would become but too seductive.

Many different people have occupied Spain in succession: the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, the Arabs, and the French; and with all these the natives have been confounded.

Towards the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, four principal nations inhabited the country: the natives, then known by the name of Romans; the Goths, comprehending the remains of the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals, a portion of whom were also confounded with the natives and with the Moors, whilst a considerable part had taken refuge in the Asturias and in Navarre; the Moors, with whom the natives of Africa were mingled; and the French, who occupied a great part of Catalonia, Navarre, and the Pyrenees. Each of these nations brought with it its own genius, manners, laws, and customs.

When the Moors were driven out of Spain, several independent sovereignties were formed; each of which had its own laws, customs, constitution, and particular form of government. Galicia, Leon, the Castiles, Biscay, Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia, had each its own sovereign. Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia, were peopled by a mixture of different nations. Hence resulted a diversity in genius, temper, manners, and customs; and this diversity, though modified by the present uniformity of government, by the more intimate communication between different provinces and their inhabitants, and by the assimilation of general customs, left to each country a peculiar tinge, of which vestiges, more or less distinct



ting, may still be traced. The national characters are not yet destroyed; they pass through the uniformity which government endeavours to introduce, and which imitation and example cause to be insensibly adopted.

There are no two provinces of which the manners and character are exactly alike. In travelling through France, one is surprised to find there the ruling character of some parts of Spain; the Biscayan may be compared to the Basque; the Catalan to the Provencal; the Valencian to the native of Lower Languedoc; the Galician to the Auvergnese; the Andalusian to the Gascon.

Some customs, however, and some traits of character, run through all the provinces. The national pride is every where the same. The Spaniard has the highest opinion of his nation and himself, which he energetically expresses by his gestures, words, and actions. This opinion is discovered in all ranks of life, and classes of society; in crimes and in virtues; amongst the great and the small; under the rags of poverty as much as in the royal palace. Its result is a kind of haughtiness, repulsive sometimes to him who is its object, but useful in giving to the mind a sentiment of nobleness and self-esteem, which fortifies it against all meanness. This pride may be considered as one cause of the great number of persons who quit the world, and embrace the ecclesiastical profession: the slightest contempt, the least constraint, often produce, on these haughty dispositions, the effect of real misfortune.

The Spaniards possess, almost universally, a natural dignity of

sentiment, which is certainly superior to the pride of birth. It is often stigmatized as pride, because we are pleased so to call spirit in those classes in which we are accustomed to find a base humility. We cannot bear that a muleteer should answer us; that a peasant should refuse to sell us what we wish to buy, because he keeps it for his family; we are astonished that, immovably attached to his own habits, he should be regardless of our expostulations and our anger;—that he should think himself as good as we, and show that he does so: but, if we see in this man, instead of any thing base, a native greatness of mind;—instead of intemperance; a sobriety of which we should be incapable;—instead of that luxury and vanity which amongst us is not incompatible with poverty, and indifference to the indulgencies of life carried to as high a pitch as the austerity of the ancient republics; if we observe in him, instead of bad faith, of the instinct of theft and avarice, disinterestedness, honour, and fidelity;—instead of impudence, reserve and respect;—and instead of impiety, a fervent faith; we shall no longer be surprised to see men of the lowest class understand the pleasures of solitude, seek them at the price of the severest trials, and form to themselves a mode of life at once simple and sublime, made up of labour and prayer, nature and heaven.

The national pride of the Spaniards is commonly attributed to their success in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. “The Spaniard of the sixteenth century has disappeared,” says M. Bourgoing, “but his mask remains; under which,



which, notwithstanding the reverses that the nation has sustained, the modern Spaniard continues to act the part of his ancestors." This is a mistake, the Spaniard has always been the same: historians depict him as haughty, boastful, filled with self-esteem, and disdainful of other nations. His native disposition was kept down under the yoke of the people who subdued him; but it broke forth with full force the moment he recovered his liberty. The Spaniard of the twelfth century was the same with the Spaniard of the eighteenth. The Spaniards are brave: they have always been so: from the most remote ages they have evinced the most steady and intrepid valour. Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Strabo, and Lucius Florus, represent them as the most warlike of the barbarians; as brave in battle; patient of the fatigues of war; bold and as valiant as the Romans. They were vanquished by Hannibal, on the banks of the Tagus, only because they wanted a head; under the conduct of Hannibal, they vanquished the Romans on the banks of the Rhone: they often beat them when they fought under the command of Veriatus and Sertorius: they long resisted them in the Cantabrian war. The famous defence of Saguntum, and that of Numantia, would suffice to immortalise Spanish valour: the first resisted, during eight months, an army of 150,000 Carthaginians, and chose rather to bury itself under its own ruins than surrender; the last sustained, during fourteen years, the utmost efforts of the Roman power; triumphed several times over the armies of the republic;

twice compelled her generals to sue for peace; and only yielded, at length, through famine, and the small number of her defenders, leaving nothing to her conquerors but heaps of ruins, ashes, and dead bodies. Even the women have sometimes displayed a manly courage. In the Cantabrian war, under the Romans, mothers were seen to put their own children to death, that they might not see them fall into the hands of their enemies.

In later times the Spaniards had not degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. They evinced the same energy against the Moors: a handful of Spaniards was often seen to encounter innumerable hosts of Arabs; to defeat them, put them to the rout, and reconquer from them a wide extent of country. The valour and reputation of the Spanish infantry, under Ferdinand V. and his successors, are known to all Europe. The names of Almansa, of Villaviciosa, Bitonto, Codogno, Veletri, Camposanto, Parma, Beunos-Ayres, the Havannah, Port-Mahon, and Oran, are famous in the history of the eighteenth century: the plains of Catalonia and Biscay have become no less so in the present war. These places have been the theatre in which the Spaniards have shown to all Europe that they were worthy the reputation of their fathers.

The Spanish soldier is still one of the best in Europe; when placed under an experienced general, and brave and intelligent officers: he is possessed of a cool and steady valour: he long resists fatigue, and easily inures himself to labour; lives on a little, endures hunger without complaining; executes the orders



orders of his superiors without hesitation, and never suffers a murmur to escape him. Shades of difference are observed, however, in the different provinces. The Galicians are accounted the best soldiers in Spain: Strabo has said of them, that they were warlike, and difficult to be subjugated. The valour of the Catalonian is the most intrepid; that of the Aragonese the most considerate; that of the Andalusian the most presumptuous; of the Castilian the coolest; that of the Biscayan more active amongst rocks than on the plain.

The Spaniards are very reserved; they have little of those exterior demonstrations, of that deceitful show which is called politeness. They do not make advances to a stranger; they wait for him to do it; they study him, and do not give themselves up to him till they think they know him; even then it is with reserve. Their address is serious, cold, sometimes even repulsive; but, under this unpromising exterior, they conceal a worthy heart and a great disposition to oblige; they scatter around their benefits, without endeavouring to make a merit of them, and grant without having promised. This character belongs especially to the Castilians.

In spite of this apparent gravity, the Spaniard has an inward gaiety which easily discovers itself, and on some occasions bursts out. It is usually noisy, but genuine, constant, frank, and natural. It discovers itself in the most ordinary conversation, by a succession of sallies, pleasantries, and plays upon words, full of point and vivacity. The people of the south of Spain succeed particularly in this

line. Their repartees are prompt, ingenious, expressive; their descriptions original; their irony keen; their comparisons just and well applied; it is not the genteel persons who excel most in wit, which is found among the lowest classes. When one can enter into the beauties and delicacies of the language, one is surprised to hear pleasantries, full of grace and spirit, proceed from the mouths of the common people.

The Spaniard is very slow in all his operations; in business, in politics, in the sciences, in the arts, in his loves, in his pleasures. He often deliberates when he ought to act, and spoils affairs as much by his temporising as other nations by their precipitation. They have a proverb contrary to one of ours:—they say that one should never do to-day what may be put off till to-morrow. This slowness of the Spaniards appears incompatible with the vivacity of their imagination; it is the consequence of the distrust and circumspection that are natural to them; but when their pride is irritated, their anger provoked, or their generosity stimulated, they wake in a moment from their apathy, and are capable of the most violent or the most noble actions.

Their tardiness would be but a slight defect, did it not proceed from a radical defect of a much more serious nature, and the consequences of which have always been dreadful to their country; I mean the invincible indolence and hatred of labour which prevails in their national character, and has at all times paralysed the government of their best princes, and impeded the success of their



most brilliant enterprizes. All behind them in improvement. their own historians deplore the The happiest ages of their monarchy have not been exempted effects of this apathy, this fatal recklessness, which has almost always from this evil, which seems to be kept them dependent on the industry of their neighbours, or at least as much the product of the climate as of the administration.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Account of the Dissection of a Human Fœtus, in which the Circulation of the Blood was carried on without a Heart. By Mr. B. C. Brodie. [From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for 1809.]*

**A**N opportunity lately occurred to me of examining a human fœtus, in which the heart was wanting, and the circulation of the blood was carried on by the action of the vessels only. There have been some other instances of this remarkable deviation from the natural structure; but in that to which I allude, the growth of the child had been natural, and it differed much less from the natural formation than in any of those which are on record, and I have therefore been induced to draw up the following account of it.

A woman was delivered of twins in the beginning of the seventh month of pregnancy. There was a placenta with two umbilical chords, which had their origin about three inches distant from each other. The placenta was not preserved, but Mr. Adams, who attended the mother in her lying-in, observed nothing unusual in its

appearance. Both fœtuses were born dead. They were nearly of the same size. One of them in no respect differed from the ordinary formation; the other had an unusual appearance, and Mr. Adams thought it deserving of examination. Through Dr. Hooper it was put into my hands for this purpose.

The fœtus measured thirteen inches from the summit of the cranium to the feet. The thorax and abdomen were surrounded by a large shapeless mass, which concealed the form of the whole upper part of the body. This mass proved to be the integuments covering the posterior part of the neck and thorax, distended with a watery fluid, about three pints in quantity, contained in two cysts, lined by a smooth membrane. When the fluid was evacuated, and the cysts allowed to collapse, the fœtus had nearly the natural form. Its extremities had nearly the usual appearance, except that on the right hand there was no thumb; on the left hand there was no thumb also, and only a single finger. There were three toes on the right foot, and four toes on the left foot. The external nostrils consisted only of two folds of skin,



skin, under each of which was the orifice of an internal nostril, but pervious only for about half an inch. There was a hare-lip, and a cleft in the bony palate, extending one third of an inch backwards.

On dissection the cranium was found somewhat compressed, by the fluid contained in the cyst behind it. The brain itself was too putrid for accurate examination, but it was of nearly the natural size, and nothing unusual was observed in it. The membranes had the natural appearance, and the nerves appeared to go off from the brain and spinal marrow nearly as usual.

In the thorax there was no heart, thymus gland, or pleura. The trachea was situated immediately behind the sternum. It had its natural appearance, and divided as usual into the two bronchia. The latter terminated in the lungs, which consisted of two rounded bodies, not more than one third of an inch in diameter, having a smooth external surface, and composed internally of a dense cellular substance. The œsophagus had the usual situation, but it terminated in a cul-desac at the lower part of the thorax. The rest of the thorax was filled with a dense cellular substance; and in place of the diaphragm, there was a membranous septum between it and the cavity of the abdomen.

In the abdomen, the stomach had no cardiac orifice. The intestine was attached to the mesentery in the usual way; but it was proportionably shorter than natural. There was an imperfect cæcum, but the colon was not distinguished by any difference of structure or appearance from the rest of

the intestine. The rectum had its usual situation in the pelvis. The spleen and renal capsules were small; the kidneys, bladder, penis, and testicles, had the usual appearance. The abdomen was lined by peritonæum, but there was no omentum. The liver and gall-bladder were wanting.

As there was no heart, it became an object of importance to ascertain the exact nature of the circulation: for this purpose the blood-vessels were traced with attention.

The umbilical chord consisted of two vessels only: one of these was larger than the other, and its coats resembled those of a vein, while those of the smaller vessel were thick and elastic, like those of an artery. Both of these vessels entered the navel of the child. The artery passed to the left groin by the side of the urachus, occupying the usual situation of the left umbilical artery. Here it gave off the external and internal iliac arteries of the left side, and was then continued upwards on the fore part of the spine forming the aorta. From the aorta arose the common trunk of the right iliac artery, and the branches to the viscera and parietes of the thorax and abdomen. At the upper part of the thorax, it sent off the two subclavian, and afterwards divided into the two carotid arteries, without forming an arch. The veins corresponding to these arteries terminated in the vena cava, which was situated on the anterior part of the spine before the aorta, and passed downwards before the right kidney to the right groin. Here it became reflected upwards by the side of the urachus to the navel, and was  
conti.



continued into the larger vessel or vein of the chord.

It appears, therefore, that in this foetus, not only the heart was wanting, but there was no communication of any kind between the trunks of the venous and arterial systems, as in the natural foetus, where there is a heart. The only communication between the two sets of vessels, was by means of the capillary branches anastomosing as usual in the foetus, and in the placenta. The blood must have been propelled from the placenta to the child, through the artery of the chord, and must have been returned to the placenta by means of the vein, so that the placenta must have been at once the source and the termination of the circulation, and the blood must have been propelled by the action of the vessels only.

It is to be understood, that the circulation in the foetus receives no propelling power from the action of the heart and arteries of the mother. This, although perfectly known to anatomists, it is proper to mention, as it may not be equally known to all the members of this society.

It appears extraordinary, that under these circumstances, notwithstanding the circulation through the placenta must have been more languid than is natural, that organ should nevertheless have been capable of exercising its proper functions, so as to produce those changes on the blood, which are necessary for the maintenance of foetal life. This may be explained by considering that in the natural foetus the umbilical arteries are

branches of the general arterial system, and only a portion of the blood of the child is sent to the placenta, whereas in the foetus which I have described, the trunk of the vena cava was continued into the vein of the chord, and the whole of the venous blood circulated through the placenta, and was exposed to the influence of the arterial blood of the mother.

But the most interesting circumstance which we learn from this examination is, that the circulation not only can be carried on without a heart; but that a child so circumstanced can be maintained in its growth, so as to attain the same size as a foetus which is possessed of that organ. This fact is contrary to what prior experience has led us to expect, as will appear from the following abstract of the authenticated cases of this species of malformation, which we find on record.

A monster, in which there was no heart, is described by M. Mery\*. There were twins, one of which was well formed, and of the usual size of a six-months' child: the size of the other was not mentioned, so that no comparison could be made between them. In the latter, the head, neck, and other extremities were wanting. There were no vestiges of a brain, nor was there any liver. The dissection of the blood-vessels does not appear to have been very accurately made, but, from the general account, I should suppose that the circulation did not materially differ from that of the foetus which I have described.

Another instance of this kind is

\* *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1720.



described by M. Winslow\*. This was also a twin, only seven inches in length. The age and size of the other child are not mentioned. In this instance there was no head, nor any vestige of brain. There were no lungs, liver, stomach, nor spleen, and only a small portion of intestine. The arterial system is described as being complete, communicating with the placenta by the umbilical vein opening into the aorta, and the umbilical arteries arising nearly as usual. In this instance there was a circle of vessels formed by the arteries only, for M. Winslow expressly states, that there were no veins; and however extraordinary this may appear, we cannot be otherwise than cautious in denying an observation made by an anatomist so remarkable for his extreme accuracy and minuteness.

Dr. Le Cat, of Rouen, states another case of twins† born at the end of the ninth month of pregnancy. One of them was a well-formed child, of the usual size, but the other was only twelve inches and a half in length. The head of the latter was very imperfect, and there was only a very minute portion of brain. The heart, lungs, liver, stomach, and spleen, were entirely wanting, and there was only a small portion of intestine. The arterial system was perfect; the umbilical vein terminated in the aorta, and the umbilical arteries had their origin from the internal iliac, as usual. There is, however, an obscurity in the account of the circulation, as it is stated that there

were veins, but they were not traced, nor was any communication made out between them and the arteries, or the vessels of the chord.

Dr. Clarke‡ has given an account of a case, in which a woman, after a natural labour, was delivered of a healthy child, and also of a substance covered by common integuments, of an oval form, four inches in length, and having a separate navel-string and placenta. In this substance there was one os innominatum, with a femur, tibia, and fibula. There were neither brain nor nerves; nor were there any viscera, except a small portion of intestine. The umbilical chord consisted of two vessels, an artery and a vein, both of which ramified in this substance and in the placenta.

In Dr. Hunter's anatomical collection, there are two specimens of monsters born without hearts. In both of them the whole upper part of the body was wanting; and in neither was the exact nature of the circulation ascertained.

In each of the instances which I have quoted, not only the heart was wanting, but the foetus in other respects was so imperfect, that it could not be considered as any thing more than a mola, or an irregularly-formed living mass connected with the placenta. In particular, in all of them the brain, which may with justice be considered as affording the best distinction between a mola and a foetus, was wanting; whereas in that which forms the subject of the

\* *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1740.

† *Phil. Trans.* for 1767.

‡ *Phil. Trans.* for 1793.



present paper, the brain was nearly as large as usual, and in other respects the foetus varied much less from the natural structure, than in any former instance.

In the cases already on record, we have seen, that wherever the size of the monster was mentioned, it was much smaller than a natural foetus. This would have led to the supposition, that a circulation, which was carried on by the action of the vessels only, was incapable of maintaining the natural growth of a child, had it not been found that the foetus, which I have described, though the heart was wanting, was fully equal in size to a foetus of the same age, which was possessed of that organ.

It may be observed, that in all these cases, in which the heart was wanting, the liver was wanting also. It is probable that the action of the vessels only, without the assistance of the heart, would have been insufficient to propel the blood through the circulation of the liver, which is so extensive in the natural foetus.

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*On the Origin and Formation of Roots. By T. A. Knight, Esq. F. R. S. [From the same.]*

IN a former communication I have given an account of some experiments, which induced me to conclude that the buds of trees invariably spring from their alburnum, to which they are always connected by central vessels of

greater or less length; and in the course of much subsequent experience, I have not found any reason to change the opinion that I have there given\*. The object of the present communication is to shew, that the roots of trees are always generated by the vessels which pass from the cotyledons of the seed, and from the leaves, through the leave-stalks and the bark, and that they never, under any circumstances, spring immediately from the alburnum.

The organ, which naturalists have called the radicle in the seed, is generally supposed to be analogous to the root of the plant, and to become a perfect root during germination; and I do not know that this opinion has ever been controverted, though I believe that, when closely investigated, it will prove to be founded in error.

A root, in all cases with which I am acquainted, elongates only by new parts which are successively added to its apex or point, and never, like the stem or branch, by the extension of parts previously organized; and I have endeavoured to shew, in a former memoir, that owing to this difference in the mode of the growth of the root and lengthened plumule of germinating seeds, the one must ever be obedient to gravitation, and point towards the centre of the earth, whilst the other must take the opposite direction†. But the radicle of germinating seeds elongates by the extension of parts previously organized, and in a great number of cases, which must be familiar to every person's observa-

\* Phil. Trans. 1805.

† Phil. Trans. 1806.



tion, raises the cotyledons out of the mould in which the seed is placed to vegetate. The mode of growth of the radicle is therefore similar to that of the substance which occupies the spaces between the buds, near the point of the succulent annual shoot, and totally different from that of the proper root of the plant, which I conceive to come first into existence during the germination of the seed, and to spring from the point of what is called the radicle. At this period, neither the radicle nor cotyledons contain any alburnum; and therefore the first root cannot originate from that substance; but the cortical vessels are then filled with sap, and apparently in full action, and through these the sap appears to descend, which gives existence to the true root.

When first emitted, the root consists only of a cellular substance, similar to that of the bark of other parts of the future tree, and within this the cortical vessels are subsequently generated in a circle, enclosing within it a small portion of the cellular substance, which forms the pith or medulla of the root. The cortical vessels soon enter on their office of generating alburnous matter; and a transverse section of the root then shews the alburnum arranged in the form of wedges round the medulla, as it is subsequently deposited on the central vessels of the succulent annual shoot, and on the surface of the alburnum of the stems and branches of older trees\*.

If a leaf-stalk be deeply wound-

ed, a cellular substance, similar to that of the bark and young root, is protruded from the upper lip of the wound, but never from the lower; and the leaf-stalks of many plants possess the power of emitting roots, which power can not have resided in alburnum, for the leaf-stalk does not contain any; but vessels, similar to those of the bark and radicle, abound in it, and apparently convey the returning sap; and from these vessels, or perhaps more properly from the fluid they convey, the roots emitted by the leaf-stalk derive their existence†.

If a portion of the bark of a vine, or other tree, which readily emits roots, be taken off in a circle extending round its stem, so as to intercept entirely the passage of any fluid through the bark; and any body which contains much moisture be applied, numerous roots will soon be emitted into it, immediately above the decorticated space, but never immediately beneath it: and when the alburnum in the decorticated spaces has become lifeless to a considerable depth, buds are usually protruded beneath, but never immediately above it, apparently owing to the obstruction of the ascending sap. The roots, which are emitted in the preceding case, do not appear in any degree to differ from those which descend from the radicles of generating seeds, and both apparently derive their matter from the fluid which descends through the cortical vessels.

There are several varieties of the apple-tree, the trunks and branches

\* Phil. Trans. for 1801. Plate 27.

† Phil. Trans. for 1801.



of which are almost covered with rough excrescences, formed by congeries of points which would have become roots under favourable circumstances; and such varieties are always very readily propagated by cuttings. Having thus obtained a considerable number of plants of one of these varieties, the excrescences began to form upon their stems when two years old, and mould being then applied to them in the spring, numerous roots were emitted into it early in the summer. The mould was, at the same time raised round, and applied to, the stems of other trees of the same age and variety, and in every respect similar, except that the tops of the latter were cut off a short distance above the lowest excrescence, so that there were no buds or leaves from which sap could descend to generate or feed new roots; and under these circumstances no roots, but numerous buds were emitted, and these buds all sprang from the spaces and points, which, under different circumstances, had afforded roots. The tops of the trees last mentioned, having been divided into pieces of ten inches long, were planted as cuttings, and roots were by these emitted from the lowest excrescences beneath the soil, and buds from the uppermost of those above it.

I had anticipated the result of each of the preceding experiments; not that I supposed, or now suppose, that roots can be changed into buds, or buds into roots; but I had before proved that the organization of the alburnum is better calculated to carry the sap it con-

tains, from the root upwards, than in any other direction, and I concluded that the sap, when arrived at the top of the cutting through the alburnum, would be there employed, as I had observed in many similar cases in generating buds, and these buds would be protruded where the bark was young and thin, and consequently afforded little resistance\*. I had also proved the bark to be better calculated to carry the sap towards the roots than in the opposite direction, and I thence inferred that as soon as any buds, emitted by the cuttings, afforded leaves, the sap would be conveyed from these to the lower extremity of the cuttings by the cortical vessels, and be there employed in the formation of roots\*.

Both the alburnum and bark of trees evidently contain their true sap; but whether the fluid which ascends in such cases as the preceding through the alburnum to generate buds, be essentially different from that which descends down the bark to generate roots, it is, perhaps, impossible to decide. As nature, however, appears in the vegetable world to operate by the simplest means; and as the vegetable sap, like the animal blood, is probably filled with particles which are endued with life, were I to offer a conjecture, I am much more disposed to believe that the same fluid, even by merely acquiring different motions, may generate different organs, than that two distinct fluids are employed to form the root, and the bud and leaf.

When alburnum is formed in

\* Phil. Trans. for 1805.



the root, that organ possesses, in common with the stem and branches, the power of producing buds, and of emitting fibrous roots, and when it is detached from the tree, the buds always spring near its upper end, and the roots near the opposite extremity, as in the cuttings above-mentioned. The alburnum of the root is also similar to that of other parts of the tree, except that it is more porous, probably owing to the presence of abundant moisture, during the period in which it is deposited\*.

And possibly the same cause may retain the wood of the root permanently in the state of alburnum; for I have shewn in a former memoir, that if the mould be taken away, so that the parts of the larger roots, which adjoin the trunk, be exposed to the air, such parts are subsequently found to contain much heart-wood\*.

I would wish the preceding observations to be considered as extending to trees only, and exclusive of the palm tribe: but I believe they are nevertheless generally applicable to perennial herbaceous plants, and that the buds and fibrous roots of these originate from substances which correspond with the alburnum and bark of trees. It is obvious, that the roots which bulbs emit in the spring, are generated by the sap which descends from the bulb, when that retains its natural position; and such tuberous-rooted plants as the potatoe offer rather a seeming than a real obstacle to the hypothesis I am endeavouring to establish. The buds of these are

generally formed beneath the soil; but I have shewn, in a former memoir, that the buds on every part of the stem may be made to generate tubers, which are similar to those usually formed beneath the soil; and I have subsequently seen, in many instances, such emitted by a re-produced bud, without the calix of a blossom, which had failed to produce fruit; but I have never, under any circumstances, been able to obtain tubers from the fibrous roots of the plant.

The tube, therefore, appears to differ little from a branch, which has dilated instead of extending itself, except that it becomes capable of retaining life during a longer period; and when I have laboured through a whole summer to counteract the natural habits of the plant, a profusion of blossoms has, in many instances, sprung from the buds of a tuber.

The runners also, which, according to the natural habit of the plant, give existence to the tubers beneath the soil, are very similar in organization to the stem of the plant, and readily emit leaves, and become converted into perfect stems, in a few days, if the current of ascending sap be diverted into them; and the mode in which the tuber is formed above, and beneath the soil, is precisely the same. And when the sap, which has been deposited at rest during the autumn and winter, is again called into action to feed the buds, which elongate into parts of the stems of the future plants in the spring, fibrous roots are emitted

\* Phil. Trans. for 1801.



from the bases of these stems, whilst buds are generated at the opposite extremities, as in the cases I have mentioned respecting trees.

Many naturalists\* have supposed the fibrous roots of all plants to be of annual duration only; and those of bulbous and tuberous rooted plants certainly are so; as in these nature has provided a distinct reservoir for the sap which is to form the first leaves and fibrous roots of the succeeding season; but the organization of trees is very different, and the alburnum and bark of the roots and stems of these are the reservoirs of their sap during the winter.† When, however, the fibrous roots of trees are crowded together in a garden-pot, they are often found lifeless in the succeeding spring; but I have not observed the same mortality to occur, in any degree, in the roots of trees when growing, under favourable circumstances, in their natural situation.

I am prepared to offer some observations on the causes which direct the roots of plants in search of proper nutriment, and which occasion the root of the same plant to assume different forms under different circumstances; but I propose to make those observations the subject of a future communication.

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*On the Effects of Westerly Winds in raising the Level of the British Channel. By James Rennel, Esq. F. R. S. [From the same.]*

IN the "Observations on a Cur-

rent that often prevails to the Westward of Scilly," which I had the honour to lay before the Royal Society many years ago, I slightly mentioned, as connected with the same subject, the effect of strong westerly winds, in raising the level of the British Channel; and the escape of the super-incumbent waters, through the Strait of Dover, into the then lower level of the North Sea.

The recent loss of the *Britannia* East India ship, captain Birch, on the Goodwin Sands, has impressed this fact more strongly on my mind; as I have no doubt that her loss was occasioned by a current, produced by the running off of the accumulated waters; a violent gale from the westward then prevailing. The circumstances under which she was lost, were generally these:

In January last she sailed from her anchorage between Dover and the South Foreland, (on her way to Portsmouth,) and was soon after assailed by a violent gale between the west and south-west. The thick weather preventing a view of the lights, the pilot was left entirely to the reckoning and the lead; and when it was concluded that the ship was quite clear of the Goodwin, she struck on the north-eastern extremity of the southernmost of those sands. And this difference between the reckoning (after due allowance being made for the tides) and the actual position, I conclude was owing to the northerly stream of current, which caught the ship when she drifted to the back, or eastern side of the Goodwin.

The fact of the high level of the

\* M. Mirbel's *Traité d'Anatomie*, &c. &c. Dr. Smith's Introduction to Botany.

† Phil Trans. for 1805.



Channel, during strong winds, between the W. and S. W., cannot be doubted, because the increased height of the tides in the southern ports, at such times, is obvious to every discerning eye. Indeed, the form of the upper part of the channel, in particular, is such as to receive and retain, for a time, the principal part of the water forced in; and as a part of this water is continually escaping by the Strait of Dover, it will produce a current; which must greatly disturb the reckonings of such ships as navigate the Strait, when thick weather prevents the land, or the lights of the Foreland, and the north Goodwin, from being seen.

I observe in a new publication of Messrs. Lawrie and Whittle, intitled "Sailing Directions, &c. for the British Channel, 1808," that throughout the Channel it is admitted by the experienced persons whom he quotes, that strong S. W. winds "cause the flood-tide to run an hour, or more, longer than at common times:" or in other words, that a current overcomes the ebb tide a full hour: not to mention how much it may accelerate the one, and retard the other, during the remainder of the time.\*

It is evident, that the direction of the current under consideration, will be influenced by the form and position of the opposite shores, at the entrance of the Strait; and as these are materially different, so must the direction of the stream be, within the influence of each side respectively. For instance, on the English side, the current

having taken the direction of the shore, between Dungeness and the South Foreland, will set generally to the north-east, through that side of the Strait. But, on the French side, circumstances must be very different: for the shore of Bolongne trending almost due north, will give the current a like direction, since it cannot turn sharp round the point of Grisnez, to the north-eastward; but must preserve a great proportion of its northerly course, until it mixes with the waters of the North Sea. And it may be remarked, that the Britannia, when driven to the eastward of the Goodwin, would fall into this very line of current.

There is another circumstance to be taken into the account; which is, that the shore of Bolongne presenting a direct obstacle to the water impelled by the westerly winds, will occasion a higher level of the sea there than elsewhere; and, of course, a stronger line of current towards the Goodwin.

It must, therefore, be inferred, that a ship, passing the Strait of Dover, at the back of the Goodwin Sands, during the prevalence of strong W. or S. W. winds, will be carried many miles to the northward of her reckoning; and, if compelled to depend on it, may be subject to great hazard from the Goodwin.

It will be understood, of course, that although the stream of current, alone, has been considered here, (in order to simplify the subject,) yet that, in the application of these remarks, the regular tides must

\* It is also asserted, that in the mouth of the Channel, the extraordinary rise of tide, in stormy weather, is ten feet: that is, at common springs twenty, and in storms thirty feet.



also be taken into the account. But from my ignorance of their detail, I can say no more than that I conceive that the great body of the tide from the Channel, must be subject to much the same laws as the current itself. The opposite tide will doubtless occasion various inflexions of the current, as it blends itself with it; or may absolutely suspend it; and the subject can never be perfectly understood without a particular attention to the velocity and direction of the tides in moderate weather, to serve as a ground-work.\*

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*Circumstances relative to Merino Sheep, chiefly collected from the Spanish Shepherds, who attended those of the flock of Pouler, lately presented to his Majesty by the government of Spain; and also respecting the Sheep of the flock of Negrette, imported from Spain by his Majesty in 1791. By Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of London. [From Part ii. Vol. vi. of Communications to the Board of Agriculture.]*

A considerable part of Estremadura, Leon, and the neighbouring provinces of Spain, is appropriated to the maintenance of the Merino flocks, called by the Spaniards Trashumantes, as are also broad green roads, leading from one province to the other, and extensive resting-places, where the sheep are baited on the road. So careful is the police of the country to pre-

serve them, during their journeys, from all hazard of disturbance or interruption, that no person, not even a foot-passenger, is suffered to travel upon those roads while the sheep are in motion, unless he belongs to the flocks.

The country on which the sheep are depastured, both in the southern and the northern parts, is set out into divisions, separated from each other by land-marks only, without any kind of fences; each of these is called a Dehesa, and is of a size capable of maintaining a flock of about a thousand sheep, a greater number, of course, in the south country, where the lambs are reared, and fewer in the north country, where the sheep arrive after the flock has been culled.

Every proprietor must possess as many of these in each province as will maintain his flock. In the temperate season of winter and spring, the flocks remain in Estremadura, and there the ewes bring forth their lambs in December. As soon as the increasing heats of April and May have scorched up the grass, and rendered the pasturage scanty, they commence their march towards the mountains of Leon, and after having been shorn on the road, at vast establishments called Esquileos, erected for that purpose, pass their summer in the elevated country, which supplies them with abundance of rich grass; and they do not leave the mountains till the frosts of September begin to damage the herbage.

A flock in the aggregate is called a Cavaña; this is divided into

\* Messrs. Lawrie and Whittle's publication allows the tides in this quarter a velocity of one mile and a half per hour, at the springs; half a mile at the neaps. The Britannia's accident happened at dead neaps.



as many subdivisions as there are thousands of sheep belonging to it; each sheep, besides being sear-marked in the face with a hot iron when young, is branded after every shearing with a broad pitch brand, generally of the first letter of the name of the proprietor, and each subdivision is distinguished from the rest by the part of the sheep's body on which this mark is placed.

By the laws of the Mesta, each Cavaña must be governed by an officer called Mayoral; for each subdivision of a thousand sheep, five shepherds and four dogs are appointed. Some of these inferior shepherds obtain the office of Rabadan, the duty of which is to give a general superintendence under the control of the Mayoral, also to prescribe and administer medicines to the sick sheep. At the time of travelling, and when the ewes are yeanning, one or two extra shepherds are allowed for each thousand sheep.

The number of Merino sheep in Spain is estimated by Burgoyne at 6,000,000; these of course must be attended by 30,000 shepherds, and 24,000 dogs at ordinary times, and they find occasional employment for 5 or 10,000 additional persons in the seasons of lambing and of travelling.

In their journey, each subdivision is attended by its own shepherds and dogs, and kept separate as far as may be from all others. The duty of the dogs is to chase the wolves, who are always upon the watch when the sheep are on the road, and are more wily than our foxes; they are taught also, when a sick sheep lags behind unobserved by the shepherds, to stay with and defend it, till

some one returns back in search of it. There are besides, in each subdivision, about six tame wethers, called Mansos; these wear bells, and are obedient to the voices of the shepherds, who frequently give them small pieces of bread; some of the shepherds lead, the Mansos are always near them, and this disposes the flock to follow.

Every sheep is well acquainted with the situation of the Dehesa to which its subdivision belongs, and will at the end of the journey go straight to it, without the guidance of the shepherds; here the flock grazes all the day under the eyes of the attendants; when the evening comes on, the sheep are collected together, and they soon lay down to rest; the shepherds and their dogs then lay down on the ground round the flock, and sleep, as they term it, under the stars, or in huts that afford little shelter from inclement weather; and this is their custom all the year, except that each is allowed, in his turn, an absence of about a month, which he spends with his family; and it is remarkable, that the families of these shepherds reside entirely at Leon.

The shepherds who came with his Majesty's flock, were questioned on the subject of giving salt to their sheep; they declared that this is only done in the hottest season of the year, when the sheep are on the mountains; that in September it is left off; and that they dare not give salt to ewes forward with lamb, being of opinion that it causes abortion.

It is scarcely credible, though it appears on the best authority to be true, that under the operation of the laws of the Mesta, which



confide the care of the sheep to the management of their shepherds, without admitting any interference on the part of the proprietor, no profit of the flock comes to the hands of the owner, except what is derived from the wool; the carcasses of the culled sheep are consumed by the shepherds, and it does not appear that any account is rendered by them to their employers, of the value of the skins, the tallow, &c.; the profit derived by a proprietor from a flock, is estimated on an average at about one shilling a head, and the produce of a capital vested in a flock is said to fluctuate between five and ten per cent.

The sheep are always low kept. It is the business of each Mayoral, to increase his flock to as large a number as the land allotted to it can possibly maintain; when it is arrived at that pitch, all further increase is useless, as there is no sale for these sheep, unless some neighbouring flock has been reduced by mortality, below its proper number; the most of the lambs are therefore every year killed as soon as they are weaned, and each of those preserved is made to suck two or three ewes. The shepherds say, that the wool of an ewe, that brings up her lambs without assistance, is reduced in its value.

At shearing time the shepherds, shearers, washers, and a multitude of unnecessary attendants, are fed upon the flesh of the culled sheep; and it seems that the consumption occasioned by this season of feasting, is sufficient to devour the whole of the sheep that are draughted from the flock. Mutton in Spain is not a favourite food; in truth, it is not in that country prepared for

the palate as it is in this; we have our lamb-fairs, our hog-fairs, our shearling-fairs, our fairs for culls, and our markets for fat sheep, where the mutton, having passed through these different stages of preparation, each under the care of men, whose soil and whose skill is best suited to the part they have been taught by their interest to assign to themselves, is offered for sale, and if fat and good, it seldom fails to command a price by the pound, from 5 to 10 per cent. dearer than that of beef. In Spain, they have no ~~such~~ sheep-fairs calculated to subdivide the education of each animal, by making it pass through many hands, as works of art do in a manufacturing concern, and they have not any fat sheep markets that at all resemble ours; the low state of grazing of Spain ought not therefore to be wondered at, nor the poverty of the Spanish farmers; they till a soil sufficiently productive by nature, but are robbed of the reward due to the occupier, by the want of an advantageous market for their produce, and the benefit of an extensive consumption; till the manufacturing and mercantile parts of a community become opulent enough to pay liberal prices, the agricultural part of it cannot grow rich by selling.

That the sole purpose of the journeys taken annually by these sheep, is to seek food in places where it can be found, and that these migrations would not be undertaken, if either in the northern or the southern provinces, a sufficiency of good pasture could be obtained during the whole year, appears a matter of certainty. That change of pasture has no effect upon their



wool, is clear, from all the experiments tried in other countries, and in Spain also, for Burgoyne tells us, that there are stationary flocks, both in Leon and in Estremadura, which produce wool quite as fine as that of the Trashumantes.

The sheep lately presented to his majesty are of the Cavaña of Paular, one of the very finest in point of pile, and esteemed also above all others for the beauty of carcase. In both these opinions, Mr. Lasteyrie, a French writer on sheep, who lived many years in Spain, and paid different attention to the Merino <sup>of</sup> sheep, entirely agrees; he also tells us, that the Cavaña of Negrette, from whence the sheep imported by his majesty, in the year 1791, were selected, is not only one of the finest piles, but produces also the largest carcased sheep of all the Merinos. Mr. Burgoyne agrees with him in asserting, that the piles of Paular, Negrette, and Escorial, have been withheld from exportation, and retained for the royal manufactory of Guadalaxara, ever since it was first established.

The Cavaña of Paular consists of 36,000 sheep; it originally belonged to the rich Carthusian Monastery of that name, near Segovia; soon after the Prince of Peace rose into power, he purchased the flock from the Monks, with the land belonging to it, both in Estremadura and in Leon, at a price equal to twenty French francs a head, 16s. 8d. English. All the sheep lately arrived are marked with a large M. the mark of Don Manuel.

The number sent from Spain to the king was 2,000, equal to two subdivisions of the original Cavaña;

to make the present the more valuable, these were selected by the shepherds from eight subdivisions, in order to choose young, well shaped, and fine woolled animals. This fact is evident, from the marks which are placed on eight different parts of the bodies of the sheep now at Kew.

The whole number embarked was 2,214; of these, 214 were presented, by the Spaniards, to some of his majesty's ministers, and 427 died on the journey, either at sea, or on their way from Portsmouth to Kew. His majesty was graciously pleased to take upon himself the whole of the loss, which reduced the royal flock to 1573; several more have since died. As the time of giving the ram in Spain is July, the ewes were full of lamb when they embarked, several of them cast their lambs when the weather was bad at sea, and are rendered so weak and infirm by abortion, that it is much to be feared more will die, notwithstanding the great care taken of them by his majesty's shepherds. A few have died of the rot. This disease must have been contracted by halting on some swampy district, in their journey from the mountains to the sea of Gijon, where they were embarked, as one sheep died rotten at Portsmouth; there is every reason however to hope, that the disease will not spread, as the land on which they are now kept has never been subject to its ravages, being of a very light and sandy texture.

It is well worthy of observation, that although the Swedes, the Saxons, the Danes, the Prussians, the Austrians, and of late, the French, have, either by the foresight of their governments, or the patriotic exertions



exertions of individuals, imported Merino sheep, no nation has hitherto ventured to assert, that they possess the complete, and unmixed race of any one Cavaña; this circumstance does not appear to have been attended to any where but in England; though, in fact, each Cavaña is a separate and distinct breed of sheep, not suffered by the Spaniards to mingle with others. The difference in value of the wool of different Spanish flocks is very great; at this time when Spanish wool is unusually dear, the prima piles are worth more than 7s. a pound, and yet the inferior ones scarce reach 5s. Even the French, attentive as that nation generally is to all things that concern the interest of individuals, appear to have overlooked this circumstance, and to have contented themselves with making up the numbers of their importations, without paying any regard to it; they have not at least stated in any of their publications, that attention was paid to the securing sheep of a prima pile, and keeping the breed of that pile pure and unmixed, after they had obtained it.

Our merchants in Spanish wool range the prima piles in the following order of value, as appears by a statement in the year 1792.

Paular.

Negrette.

Muro.

Patrimonio, and 15 more not necessary to be enumerated. Mr. Lasteirie the French writer on sheep, ranges them not very differently; he states them as follows: but both English and French agree that all the prima piles are nearly equal in fineness of fibre, and consequently in value to the manufacturer.

Escorial, called by us Patrimonio.

Guadalupe.

Paular.

Infantado.

Montareo.

Negrette, &c.

The Danes, he tells us, procured their sheep from the best piles; but there is no appearance of their having, since they obtained them, kept the flocks separate, nor are they at present so remarkable for fine wool as the Saxons, whose wool is now at least as fine as that of Spain is, upon an average of prima and second-rate piles.

The Swedes were the first people who imported the Spanish breed; this good work was undertaken and completed by the patriotic exertions of a merchant of the name of Alstroemer, in the year 1723. The next who obtained an importation of Merino sheep were the Saxons, who are indebted for the benefits they enjoy from the improvement of their wools to the Prince Xavier, administrator of the electorate during the minority of the elector, and brother-in-law to the king of Spain. The prince obtained a flock of these valuable animals in 1766, and in 1778 an addition to it of 100 rams and 200 ewes. The Danes followed his useful example, as also did both Prussia and Austria. Every one of these countries continue at this moment to profit largely by the improvement these sheep have occasioned in their agricultural concerns. So far from the truth is the too common assertion that their wool will not continue fine in any country but Spain, that in the year 1806, when the ports of Spain were closed against us, a very large quantity



quantity of fine wool, the produce of German Merino sheep, was imported into this country from Hamburgh, and used by our manufacturers as a substitute for Spanish wool. In truth, some of this wool was so fine that it carried in the British market as high a price as the best Spanish piles were sold for, in times of peace and amity.

In the year 1787, the king, guided by those patriotic motives which are ever active in his majesty's mind, gave orders for the importation of Merino sheep for his own use, and for the improvement of British wool; as it was doubtful at that time whether the king of Spain's licence, without which these sheep cannot be embarked at a Spanish port, could be obtained, it was deemed advisable to make the first purchases in the parts of Estremadura adjoining to Portugal, and to ship the sheep for England at Lisbon. The first importation of these valuable animals arrived in March 1788, and a little flock of them was soon after completed; but as these were of various qualities, having been draughted from different Cavañas, his majesty was pleased to order an application to be made to the king of Spain by lord Auckland, then his majesty's minister at that court, for permission to import some sheep draughted from one of the prima piles. This was obtained, and a little flock, consisting of 36 ewes, 4 rams, and 1 manso, arrived safe and well at Dover, in 1791. These sheep had made a part of the Cavaña called Negrette, one of the three piles restricted from exportation, and which is likewise remarkable for producing the largest carcassed sheep that are to be found

among the Merino flocks, as has been before stated.

On the receipt of this treasure, for such it has since proved itself to be, the king, with his usual prudence and foresight, ordered the whole of the sheep that had been procured by the way of Portugal, to be disposed of, which was immediately done, and directed the Negrette breed to be increased as much as possible, and maintained in its utmost purity.

From that time to the present the opinion of the public, sometimes perhaps too unwary, and at others too cautious, in appreciating the value and adopting the use of novel kinds of sheep, has gradually inclined to give that preference to the Merinos which is so justly their due. At first it was impossible to find a purchaser willing to give even a moderate price either for the sheep or for their wool; the shape of the sheep did not please the graziers, and the wool staplers were utterly unable to judge of the merit of the wool, it being an article so many times finer and more valuable than any thing of the kind that had ever before passed through their hands. The butchers, however, were less timorous; they readily offered for the sheep, when fat, a fair mutton price; and there are two instances in which when the fat stock agreed for was exhausted, the butcher who had bought them anxiously inquired for more, because he said the mutton was so very much approved of by his best customers.

It was not, however, till the year 1804, thirteen years after their first introduction, that it was deemed practicable to sell them by auction



tion, the only certain means of placing animals in the hands of those persons who set the highest value upon them, and are consequently the most likely to take proper care of them. The attempt, however, succeeded; and the prices given demonstrated, that some at least of his majesty's subjects had at that time learned to put a due value on the benefit his royal patriotism offered to them. One of the rams sold at the first sale for 42 guineas, and 2 of the ewes for 11 guineas each; the average price at which the rams sold was £19. 4s. and that of the ewes £8. 15s. 6d. each.

This most useful mode of distribution has since that time been annually continued, and the sales have taken place in August. The last sale was held on the 17th of August, 1808, when the highest price given for a ram was £74. 11s. for an ewe £38. 17s. The average price of rams was £33 10s. 1d. of ewes £23. 12s. 5d.; a most decisive proof not only that the flock had risen very materially in public estimation, but also that the sheep have not in any way degenerated from their original excellence.

The wool was at first found to be quite as difficult of sale as the sheep themselves; manufacturers were therefore employed to make a considerable quantity of it into cloth, which, when finished, was allowed by both woollen-drapers and tailors to be quite as good as cloth made from wool imported from Spain. But even this proof would not satisfy the scruples of the wool buyers, or induce them to offer a price at all adequate to the real value of the article; it was found necessary, therefore, to have the wool scowered, and to sell it

in that state as Spanish wool, which, though grown in England, it really was; thus managed, the sales were easily effected for some years, at a price equal to that demanded for the prima piles of imported Spanish wool at the times when the bargains were made.

Time and patience have at last superseded all difficulties, and his majesty's wool has now been sold as clipped from the sheep's backs, the sheep have been washed, and the whole management of them carried on exactly in the English manner, at a price not lower than 4s. 6d. a pound, which allowing for the loss of weight in the scowering and sorting, costs the buyer at least 5s. 6d. a pound, a tolerable price for Spanish wool when plenty of it could be produced, though not possibly so high a one as ought to have been given, or as will be obtained for the Anglo-Negrette pile, when the value of the article is fully understood.

The race of another capital Cavaña has now been added to the riches of this country, the Paular, and the draught from it is larger than on any other occasion has been suffered to leave Spain; the animals have been selected with skill and attention, the pile they belong to stands at the very top of our English list, and the sheep have been most fortunately placed at the disposal of our most gracious king, whose shepherds have demonstrated to the public, in an experience of 17 years of their management of these interesting animals, that they can not only continue the breed in its original purity, but can also preclude all danger of degeneration in the article of wool. What more can be wished for on this head?



*On the Advantages to be derived from Heath in the Feeding of Stock, and on the Importance of the Maple-tree, by the Rev. James Hall. [From the same.]*

IN the course of my experiments on furze, broom, rushes, bean-straw, and a variety of other articles that are generally reckoned of little use, I have found that if heath be cut when young and in bloom, and the finer parts infused in a teapot, it produces a liquid, not only grateful to the taste and well flavoured, but extremely wholesome, and, in many points of view, preferable to the tea that comes from China.

As I was anxious to know how far fine young heath might be useful to cattle, I bribed a poor man to confine his cow, that I might try the experiment on her. When first tied up, the cow refused to eat any of the heath, except the very finest part; nor did she seem to relish a rich infusion of it that was set before her. When she became a little hungry, however, she first drank the infusion, and then began to eat the heath. Having watched and observed her narrowly, I shall only say, that she lived nearly two weeks on this food solely; and I have no doubt but that she could have lived much longer, had it been necessary. She gave less milk, it is true, while she lived solely on heath; but then what the milk lost in quantity, was amply made up by the quality of what she gave. I made a similar experiment with a couple of sheep, and an old horse, and found the effect nearly the same; only the

sheep drank but little of the infusion.

Thus satisfied that cattle may be supported for a time by young heath, if cut while in bloom, I proceeded to ascertain how far this plant is capable of retaining its valuable qualities, when dried and laid up. With a view to this, I cut some in the end of summer, when heath is generally at its best, and dried it in the shade. Having kept this nearly two years, I found it produced an infusion equally strong and well flavoured as at first. Another parcel, after being kept three years, supported a cow more than a week, and produced an infusion not inferior to the former. The quality too of this cow's milk was uncommonly improved both in taste and flavour by the heath.

On chopping, and putting quantities of fine young heath, cut down while in bloom, into a vat, or mash-tub, and pouring boiling water on it, there is produced an infusion, not only rich and pleasant, but capable of being made the basis of various valuable liquids. Those, therefore, who live in the vicinity of heath, have only to burn a sufficient quantity of the old, in order to have as much young as they think proper. The smoother and more even the surface of the place they burn, the better. If any of the stumps of the old heath remain after it is burnt, they should, some way or other, be removed. The ashes of the old heath become an excellent manure, and, generally, cause a fine young crop to spring up. When two or three years old, this should be cut down with the scythe, and as much



much as possible dried in the shade. If quantities of this be put into a vat, or mash-tub, with boiling water, a very considerable quantity of strong and small beer may be procured, as well as spirits by distillation, which, on being put into casks, may be carried home, and laid up for use. What of the fine young heath is not used in this way, may either be secured on the spot, or carried home, to be given to cattle when fodder becomes either scarce or dear. With a sufficient stock of this article, the lean cattle on a farm may not only be supported, in the event of a severe winter or spring, but also those in good condition prevented from becoming otherwise. Heath intended for this purpose should, however, be carefully stacked up, and kept close; otherwise it becomes less valuable.

In the course of my experiments on trees, I have often been surprised that the cultivation of the sugar-maple is not more encouraged in the interior and highlands of Scotland. In many parts of America, where the winters are cold, and neither the climate nor the soil better than in Scotland, the maple-tree thrives exceedingly. Indeed the soil in Scotland, in many places, seems admirably calculated for the introduction and culture of this highly valuable, and hardy, yet fast-growing tree.

The maple, which thrives best in hedge-rows, and in almost all soils and exposures, may be propagated either by seeds, or by slips. Notwithstanding its rapid growth, the maple is generally near 20 years before it is at its best. How-

ever, often before it is half that age, very considerable quantities of juice are extracted from it. To procure which, bore a hole in the tree with a small augur, into which insert a spout, and put a trough, or some thing under it to receive the juice. Having collected this every night, and carried it to the large tub or vessel in or near the wood, prepared to receive it, after being strained, let it be boiled, which is the shortest, and perhaps the best way of obtaining the sugar.

The juice of the maple generally flows during four or five weeks. What comes from an ordinary tree may produce about 20lbs. of sugar, annually. Now, as an hundred trees, particularly if planted in what is termed the *quincunx* method, may be reared per acre, the sugar produced, though sold at 6d. per pound, will fetch nearly £50. in cash to the proprietor. I am of opinion, however, that in many places the produce would be considerably more.

But the profit of the maple-tree is not confined to sugar alone. It affords also a most agreeable molasses, and an excellent vinegar, while the sap that is suitable for these purposes is obtained after that, which affords the sugar, has ceased to flow; so that the manufacture of these different products of the maple-tree, by succeeding, do not interfere with one another. Part of the molasses might either be made the basis of an excellent beer; or, by distillation, be converted into spirits; while the rest, with the refuse of the sugar, might be applied to the feeding of sheep, cattle, pigs, and the like, as well



as to a variety of other valuable purposes. If mixed with strong infusions of fine young heath, and given to them, not one of a thousand of the cattle in Scotland would die in a severe winter, or spring, that but too frequently do.

The maple-tree, fortunately, is not in the least hurt by tapping. On the contrary, the oftener it is tapped the better. A yearly discharge of sap from the tree, instead of hurting it, is found to improve its growth, and make it yield the more. This is proved by experience, as well as by the superior excellence of those trees which have been perforated in a thousand places by a small woodpecker that feeds on the sap.

Nor is this all. From the saccharine matter they contain, the leaves and twigs of the maple-tree are calculated to afford food for cattle. In America, when they are beginning a farm, or when a sufficient stock of hay has not been laid up for the winter, cattle often live on the leaves and twigs of the maple. Hence, in more points of view than one, this species of wood seems worthy of attention and room; particularly in those districts where the breeding and rearing of cattle is the principal object.

Owing to the rugged nature of the ground, the want of roads, and of water-carriage, in many of the interior and highlands of Scotland, wood is often of no value at all. In the county of Banff, for instance, where I resided several years, I have seen trees sold at a shilling each, that in the vicinity of water-carriage, of a good road, or, even of a small village, would have brought ten times that sum;

and I have known trees, that in the vicinity of any tolerably large town, or village, would have been worth four or five pounds each, that scarcely brought as many shillings. The truth is, the difficulty of removing wood is such that, though fully grown, and of the very best quality, yet it is not worth the felling. Now, as there are thousands of acres of wood in situations of this kind, in many different parts of Scotland, might not such be burnt or otherwise destroyed, and maple planted in its stead? Being yearly bled, the maple would produce a considerable degree of nourishment both for man and beast; and, consequently, be an advantage to the country at large as well as to the landholders. Were there a want of hands in the country, there would be some excuse for neglecting improvements of this kind; but this is not the case; as there are many, in various parts, that know not what to do, nor where to look for employment. But it is not too late; and it is to be hoped that something will be done for them, in the way of finding them employment. There is such a thing as being lost amidst the fervour of fanciful discoveries, and of being carried away by an imagination guided only by vanity; and there is such a thing, I know, as experimental trifling; yet I think I may venture to say, that if, along with the instructions of the Board of Agriculture, and the Highland Society, the cultivation of the maple-tree, and the various uses to which fine young heath might be applied, were attended to, many of the tracks of heath and glens in Scotland would



soon lay aside their dreary aspect, and become, as it were, like the valley of Sharon.

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*Fishes of Surinam. [From the Narrative of Baron Albert Von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty.]*

THE salt water fish that are caught on the coast of Guiana, are less delicate than those which are taken on the coasts of Europe, as the muddy water which the large rivers carry into the sea, extend more than thirty miles.

A maritime animal which frequents the coast and the rivers, is the manati, or sea-cow. This animal grows to the size of about fifteen feet in length, and is of a bulky circumference; the head resembles that of a hog, but the muzzle is shorter; the nostrils are large, its eyes are very small; instead of ears, it has auditory holes; the mouth is large, and the gums are very hard, but without teeth; the tongue is short, as is also its neck; the body is covered with a dark gray very tough skin; on the breast are two paws like those of a sea turtle, with which the manati is said to support itself when feeding on marine plants, and holds likewise their young brood to their udder, which is placed on the chest.

Next to the manati is the gray munik, growing to the size of near three feet in length; it is much like the salmon in its shape, but has larger scales, and is thicker in the body; its flesh is white and delicate: there are plenty of them in the upper part of the large rivers in the colony.

The yellow back is often brought to market at Paramaribo, and attracts the attention of new comers, as this fish is of a saffron colour on the upper part, but the under is white; it grows sometimes near three feet long, and has a large head with two very long whiskers: the body is small in proportion, without scales, and the taste but indifferent.

The warapper is above a foot long, and a fish of good taste. In the rainy season it leaves its swampy retreats with the inundation, and gets into the flooded parts of the forest, where it becomes very fat, and is easily caught amongst the trees, when the water begins to subside.

The old wife is of the size of a perch, to which it bears a resemblance, and is of an excellent taste.

The lumpe is also much esteemed for its flavour. This fish is about a foot and a half long, has a very large head, and its body is marked with longitudinal black stripes. There are a number of wholesome fishes in the rivers of the colony, but they have nothing remarkable in their form, and their methods of living are entirely unknown.

The peri, however, deserves particular attention; it grows to the size of about two feet, and is of a flattish shape, with a large head, wide mouth below the head, and very sharp teeth: it has a fin on each side of the belly, a single fin on the back, and another at the end of the tail: the fish is covered with shining thin scales of a blueish colour; it lives in fresh water, is very rapacious, and its jaws are so strong that it will snap off the feet of the duck and other water-fowls



fowls as they are swimming; it is even said that persons who have been bathing in the rivers, without knowing the nature of this fish, have had their toes, fingers, &c. bit off by them; but the Indians do not dread the peri, for they keep themselves in constant motion, whilst bathing, by which they frighten the fish off, and keep it at a distance.

The que-quee is about ten inches long, with a large round-shaped head; the whole fish is covered with hard scales of moveable rings, sliding one over the other, like those in the tail of a craw-fish; the colour is of a brownish grey, and the fish is said to taste well.

The fish called the four-eyed fish, is near a foot long, covered with a brown skin; the head has some resemblance to that of a frog. This fish is found in creeks and thought by many to have really four eyes; but when minutely observed, it is clear that it has only two eyes, but under each is an addition like a part of an eye, which most likely serves this animal as a kind of reflecting mirror, by which it can observe what passes under the water, and thus avoid any unexpected attack, as it generally swims with the head considerably elevated out of the water. It is a very lively fish, and pursues with great vivacity those insects that swim on the surface.

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*Uses of Insects in Tropical Climates. [From the same.]*

A great number of different species of insects in the Tropics, are in Europe often considered as the worst plague of this country: and

yet upon mature consideration, it will be found that they are highly beneficial in the order of nature to the country where they exist. The many decayed trees here would encumber the ground, if it was not for the vast numbers of ants which take immediate possession of them, and in destroying the fibres, soon reduce them to the state of fine garden mould; an uncivilized Indian, unacquainted with the danger arising from foul and stagnant air, would fix his habitation on or near marshy grounds without any thought, were he not driven from thence by the clouds of mosquitoes; and should he be determined not to quit this place, he is under the necessity of having a large fire all night, to keep his habitation clear of those insects, and at the same time the smoke expels a great deal of the damp air, without his knowing the benefit which he derives from it. To destroy these innumerable swarms of insects, surpasses all human strength and ingenuity; and even an Hercules must submit to their attacks; but in proportion as human society shall be extended and cultivation proceed, this evil will also diminish; and if a house be erected in a healthy situation, and properly constructed, the insects will give very little trouble; but the house where I live, though it is in a pleasant spot, is not well built, it being, like most other houses in this place, without a cellar, and stands only on brick pillars about two feet high: the consequence of which is that it affords a harbour to many sorts of insects, which in a rainy day, retreat hither from the surrounding trees. For this reason, I keep a piece of mat



in a corner of each room, which they generally choose, and then by inspecting it now and then, they are easily destroyed. When I first took the house, here and slept up stairs, I heard at night the bats which were nestled in my roof, and as these are very unpleasant visitors in this country,\* I tried an experiment for their expulsion, the success of which exceeded my expectations. Just at noon, when the sun shone most, I chased them from the roof with a long reed cane, and this frightened them so much, that they did not return again: I therefore repeated this whenever I heard any fresh intruders; but this has not happened above twice or three times since I have lived here. The cock-roach, which is so very disgusting, might be hindered from running over the walls if the houses had pannels of glazed tiles; there is one species of insect, however, of which I have not yet been able to get rid, and those are the small red ants, which prevent me from being able to keep any chrysales, as they destroy them all; I have tried, by surrounding the chrysales with water, to preserve them; but these ants come in such great numbers, that when the first of them fall into the water, the others cross

over to the object upon them. They seem to live principally upon animal food, and make no appearance in the house, except when there are some chrysales, or a dead bird; of which, in a very short time, the eyes, ears, and bill, are entirely filled up with them, and they begin their destruction of the carcase before it can come to putrefaction; but in a climate like this, such an insect certainly is very useful.

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*On the Icy Crust formed on Glass Windows during a severe Frost. By Mr. J. Graham, of Berwick-upon-Tweed. [From the Philosophical Magazine for March, 1809.]*

THIS curious phænomenon is so common, that I believe there are very few who have not taken some notice of it; but, like many of the other appearances in nature, which strike the mind of the philosopher or the contemplative observer with wonder and astonishment, with the great bulk of mankind it excites not the least surprise. Such seems to be the general weakness of the human intellect, that we all require some friendly hand or kind assistant to first “rear the tender

\* The extent of the wings of the largest species of bat, or vampire, at Surinam, is about sixteen inches; but its body from the nose to the rump is six inches. I have seen persons who had been bit by them at night; but that an animal about the length of seven inches should suck so much blood as to make a person sleep from time to eternity, as is by many pretended, seems to be a gross exaggeration, for they are so shy in approaching, that they only choose the tip of the toe in general.

To destroy the white ants when they infest the houses, the inhabitants make use of arsenic; but as this may be attended with dangerous consequences, and does not destroy the eggs of the ants, which produce a new race of intruders, I therefore rather preferred using boiling water, which answers both purposes of destroying old and young.



thought, or teach the young idea how to shoot." The appearance to which I wish to call the attention of your readers, is the various figures which are represented on the glass where this crust is formed. I have found some, whose curiosity was in a certain degree excited, suppose that all was merely accidental, or formed by what we often call chance; but, on a closer observation, this will not be found to be the case;—when strictly examined, every figure is as regularly formed as if drawn by the hand of a skilful artist. and the whole exhibits, as it were, a beautiful delineation of various marine or sea plants. Sometimes there is an exact representation of the plant from which that species of ashes or alkali, commonly called kelp, is made; on other parts of the glass will be seen a perfect likeness of some of the smaller vegetable productions, which, from a small root, branch out into an astonishing number of very fine fibres, joined together in such curious workmanship, as far to excel any land production (at least that I have observed); indeed, no description which I can give, without a drawing, can convey any idea either of the beauty or curiosity of these several icy arborescences. A few of the larger kinds I have sometimes observed during a continued frost; but the more common appearances resemble the plant from which the kelp is made, and the smaller vegetable productions. I wish to be informed by any of your learned and philosophical readers, what can be the natural cause which produces this effect? Surely we cannot ascribe it to mere accident; for, if this were the case,

there certainly would not be the same regular uniformity. It may, however, be necessary to observe, that this uniform appearance will sometimes be broken; but on strict examination I have always found it to proceed from some such circumstances as a sudden change in the temperature of the air in the room by an increase of company, or a larger fire, &c. these will sometimes, in a certain degree, melt the crust on the glass, and if again suddenly frozen, the regularity of the figures will appear broken; but where Nature is left open to operate without interruption, I have always found the result the same.

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*On the Lethargic Sleep incident to certain Animals. [From the Labours of the French National Institute.]*

OF all the phænomena peculiar to certain animals, there are few so singular and so apparently contrary to the laws of animal economy, as the lethargic sleep to which several viviparous quadrupeds are subject during winter. The lethargy of reptiles and of insects during the same season, astonishes us much less, because we are less disposed to compare these beings with ourselves; and because in this state they lose a smaller number of their habitual properties.

In the lethargic mammiferæ, not only does an absolute state of rest take place, a complete abstinence and an insensibility to such a degree, that we may sometimes burn or tear them in pieces without their perceiving it, but their respi-



ration and circulation also gradually diminish, and they lose the greatest part of their animal heat, one of the most marked characters of their class: in a word, their life seems totally arrested; all the springs which retain or set in motion the elements of organization seem to have lost their activity, and yet life still remains, nay, may be prolonged by that lethargy beyond its natural limits: neither death nor decomposition has taken place; and unless the cold or other accessaries of the lethargic state has ceased, the animal awakes and resumes its usual functions.

When the class proposed, in 1799, that naturalists should consider in detail the circumstances which produce, accompany, and put an end to the lethargic state, it was not expected that a complete solution of the point would be obtained, but merely that the attention of naturalists, when directed to so great an object, might throw some light on it.

The most important memoirs on this subject have appeared in Spallanzani's posthumous *Treatise on Respiration*, published in 1803, and in 1807, by his friend M. Sennebier. M. Mangali, the pupil and successor of Spallanzani, published some experiments at Pavia, on the same subject, and Mr. Carlisle, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1803, has thrown much light on the question, although we are not yet perhaps able to solve the question.

Messrs. Herholdt and Rafn, of Copenhagen, M. Saissy, a physician of Lyons, and M. Prunelle of Montpellier, have successively presented memoirs of great merit

to the Institute, on the torpidity of animals; and we think it right to give here a detail of some of the phenomena, with some hasty conjectures respecting the cause.

Cold is the most necessary accessory to sleep; but it is not the only one: there must also be an absence of irritating causes, such as noise, food, &c. Several of these animals, when domesticated, do not sleep, notwithstanding the cold. An atmosphere deficient in oxygen is also favourable, and frequently necessary. This is the reason that most animals roll themselves up before falling asleep.

The degree of heat, although variable according to the kind of animal and accessory circumstances, is always a little higher than the freezing point: a too violent cold has the effect of awakening animals when they are suddenly exposed to it.

Quadrupeds subject to lethargic sleep, have not in general their blood colder than other animals in the ordinary state, nor do they consume less oxygen in respiration: it appears, however, that their heat decreases a little with that of the atmosphere, although it always remains sufficiently high while they are awake.

When once asleep, their breathing and circulation become slower: the consumption of oxygen decreases in the same proportion; they lose all feeling when the lethargy is at its height. Irritability seems to be the function which is best preserved.

Their animal heat decreases in the same interval to one or two degrees above 0 (Reaumur), but it does not become lower; and if



we gradually expose the animal to a more violent cold, and it becomes frozen, death ensues.

Warmth is the most natural cause of the animal's awaking: there are other causes, however, and cold is one of them. When the animal awakes from any given cause, respiration and circulation recommence with the usual degree of heat. The profoundness of the sleep is different, according to the species. Some animals awake several times in winter: the bear and the badger are subject to a slight sleep only: the dormouse allows itself to be dissected without exhibiting any signs of pain.

They evacuate their bowels before going to sleep; but they eat during the short times in which they are awake: they transpire but very little. The above are such facts as have been clearly ascertained.

With respect to the predisposing causes, *i. e.* why some animals are subject to sleep in winter, and others not; and with respect to the preserving causes, *i. e.* what renders them susceptible of reviving, notwithstanding the suspension of functions which seem most necessary to life,—nothing yet has been advanced which offers a satisfactory solution of these questions.

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*On the Generation, and other obscure Facts in the Natural History of the common Eel. By Mr. J. Carr, of Manchester. [From the Philosophical Magazine for October, 1809.]*

IN all inland waters eels abound

without number in summer, but disappear in winter. This disappearance has been variously accounted for, and it has been very generally imagined that a large proportion hibernate by bedding themselves in mud; a notion, which, I believe, is quite as visionary as the hibernation of swallows under water. Were eels ever in the habit of penetrating into mud, they would naturally enough shelter themselves therein when exposed to imminent danger, and no other mode of escape presented itself; but I have seen very many instances of muddy pools, purposely and speedily drained off, where multitudes of eels crawled over the light surface of the mud in all directions to escape, and without ever attempting to conceal themselves by penetrating into it. The full and clear eye of the eel also furnishes evidence that Nature never intended the animal to be buried under mud.

The disappearance of eels in rivers and brooks may be well accounted for by their emigration to the sea. This emigration is called their *running*. It commences in autumn, when immense quantities pass down the streams. Great numbers take the advantage of descending with floods, but a large proportion pass downwards in the night, and only in the darkest and most tempestuous nights. Moonshine wholly suspends their progress; and even a temporary gleam of light, when the night is otherwise favourable, immediately interrupts their journey. This proves that their emigration is not a casual but a premeditated system in their existence: and it also displays their instinctive



instinctive cunning; for, being an easy prey, when discovered, to otters, herons, and other nocturnal enemies, it is only in the darkest nights that they can travel in safety. During the period of their run, vast quantities are caught in bag-nets set across the streams. There is reason to suspect that all the eels in rivers do not run for the sea, as very early in the spring large eels abound in rivers at such a distance inland, as renders it highly improbable that they can have ascended so far at so early a period; and, indeed, it is yet an unascertained fact, whether, of the vast multitude which unquestionably do pass downwards to the sea, any of them do again return and ascend to any distance up the streams. If, indeed, this retrograde emigration really existed to any extent, there are thousands of situations on our streams where it must have been every season perceived; and yet it has not only not been discovered, but the instances are frequent, where the obstacles on many of our streams render it impracticable, and where, nevertheless, large eels are found above these obstacles as early and as abundantly as below them. The probability, therefore is, that few or none of the vast numbers which descend the streams ever again return; and then, as they are never discovered in the sea itself, the question of what ultimately becomes of them, is just as obscure as that of their generation.

There are many lakes, and multitudes of pools, abounding with eels, and from which they cannot run on account of the insufficiency of the outlets; and in these situations the eels most certainly conti-

nue during the period of their existence. There, however, they regularly disappear in winter, and the manner of their hibernating is entirely unknown; but as no species of animal with which we are acquainted ever does breed during the time of its hibernation, (the thing, indeed, seeming physically impossible,) and as eels in these confined situations are taken at all other times, without any vestige of propagation being discovered amongst them, the inference seems conclusive, that eels never do, under any circumstance, breed in fresh water. Were it, indeed, practicable in a single instance, it would be equally so in thousands of others where the circumstances are so similar; and it would be passing strange if a solitary quarry-pit, which had been excluded for a dozen years even from day-light, were to discover to us an occurrence which is never displayed in our multitudinous open pools, where the same animals are equally restricted from escape.

In contradistinction to the vast emigration of old eels down the streams in autumn, an immensely greater migration of young ones commences up the streams in spring and summer. Their size varies between the smallest and the largest darning needle. They are called *elvers*, and abound in some of our large rivers to an inconceivable extent. In some places bushels of them are taken with baskets fixed on to the ends of poles, and drawn swiftly through the water. Their progress is always along the banks, and numerous portions pass up into all the lateral streams. The smallest brook and the minutest rill that can run receive their



their proportion ; and it is solely in this way that every piece of water, however, or wherever it may be situated, receives the eels that are found in it. The smallest possible trickling of water from any pool to the nearest brook, is sufficient to enable these little indefatigable animals to wind their way up to the source. The instinct, indeed, which impels them upwards against all moving waters seems incessant and irresistible ; it surmounts every difficulty, and perseveres successfully against every obstacle, however imperious. During the low state of streams in the early part of summer, they may be found at wiers, mill-dams, cascades, and other elevations across the streams, ascending by the margin of the water perpendicular walls many feet in height, where the least crevice in the stone, or patch of moss, affords them a hold ; and they will even find their way over vertical dry boards, by adroitly employing their glutinous exterior. I have taken them in handfuls, from patches of wet moss against erect walls, completely out of the water, and where the height and distance to be surmounted would require the persevering efforts of many days. In very small pellucid brooks, adjacent to rivers where they abound, they may be seen wriggling up the little streams in endless succession for weeks together. Great numbers doubtless perish by ascending the temporary rills produced from rain, and by reaching spring-heads, and situations where the water is insufficient for their growth and support ; but in this, as in every other instance, provident Nature has guarded against all such casual ex-

penditure, by the superabundance of the production.

In the large rivers communicating with the sea, although the eels appear to advance in vast bodies, I do not imagine their migration, either in its commencement or progress, is made in concerted shoals ; it seeming more probable that the number found together is accidental, and arises from the continual supply sent off from the quarter where they originate. This is confirmed in the small streams, where each individual is seen making its way by its own solitary efforts.

In summer all the large eels in rivers and brooks conceal themselves during the day under large stones and roots of trees, and in the crevices of rocks and walls, and even in earth-holes of the banks ; and in these situations they obtain a large proportion of their food, being always on the watch to seize small fish, or other prey that the stream or accident throws into their concealment ; and I think it is much more probable that the eels which do not find their way down to the sea, pass the winter in similar situations, rather than bedded in mud, or in any other of the fanciful modes which have been assigned them.

Such are a few of the principal facts in the natural history of the common eel, a creature which every where surrounds us in the greatest abundance, and yet its origin and final disposal are equally unknown. That it never does breed in fresh water seems to be a fact well established ; and the periodical descent of the old ones to the sea, and ascent of the young ones



ones from thence, strongly evince that the scene of their propagation is in the sea itself, or very near to the mouths of rivers, and that it is there that inquiries on the subject should be prosecuted.

The growth of the eel, like that of most other fish of prey, does not appear limited to any determinate natural bulk, but to be governed only by the age and abundance of food. In this country they are indiscriminately of every size, up to eight or nine pounds weight. They have generally been supposed viviparous: but the immense abundance of the young certainly bespeaks an oviparous progeny; and this is supported by analogy in the lamprey eel, which breeds commonly enough in most of our estuaries.

The tenacious vitality of the eel is well known, and is very extraordinary; for, after decapitation, skinning, and embowelling, the separated portions of the body will still exhibit strong movement. This is a property seemingly common to all similarly-lengthened animals, and obviously results from the comparatively small proportion of nerves which originate from the brain, and the much greater which branch off in succession from the spine into the adjacent parts; an arrangement which distributes the source of vitality along the whole frame of the animal.

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*Electrical Eels.* [From Humboldt's *View of the Equatorial Regions.*]

THE rivers and lakes of the lowlands of Venezuelas and Caraccas are full of electrical eels, called by the Spaniards *tremblador* (the

trembler), and by the French colonists of Guyanne the trembling eels. These eels have the astonishing faculty of striking their prey by a discharge of electrical matter. They are found also in the small ponds or pools, interspersed in the vast plains lying between the Oronooko and the Apurá. Travellers have been obliged to abandon the old route, by Uirillica, on account of the danger incurred in passing through those stagnating waters, where the mules, struck on a sudden by an invisible commotion, were paralyzed, and very often drowned. The fisher, too, often received an electrical shock, to which his line served as a conductor.

The electrical eel is commonly about six feet long. The structure of its nervous system has been described with sufficient accuracy, but what has been said of its cellular reservoirs, and the composition of its electrical batteries, is purely imaginary. The sensation occasioned by the shock, is extremely painful, and, in the parts affected, it leaves a numbness. It resembles a sudden blow on the head more than the commotion produced by the ordinary electrical fluid. The Indians have so great a terror of this animal, and such a repugnancy to come near it, when living, that Mr. Humboldt had the greatest difficulty in procuring some of them for making experiments. For this purpose, he staid several days near the Apurá, in the small village of Calabozo, having learned that there was a great number of electrical eels near this river. His landlord made every effort to procure a number for him in vain. At length Mr.



Humbold resolved to go himself to the places which those eels inhabit. Mr. Humbold and his companions witnessed, amidst the abodes of the eels, a sight altogether new and extraordinary. About thirty mules and horses had been hastily brought together from the neighbouring savannahs, where they live in a wild state in so great numbers, that the proprietor, when he is known, parts with them for about seven shillings each. The Indians, surrounding the mules and horses, drove them into the water, and prevented them from returning to land by means of harpoons, affixed to the end of long bamboos, which they pushed forward toward the animals with loud vociferation. The electrical eels, or *gymnoti*, roused by the noise and tumult, come up to the surface of the waters, and swimming like so many livid serpents, glide under the bellies of the mules and horses, to whom they communicate commotions the most sudden and violent. The quadrupeds, in great agony, their hair standing on end, and their eyes rolling wildly with pain, make efforts for their escape. In less than five minutes two of the horses were drawn under the water and drowned. Victory seemed to be declared on the side of the electrical eels. But their activity began to relax and languish. Fatigued by the repeated efforts of their nervous energy, they launched the electric fluid less frequently, and with less effect. The horses that had escaped destruction, gradually recovered their strength; and in about a quarter of an hour the eels retired from the combat in such a state of

languor and exhaustion, that they were easily drawn to land by means of small harpoons attached to cords.

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[There be many things in the book of nature, as Shakspeare observes, that our philosophy dreams not of. But, whatever may be thought of the accuracy of the following report, it is curious, as it respects the human mind, the power of imagination, or else the strong desire to appear interesting objects in the sight of mankind.]

*The Mermaid seen on the coast of Caithness. [Letter from Miss Mackay, daughter of the Rev. David Mackay, Minister of Reay, to Miss Innes Dowager, of Sandside.]*

Reay, Manse, May 25,  
1809.

MADAM,

"TO establish the truth of what has hitherto been considered improbable and fabulous, must be at all times a difficult task, and I have not the vanity to think that my testimony alone would be sufficient for this purpose; but when to this is added that of four others, I hope it will have some effect in removing the doubts of those, who may suppose that the wonderful appearance I reported having seen in the sea on the 12th of January, was not a mermaid, but some other uncommon, though less remarkable, inhabitant of the deep. As I would willingly contribute to remove the doubt of the sceptical on this subject, I beg leave to state to you the following accounts, after pre-

mising



missing that my cousin, whose name is affixed along with mine, was one of the four witnesses who beheld with me this uncommon spectacle.

While she and I were walking by the sea-shore, on the 12th of January, about noon, our attention was attracted by seeing three people who were on a rock at some distance, shewing signs of terror and astonishment at something they saw in the water; on approaching them, we distinguished that the object of their wonder was a face resembling the human countenance, which appeared floating on the waves! at that time nothing but the face was visible; it may not be improper to observe, before I proceed farther, that the face, throat, and arms, are all I can attempt to describe, all our endeavours to discover the appearance and position of the body being unavailing. The sea at that time ran very high, and as the waves advanced, the mermaid gently sunk under them, and afterwards reappeared.

The face seemed plump and round, the eyes and nose were small, the former were of a light grey colour, and the mouth was large, and from the shape of the jaw-bone, which seemed straight, the face looked short; as to the inside of the mouth I can say nothing, not having attended to it, though sometimes open. The head was exceedingly round, the hair thick and long, of a green oily cast, and appeared troublesome to it, the waves generally throwing it down over the face, it seemed to feel the annoyance, and, as the waves retreated, with both its

hands frequently threw back the hair, and rubbed its throat, as if to remove any soiling it might have received from it. The throat was slender, smooth, and white; we did not think to observe whether it had elbows, but, from the manner in which it used its arms, I must conclude that it had. The arms were very long and slender, as were the hands and fingers, the latter were not webbed. The arms, one of them at least, was frequently extended over its head, as if to frighten a bird that hovered over it, and seemed to distress it much; when that had no effect, it sometimes turned quite round several times successively. At a little distance we observed a seal. It sometimes laid its right hand under its cheek, and in this position floated for some time. We saw nothing like hair or scales on any part of it, indeed the smoothness of the skin particularly caught our attention. The time it was discernible to us was about an hour. The sun was shining clearly at the time; it was distant from us a few yards only. These are the few observations made by us during the appearance of this strange phenomenon.

If they afford you any satisfaction, I shall be particularly happy; I have stated nothing but what I clearly recollect! as my cousin and I had frequently, previous to this period, combated an assertion, which is very common among the lower class here, that mermaids had been frequently seen on this coast, our evidence cannot be thought biassed by any former prejudice in favour of the existence of this wonderful creature.



To contribute in any degree to  
your pleasure or amusement, will  
add to the happiness of, Madam,

Your greatly obliged,  
(Signed) ELIZ. MACKAY,  
C. MACKENZIE.

*Eaters of Earth. [From Humboldt's Physical View of the Equatorial Regions.]*

ON the banks of the Meta and the Oronooko live the Ottomaci, a hideous race, inclining to corpulency, with the gross and strongly marked features of the Tartars. For the greater part of the year they live on fish, which they kill, at the surface of the water, in rivers, with arrows. But, during the rainy season, when the rivers, overflowing their banks, inundate the plains, those savages subsist on a fat or unctuous earth, which is a species of clay mixed with oxid of iron. They collect it with great care, trying, as they gather it, what is most palatable. They form it into balls of four or five inches in diameter, and then dress it by slowly boiling or baking it. In their huts you every where see great quantities of this sort of provisions. These balls, when they are going to be used, are steeped in water, and every individual eats about a pound a day. The only thing they add to this strange kind of food, is sometimes, by way of seasoning, some small fishes, lizards,

or dried roots. The quantities which the Ottomaci consume of this unctuous earth, and the avidity with which they devour it, seems to prove that it does something more than merely distending and abating the keen action of the stomach, and that the power of digestion may, in some measure, transform the more subtle particles into animal substance.\*

*Situation and Climate of the City of Marocco. [From Mr. Jackson's Account of the Empire of Marocco.]*

THE City of Marocco is situated in a fruitful plain, abounding in grain, and all the other necessities of life, and depastured by sheep and cattle, and horses of a superior breed, called (sift Ain Toga) the breed of Ain Toga. At a distance, the city has a beautiful and romantic appearance, the adjacent country being interspersed with groves of the lofty palm, and the towering snow-topped mountains of Atlas, in the back-ground, seem to cool the parched and weary traveller reposing in the plains; for although none

"Can hold a fire in his hand,  
"By thinking on the frosty Caucasus,"  
SHAKSPEARE.

yet, in the sultry season, the traveller, by viewing these mountains, experiences a sensation difficult to be described.† The lily of the  
the

\* Compare Professor Davie's discovery that iron enters largely into the basis of the blood.

† In the books of the great Lord Bacon, *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, a variety of subjects are enumerated, the consideration of which might throw some light



the valley, the fleur-de-lis, lupins, roses, jonquils, mignonet, jasmynes, violets, the orange and citron flowers, and many others, grow here spontaneously; and in the months of March and April, the air in the morning is strongly perfumed with their grateful and delicious odours. The fruits are, oranges of the finest flavour, figs of various kinds, water and musk melons, apricots, peaches, and various kinds of grapes, pears, dates, plums, and pomgranates.

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The air about Marocco is gene-

rally calm; the neighbouring mountains of Atlas defend the plain in which it stands from the scorching Shume, or hot wind which blows from Tafielt and Sahara, by arresting its progress, and the snow with which they are always covered, imparts a coolness to the surrounding atmosphere; in summer, however, the heat is intense, though the nights, during that period, are cool: in winter the cold is very sensibly felt; but the climate is extremely healthy. The inhabitants, particularly the Jews, are, however, affected with ophthalmia.

on the connection between mind and matter, among which subjects, in all nine, the second is the History of the Power and Influence of Imagination; the sensation felt on viewing the snow-topped mountains of Atlas is curious, and in physiology very important. It is for this reason that we have selected this article. The sensation was no doubt allied, and in some degree participated in, the very nature of that excited by a cooling breeze. Imaginations, or ideas, are re-sensations. Imagination, powerfully excited, runs, in some measure, back into sensation,



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Sketch of a Plan for improving the Royal Institution, and erecting it on a permanent Foundation.*

THE basis of this plan is to be found in the following paragraph, copied from the last report of the managers to the visitors, 20th March, 1809.

“If it should be thought advisable to endeavour to attract the interest of scientific men in this country, and to induce them to form an active union for the support of the Royal Institution, something must be done to give it more the form of a public establishment, than of private and hereditary property. It can hardly be expected that a general interest should ever be excited for the improvement of the inheritance of a few individuals. The managers, however, have no doubt, but that the friends of science will be ready to come forward, and give the Institution a powerful and adequate support, whenever it shall obtain such a shape and character, as is calculated to interest the country at large; and while they express their own sentiments and wishes, they have no doubt of anticipating

the sentiments of the body of the proprietors, that it will be deserving of any sacrifice which it may be necessary to make of personal interest and advantage, to erect on this basis, a public, national, and permanent establishment, devoted and dedicated to the cultivation of science, and to the promotion of every improvement in agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts of life, that may be conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the British Empire.”

The property of the Royal Institution has been gradually improved since its foundation, and a number of sources of scientific and literary interest have been daily adding to it. It has been furnished with a mineral collection and an extensive library, which were not in contemplation when the establishment was formed. The scientific lectures have not only exhibited views of the actual state of science, but have likewise assisted in its progression; and investigations connected with improvements in chemical philosophy and the chemical arts, have been constantly carried on in the laboratory.

The origin of the pecuniary difficulties of the Royal Institution



must be sought for principally in the nature of the primitive constitution of the body. The income of the Royal Institution is derived now wholly from the contributions of life and annual subscribers; these are the supporters of it, and yet they have no share in the government, and no concern with the property. Life subscribers cannot be expected to pay considerable sums for the benefit of an establishment in which they have no direction; and annual subscribers will consider only the quantity of amusement or information, or other advantages, which they may receive within the year, and their number will be continually fluctuating. The power of sale—the hereditary nature of the proprietor's shares destroy all sources of income from this part of the body, by inviting and encouraging speculation in the sale of shares; and supposing a constant transfer of shares, and a real or imaginary increase of the value of the property, persons who have been proprietors, may, for many years, have benefitted by all the advantages and privileges of the Royal Institution, and instead of having afforded it support, may actually have profited in a pecuniary way by the concern. The persons in whom the government of the Royal Institution is vested, ought, it is obvious, to be either encouragers of useful public objects, lovers or patrons of science and the useful arts, or scientific men; but property, which can be transferred by sale, is likely to go to the highest bidder; and a taste for encouraging science and useful public objects may not be hereditary, and

in consequence, in the course of years, as the constitution now exists, the establishment may hereafter belong to men who can neither understand its objects, estimate its uses, or properly apply its means. Science can be exalted and promoted only by patronage and by sacrifices; it will not bear to be trafficked with. It cannot be expected that liberal persons will afford support to a philosophical establishment, the basis of which *may* be commercial advantage; or that the disinterested person will contribute to a fund, which interested persons *may* have the power of speculating upon as a matter of business.

Whoever will cast his eye over the list of proprietors of the Royal Institution, will instantly perceive that those who co-operated in its formation, were influenced not by the narrow view of personal advantages, but by the desire of promoting the interests of science and of their country.—A plan, therefore, having for its object the extending the uses and exalting the views of the establishment, and rendering it permanent on a liberal and firm basis, can hardly fail to be considered with indulgence; but in the promotion of this object the interest of no class of the proprietors ought to be neglected, and in the new arrangements, no principles ought to be adopted that cannot be considered as equitable and just by all parties concerned.

The first proposition is, that a correct valuation shall be made of the property of the Institution so as to ascertain the amount of each individual's interest.

The second, that an Act of Parliament



liament be applied for, to amend the charter of the Royal Institution, the basis of which shall be the conversion of that body from a private property into a public establishment.

The third, that such proprietors as shall agree to the amendment of the charter, giving up the transferable and hereditary power over their shares, shall be the first members, and founders of the establishment; and shall each have the power of naming a person of their family, who shall be admitted to the privileges of a life subscriber, or shall have the privilege of admitting one person to the lectures, collections, and library of reference, when attending in person.

The fourth, that such proprietors as do not desire to belong to the new corporation, shall receive the value of their shares.

The fifth, that a subscription shall be opened (as a loan, for the discharge of which means will be immediately stated) for raising a fund, by which such proprietors may be paid off.

The sixth, that new members be admitted by ballot, a certificate in their favour being signed by at least four members, and that they do either pay fifty guineas as a composition, or four guineas annually.

The seventh, that the present life subscribers may be ballotted for as members, paying, if elected, twenty-five guineas as a composition, or two guineas annually; but if they do not choose to be ballotted for, that they retain their present privileges.

The eighth, that the present annual subscribers retain their pre-

sent privileges; but if they wish to become members, they, like the life subscribers, must take the same steps with respect to form as new members.

The ninth, that the patrons of the library shall retain all their present privileges for life; and that the hereditary patrons shall receive a compensation for giving up their right of inheritance, by having the privilege of naming, each, a patron for life.

In the new corporation it is proposed, that the members shall be elected upon the same footing as the members of the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries, having neither the power of sale nor of gift, in which case the title of "*Member of the Royal Institution*" will become honorary. The objects of the Institution will continue as at present, but enlarged and refined, the promotion and diffusion of experimental science and its application to the purposes of life. The members, it is conceived, may have weekly meetings, either as a body or in committees, for the purpose of communicating or investigating any new facts in science, arts, or manufactures. The lectures of the Institution connected with all subjects of natural philosophy, chemistry and experimental science, will be a constant source of interest and information to the members. The researches carried on in their laboratories for discovery, will be honourable to them as a body; and they will all be partakers in the great work of promoting experimental knowledge, the progress of which is so intimately connected with the perfection of our manufactures



manufactures and with our national wealth and happiness.

The more immediate personal privileges of the members will be, First,—That of electing; annually, a council of managers, consisting of a president, secretary, and fifteen ordinary members; and a committee of visitors, consisting of a treasurer and fifteen ordinary members. The president and managers to conduct the affairs of the Institution, and the visitors to examine and report as to the conduct; eight of the managers and eight visitors to change every year.

Second, — The members will have the use of the library, collection of minerals, and collection of models.

Third,—The members may give their opinion on, and ask the advice of, the body, and report on any matter connected with the Institution or its objects, at any of the public meetings.

Fourth, — The members will have a right of sending to the Institution any specimens of minerals or substances likely to be useful in arts or manufactures, with a request that they may be examined, and, if necessary, analyzed and reported upon, and their probable applications stated.

Fifth,—The members will have the right of proposing new useful investigations to committees appointed by the managers.

When discoveries are made in the laboratories of the Institution, connected with the advancement of general science, abstracts or notices of them shall be published in the journals, which shall appear at least quarterly, and which shall contain a general account of all inventions, useful projects, or new

scientific facts, brought forward in any part of the world; but as it will be greatly for the advantage of the establishment, that it should be connected with the Royal Society, which, from the era of its foundation, has uniformly patronized all plans for promoting and promulgating natural knowledge; it is proposed that a full and circumstantial detail of every advance made in science in the Royal Institution shall be presented to the Royal Society, to be inserted in the publications of that body, the inestimable records of the progress of English science.

It is conceived that in an establishment, offering to its members so many advantages, and so worthy of patronage on account of its objects, there would be no want of funds: the common laws of mortality would assist in their support. And, when it is honourable to belong to a body, candidates will be never wanting.—The great landed and mineral proprietors of the country would be anxious to support an establishment which afforded them the means of estimating the uses of the productions of their estates, and scientific men would cheerfully co-operate in assisting a scheme affording them the means of pursuing useful investigations, and which would connect together theoretical and practical knowledge.

The admission of one hundred new members at the composition, would, there is every reason to believe, afford a fund fully adequate to buy off the disposable shares of the property. And it may be computed, that if the number of members equalled from six hundred to seven hundred, ample funds would



would be provided for all the purposes of the Institution.

Calculate 100 life subscribers becoming members, at the composition, would give .....	£.	s.
100 annual subscribers becoming members at the composition .....	2625	0
	5250	0
	<hr/>	
	£7875	0
	<hr/>	
Interest on £7875..	393	15
300 members at 4 guineas annually....	1260	0
200 annual subscribers .....	840	0
	<hr/>	
Annual income .....	£2493	15
But calculate upon an addition of 35 members annually, reckon 20 paying composition money, will make .....	1050	0
	<hr/>	
Whole annual income	£3543	15

*An Invention for writing by means of Copies engraved on Slates. [From Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Vol. xxvii.]*

[The silver medal of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. and ten guineas were this session voted to Mr. Thomas Warren, jun. for his invention of teaching to write on a cheap plan, by means of copies engraved on slates.]

SIR,

I beg leave to offer some engraved slates of my invention, to

the inspection of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, humbly submitting to their consideration, whether they may be deemed worthy of reward.

The great utility of this article in instructing the children of the poor, particularly in the art of writing, has been amply proved in several respectable charity-schools at Bury St. Edmunds, also in many private families for the last nine months.

This invention occasions great saving in writing-paper, pens, ink, and labour in teaching.

In making use of these slates, the slate pencil is recommended to be placed in a quill, and to be held exactly after the manner of a pen, by which means the hand is made pliant, preparatory to the use of that instrument on paper.

Small slates without capitals, which are the sort recommended to schools in general, are sold for fifteen shillings the dozen, by one of which all the children in a family may learn to write, and with care it will last for ages. Small slates, with capital letters, are sold at one guinea the dozen. They may be procured on my account from Messrs. Champante and Whitrow, stationers, Jewry-street, Aldgate; and Messrs. W. and C. Child, Lower Thames-street.

The method I recommend in making use of my small slate, with the two addition sums engraved upon it, is to cut off with the pencil the three lower lines for the first sum, then four lines, then five, &c. by which means the two sums answer the purpose of many; I have proved this slate to be of great use in schools. The large slate,



slate, with the first four rules of arithmetic engraved upon it, I recommend as a useful article in private families, as by it children may be exercised in those rules with very little trouble.

An addition sum may be cut upon a slate, to do for the purpose of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, by setting the lines at a considerable distance from each other, and making the upper lines the largest numbers for subtracting, but it makes rather a complex article, and examples for children cannot be too plain.

I have prepared some slates with designs engraved upon them for learning to draw from, but I do not consider this as a very important article.

I should have been happy to have attended personally upon the Society, but through confinement in business and my small means, I have taken the liberty to send the slates by a friend.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

THOS. WARREN, JUN.

Bury St. Edmunds,

Jan. 4th, 1809.

To C. TAYLOR, M.D. SEC.

Certificates were received from Mr. John Powell, of Islington, and sixty other respectable persons, stating that they think Mr. Warren's invention is likely to prove of considerable public utility.

*neys without the use of Climbing-boys. [From the Transactions of the Society.]*

The Society, anxious to relieve the sufferings of humanity, have attended with much pleasure to the endeavours of the inhabitants of Sheffield, and co-operated with them in their attempts to supersede the necessity of employing climbing-boys; they have, therefore, immediately on receiving the following communication, ordered it to be inserted in their volume, and an explanatory engraving of the machinery employed to be annexed.

The original drawings are preserved in the Society's repository.

The former communications, made by the Society of Arts, &c. on the subject of sweeping chimneys by machinery, may be found in the twenty-third and twenty-fifth volumes of their Transactions.

SIR,

IN making this statement to the Society instituted for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. respecting an object which has frequently engaged their attention, the committee who make it are actuated by a desire of putting the Society and the public in possession of all that information which they have obtained from extensive experience, thereby enabling the Society to form a more accurate and just estimate of the degree of probability that there is of final success, than they otherwise might be able to do. As the committee mean not to found any claim to reward, they have only been anxious to convey the information in the most convenient and ready way, without, perhaps,

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*The Thanks of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. were voted to Mr. S. Roberts, Chairman of a Committee appointed at Sheffield for encouraging the Sweeping of Chim-*



haps, exactly observing the forms prescribed by the Society. The same considerations which have so frequently pressed themselves upon the notice of the Society, respecting boys employed by chimney-sweepers as climbers, operated on the minds of many individuals in this town, and upwards of two years ago gave rise to a general meeting, which appointed a committee for the purpose of endeavouring to improve their situation, and of superseding the necessity of employing them at all, by substituting machines for that purpose. This committee procured by subscription a sum, which, though not large, has hitherto served to defray those expenses necessarily incurred in the prosecution of the object for the attainment of which they were appointed. The committee then procured one of the machines from Mr. Smart, and engaged a clever, active man to undertake the working of it (having first offered it to all the regular sweepers, who refused it). The committee then endeavoured, by public and private application, to induce as many of the inhabitants as they could to encourage the use of the machine; in which endeavour they were as successful as could have been reasonably expected. As all the regular chimney-sweepers have endeavoured by every means in their power to impede the use of the machine, the committee found it necessary to procure a boy to assist the man with the machine, and in cases where necessity required it, to go up the chimney, because the regular chimney-sweepers refused to suffer their boys to complete the sweeping of those chimneys where

the machine had failed. The brush procured from Mr. Smart being found rather difficult to work, and liable to be out of order, the committee made, and caused to be made, many experiments for the purpose of improving it. Those of which they have sent drawings seems to them the most simple, the most easy to work, the most durable, and the most efficacious of any which they have tried or seen. The result of all the experience which the committee have now had is, that though probably nine-tenths of the chimneys in this town, as they now are, might be swept with the machines, yet that not one in ten of those will voluntarily be permitted to be swept by them, however much the committee may exert themselves, because it probably will always take up some more time in the operation, and there is some risk in the first instance that the chimney may not admit of being swept by the machine, and because the ordering of it is generally left to servants, indifferent to the object, and inimical to new experiments, which might cause them more trouble. It is very possible, by stating striking and recent cases of oppression and suffering, to arouse humanity to expressions of sorrow and commiseration, but not often to great and continued efforts to assist, especially if it require any sacrifices, however trivial. It therefore follows, that, unless the method of sweeping chimneys with machines can be rendered less expensive and less inconvenient than by boys, (a thing not to be expected,) the practice will never voluntarily become so extensively adopted as to diminish, in any considerable



siderable degree, the number of climbing-boys. The committee are therefore decidedly of opinion, that the object which they are endeavouring to reach, can be in no other way effectually obtained than by an Act of Parliament prohibiting chimney-sweepers from taking any more climbing-apprentices, and employing any others than apprentices as climbing-boys. The committee are of opinion that such an Act would effectually produce the desired end, without subjecting either the public or chimney-sweepers to any very serious loss or inconvenience, because the chimney-sweepers would have an opportunity to get into the practice of using the machines, before the present apprentices were out of their servitude, and the generality of those chimneys, which now cannot be swept with the machines, would be easily so altered as to render them capable of being swept with them, and all new chimneys would of course be so constructed. The committee further feel confident, that the attention and ingenuity of able mechanics and others interested, would be so much turned to the completion of the object, that very considerable improvements in the machines, and in the manner of working them, would be very soon made. As one of the most likely methods of producing the effect, the committee have thought it right thus candidly to state their sentiments and opinions to the Society, to whom they will be happy to give any further information in their power, which may be thought likely to conduce towards obtaining the object of which they are in pursuit. The

committee need not attempt to describe the degree of suffering, consequent deformity, great depravity, painful diseases, and frequent loss of life, which attend the present practice to so many thousands of helpless and unoffending children, who might otherwise become happy, useful, and worthy members of the community, because the Society were fully satisfied on these points long before the committee who now address them were called upon to assist in the endeavour to remedy them. That the committee have not been exaggerating the capability of the machines, (imperfect as they must be admitted at present to be,) is evident from the list sent herewith of such chimneys as have been swept with them here during the first twelve months, being upwards of twelve hundred, in spite of all the prejudice, opposition, and difficulties against which they had to labour, also from the number of respectable signatures approving of, and recommending, after trial, the use of the machine. For it must be recollected, that it is only amongst the more opulent inhabitants, and, consequently, in the highest and most difficult chimneys, that it has hitherto been principally used, because, amongst the lower class, the regular chimney-sweepers have been accustomed here to sweep for the soot only, a practice not yet adopted with the machine. The man employed here with the machine, states, that if he had tolerable regular employment, at sixpence each chimney, it would pay him very well. The committee were very fortunate in engaging a person well qualified and active in the use of the machine, who



who has, under their inspection and directions, used his utmost endeavours to promote the success of the machine, both by improving and facilitating the use of it.

As it did not appear probable to the committee that there would very soon be any great diminution made in the number of climbing-boys, they have not been inattentive to their welfare and comfort, but have endeavoured, as much as was in their power, to soften the rigour of their treatment, and to improve their situation. As the act for the regulation of chimney-sweepers and their apprentices was found to be so negligently drawn up, and so loosely worded, as to be utterly inadequate to enforcing proper treatment, the committee, with the advice and co-operation of the magistrates, induced the master chimney-sweepers voluntarily to agree to certain regulations respecting the treatment and employment of their boys, which the committee trust will be attended with considerable benefit to the poor children. The plan of having them to dine on Easter Monday, will give the committee an opportunity of inquiry respecting the treatment which they receive, of giving them good advice, and of rewarding those who have behaved well. I am, very respectfully,

Sir, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL ROBERTS,  
Chairman.

*Sheffield, Oct. 11, 1809.*

To C. TAYLOR, M.D. Sec.

### CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS.

We, the master-chimney-sweepers, resident in Sheffield, whose

names are underwritten, do agree to the following resolutions :

1. That we will not take any boy as an apprentice under the age of eight years, nor will we bind any one to continue longer in servitude than he is sixteen years of age.

2. That we will not send out any boy to work before four o'clock in the morning in summer, nor before five in winter, in the town.

3. That we will not permit any boy to go out to climb a chimney after twelve o'clock at noon, nor will we suffer our apprentices, or boys employed by us, to seek work, or to be engaged in any way in our business out of doors, after five o'clock in the afternoon in summer, nor after four in winter.

4. That each boy shall have a good breakfast before he leaves home in a morning, a good dinner between the hours of twelve and two o'clock at noon, and a good supper between the hours of five and seven o'clock in the evening.

5. That every two boys shall be allowed one good bed, with sufficient coverings, and they shall be allowed at least eight hours rest in each night.

6. That we will provide every boy with decent and sufficiently warm clothing, as a sweeping-dress, including a pair of good shoes, to be worn always when he is on duty, also a suitable cap, having a plate in front with his master's name and place of abode engraven on it.

7. That over and above the sweeping-dress, we will provide for each boy a complete suit of good clothes, including linen, hat, shoes, and stockings, on every  
Easter



Easter Sunday, and that he shall appear in the same before "the Committee for bettering the Condition of Climbing-boys, &c." on the Monday following, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, at the Cutlers' Hall, or some other convenient place, and shall be permitted to dine there, or elsewhere, on that day, at the committee's expense.

8. That we will not, on any occasion, lend out our boys to each other, or to any other persons in the trade.

9. That we do engage, on every Lord's day, to send our apprentices and boys employed by us to some Sunday-school approved by the aforesaid committee, and also to divine service with the rest of the children who attend the same school.

*Sheffield, Cutlers' Hall,*

*March 11, 1809.*

Witness,

Samuel Roberts,

T. A. Ward,

G. Bennet,

W. Younge,

C. Pukslay,

J. Montgomery,

Michael Mellon, his  $\times$  mark,

George Rippon, his  $\times$  mark,

William Pears, his  $\times$  mark,

John Rodgers,

John Betts.

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*The Silver Medal given by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. was this Session voted to the Rev. James Hall, of Cheshunt-walk, Walthamstow, for preparing from Beanstalks a substitute for Hemp. A written Communication was received from him by the So-*

*cietly on the Subject, and Samples of the Fibres are preserved in the Society's Repository. The following are Certificates of Mr. Hall's Statements.*

*Streatham, Surrey,  
Jan. 9, 1809.*

WE, the undersigned, do hereby certify, that the specimens of hemp enclosed and sealed up by us, addressed to Dr. Taylor, Secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, Adelphi, Strand, are the produce of common bean-straw:—That we never saw nor heard of bean-hemp till lately; when the Rev. James Hall, who resides here at present, was trying experiments respecting it at Mr. Adams's farm, Mount Nod, and other parts of this parish:—That, in the present obstructed state of commerce with the continent, it appears to us the discovery of bean-hemp may be extremely useful to the manufacture of canvas, ropes, paper, &c.:—And that, as it affords a new and important prospect of employment for the poor, we think Mr. Hall, the discoverer, is deserving of the approbation of the public. We shall only add, that as the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, have contributed so often in a high degree to the exertion of genius, the improvement of the arts, and the public good, we have no doubt but they will not only take the proper steps to prosecute the discovery and encourage the manufacture of bean-hemp, but also, by some mark of their favour, show their approbation of Mr. Hall's merit in the discovery he has made, as well as of his high public



public spirit and liberality in communicating the discovery to the public without reserve.

William Adams, Mount Nod,  
Edward Bullock, Curate,  
Wm. Gardner, Surgeon.

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*Streatham, Surrey,*  
*Jan. 9, 1809.*

These are to certify to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c, London, and all whom it may concern, that having seen (at first to our astonishment) the Rev. James Hall, who has resided here for some time past, procuring hemp from common bean-straw, steeped some days in water, we steeped some also, and easily got hemp from it; there being no mystery in the matter, more than *merely* steeping the straw, peeling off the hemp, and then washing and cleaning it, by pulling it through a hackle or comb.

These are also to certify, that having tried bean-hemp, and found it to take both wax and rosin, we have sewed with it, and find the fibres of which it consists in general so strong, that the leather never failed to give way sooner than the seam. We have only to add, that as hemp has of late become uncommonly dear, while much of it is bad, we anxiously wish the prosecution of the discovery, and the appearance of bean-hemp in the market; and shall, so soon as we hear of its being spun and on sale, be among the first to purchase and use it.

John Houne, Shoe-maker,  
Thomas Alford, Shoe-maker.

*Letter from Mr. Hume, of Long Acre, to the Rev. James Hall.*

SIR,

I enclose a specimen of the bean filaments or thread which have been submitted to the bleaching process. The texture and strength seem not in the least to have been impaired, but retain the primitive tenacity; and I am persuaded this substance will prove an excellent substitute for hemp and flax, for the manufacture of various kinds of paper, cordage, and other materials. I did not find more difficulty in accomplishing the bleaching of this than in other vegetables which I have occasionally tried, and I believe this article is susceptible of a still greater degree of whiteness. I remain, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

JOS. HUME.

*Long Acre, Feb. 24, 1807.*

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*Letter from Mr. H. Davy, to the Rev. James Hall.*

SIR,

I shall enclose in this paper a small quantity of the bean fibre, rendered as white as possible by chemical means.

It seems to bear bleaching very well, and, as to chemical properties, differs very little from hemp.

The question, whether it is likely to be of useful application, is a *mechanical* one, and must be solved by experiments on its comparative strength. I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
H. DAVY.



*Simple Means of correcting the Damp in Coal-mines. [From the Monthly Magazine.]*

SIR,

I HAVE frequently noticed that coal-works in Wales are interrupted by what the colliers term the Damp, but which is nothing else than an excess of hydrogen gas. This circumstance is often afflicting to humanity; for it is not unusual for the gas to take fire from the lighted candles attempted to be introduced into the work; the damp, on such occasions, burns with a blue flame; explosions\* ensue, and very often the miners in the work, and the winders at the mouth of the pit, fall victims to this inevitable catastrophe. The coal-mines belonging to Lord Cawdor, at Lanlsh, in Carmarthen-shire, were, about a month past, annoyed with this damp, which rendered the miners heavy and sleepy, and made it impossible for them to keep in their lights. Being informed of the circumstance by William Dafydd, of Tuyha, the present overseer of the works, I requested him to slacken a few lumps of fresh lime in the level, or subterraneous passage made by the miners in digging out the coals; having an idea that the carbonic acid gas, produced by throwing a few lumps of lime into a little wa-

ter, would correct the air in the works, and make it more favourable to inhalation and combustion. The overseer complied with my request, and sent me word next day, that the experiment was attended with success, and the miners enabled to go on with the works. The prevalence of the damp in coal-mines is so general, and its effects so dangerous, by privation of lives, that I conceived this success in applying a cheap and rational remedy should be known to the public; that knowledge cannot be better promulgated, than through the medium of your extensively-circulated, and most useful publication. Your's, &c.

JOHN JONES.

*Holborn-court, Gray's-inn.*

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*On the Propriety of establishing Parochial Shops in Country Districts. [From the Universal Magazine for Aug. 1809.]*

SIR,

AS the internal economy of labouring parishes cannot fail to be an object of general interest, permit me to mention one particular, in which, it appears, a considerable improvement might be introduced to rural districts.

Those who are in habits of familiarity with recluse parts of the country must be aware of the very

\* The writer rather questions the propriety of the term explosion, or loud explosion, as the lectures on chemistry denominate the sound caused by the combustion of a combination of gases: he has sometimes set on fire, in a quart bottle, with a little water at the bottom to protect his hand, a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen gasses, and to determine whether the sound was from explosion, or from inpletion, has placed a small cork in the neck of the bottle; on every occasion, the cork has been driven in with violence into the bottle; he must therefore submit the circumstance to professed chemists; and, more particularly, as his present laborious profession is as distant from the subject as law is from physics.



great difficulty the peasant finds in procuring, with tolerable advantage, even the humble necessities to which his earnings are equivalent. In many instances a town is at several miles distance. A frequent journey to this mart would evidently occupy too much of the husband's time to be practicable; and the wife, surrounded in all probability by a numerous family, is equally incapable of the undertaking. Very small shops are, consequently, opened in the scattered hamlet; and thither the scanty stipend of the peasant family uniformly goes. As these shops are supplied with the various articles in which they deal from no better a source than the largest retailer of the neighbouring country town, and as nothing bordering on competition can be supposed to exist in the seclusion of a confined village, it naturally occurs that the peasant pays nearly fifty per cent. more for his homely commodities than the mechanic, who possesses the advantage of purchasing of more extensive dealers at a market, rendered advantageous by a spirit of rivalry. The countryman's 10s. a week, therefore, undergo a most afflictive reduction, in point of absolute value:—an evil that requires little illustration, and which falls with particular severity on the man whose nominal remuneration for labour has not kept pace with the actual decrease evident in the value of money.\* In consequence of this local deterioration of the labourer's income, he gradually incurs a

debt which binds him more firmly to the necessity of expending his earnings with the village trader, and compels him to purchase, without a murmur, indifferent articles at a price still more exorbitant than before. The situation of a hopeless debtor is evidently unfavourable to the exercise of industry. Whether a debt, which there is no rational prospect of discharging, be five pounds or five shillings, is a matter of small moment among those who have not learned honour through the mean of education. The peasant flies to drinking, and his family experience the severe misery of receiving the necessities procured by daily labour from the hands of a man who never transmits the adulterated pittance without alarming and degrading taunts.

It appears that this grievance, really formidable to the most useful class of men possessed by the empire, might be totally remedied without any great exertion or inconvenience. I would propose a shop to be opened by the parish-officers of every country neighbourhood, at which the poor might be served with unadulterated articles, at a profit just sufficient to defray the expenses of the undertaking. The comparatively extensive capital arising from the rates of a parish at large, would enable the proprietors to purchase goods at a desirable market. The charge of the establishment would be trivial. Some minor officer of the parish would be willing and able, for a small salary, to super-

\* The village labourer's pay has not experienced an increase of above one-third within the last fifty years. The price of the common articles of life has more than doubled in the same period. The increase of the poor-rates is a sufficient voucher for the inadequacy of the peasant's remuneration.



intend the sale of articles in so limited and unembarrassed a concern; and the whole might be periodically inspected, with little additional trouble, by the churchwarden or overseer.

The benefits that must accrue to the humble purchaser are obvious. Without any compulsion, he would possess the opportunity of expending his earnings in an advantageous manner. The impossibility of acquiring goods on trust, (as the parish shop would of course sell only for ready money,) is a circumstance that must be ultimately beneficial to him. Admitting that the profits of the institution might not, from the superficial accounts of the purchase and sale, altogether defray the expenses, the parish would certainly be gainers in the aggregate, independently of the amendment of manners likely to take place from the system; for the debt of the pauper generally becomes an indirect burthen on the payers to the poor-rate, under the present order of things.

This project is not entirely chimerical. A shop, in its essential

point resembling that which I recommend to general adoption, has been established by a most amiable character in Oxfordshire,—the Bishop of Durham, whose seat, named Mungwell, is situated in the vicinity of Wallingford. The institution of this philanthropic prelate is in every desirable shape successful. The peasantry of England will have reason to repeat his lordship's name with gratitude, should his private example find parochial imitators.

The shops instituted by the proprietors of iron-works, in the remote parts of Wales, likewise exhibit the propriety of the plan. These little marts are established for local accommodation, but they sufficiently prove the efficacy of public shops in neighbourhoods where a competition of sellers is unattainable.

Wishing that these hints may obtain notice through the extensive circulation of your miscellany,

I remain, Sir,

Your's, &c.

J. N. B.

10th August, 1809.



## ANTIQUITIES.

*Pacification of Lludd—Little Song. Translated from the Welsh of the Bard Thaliessin, who flourished in the Sixth Century of the Christian Æra; with Notes in support of the Opinion, that this little Poem relates, not to the first Colonists of Great Britain, but only to the Invasion by Julius Cæsar. [From Mr. Davies's Mythology and Rites of the British Druids.]*

**I**N the name of the God *Trinity*,\* exhibit thy charity!

A numerous race, of ungentle manners,

Repeat their invasion of Britain, chief of isles:†

Men from a country in Asia, and the region of Capys;‡

A people of iniquitous design: the land is not known

That was their mother.§ They made a devious course by sea.

In their flowing garments,|| who can equal them?

With design are they called in,¶ with their short spears,\*\* those foes

\* The Bard addresses himself to a Christian.

† The subject of the poem is Cæsar's second invasion. The particle *dy*, in composition, conveys the sense of *iteration*.

‡ The district of Troy, whence the Romans deduced their origin.

§ When the oracle commanded Æneas and his company—

Dardanidæ duri, quæ vos a stirpe parentum

Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere læto

Accipiet reduces; antiquam exquirite Matrem—

*Virg. Æn. III. V. 93.*

We are informed, that they knew not where to find this *parent region*, and consequently wandered through various seas in search of it. To this tale the Bard evidently alludes.

|| The Roman toga, or gown.

¶ We learn from Cæsar, as well as from the British Triads and Chronicles, that the Romans were invited into this island by the princes of the Trinobantes, who were at war with Cassivellaunus.

\*\* Such was the formidable *pilum*, as appears from a variety of Roman coins and sculptures.



Of the Europeans, the Aramites, and Armenians.\*

O thoughtless Christian, there was oppressive toil,

Before the pacification of Lludd and Llefelis,†

The proprietor of the fair island ‡ is roused

Against the *Roman* leader, splendid and terrible.

The King § is not ensnared, as inexpert: he directs with his speech

(Having seen all the foreigners that were to be seen),

That the quadrangular swamp || should be set in order, by wayfaring  
torches,

Against the arrogant leader, in whose presence there was a spreading  
flame. ¶

The son of Graid,\*\* with his voice, directs the retaliation.

The Cymry burst into a flame—there is war upon the slaves. ††

With deliberate thought will I declare the stroke that made them  
decamp.

*It was the great exaltation of British energy. ††*

\* The Romans had carried their arms, not only over the best part of Europe, but also into Aram, or Syria and Armenia, before they invaded Britain.

† These reputed brothers of Cassivellaunus, were the princes of the Trinobantes, who deserted the general cause of their country, and sent ambassadors to Julius Cæsar.

‡ The reader will see hereafter, that the ancient Bards conferred this title upon the solar divinity, and his chief minister.

§ That is Cassivellaunus, whose abilities and prudence are acknowledged by the Roman commander.

|| The fortress or town of Cassivellaunus, *Silvis paludibusque munitum*. De Bell. Gall. L. V. c. 21.

¶ Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis, incendiisque faciendis, hostibus noceretur. Ib. c. 19.

\*\* Grad, or *Graid*, the *sun*.—Cassivellaunus is called the son of *Beli*, which is another name of that deified luminary.

†† Those British tribes who voluntarily submitted to the Romans (see Cæsar, Ib. c. 20, 21), and on whom Cassivellaunus retaliated after Cæsar's departure.

‡‡ The Bard, in a strain of venial patriotism, ascribes the departure of Cæsar and the Romans to the prowess of his countrymen. Other Bards have dropped pretty strong hints to the same purpose. Lucan says—

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

And Pope, with less asperity—

Ask why, from Britain Cæsar would retreat?

Cæsar himself might whisper—*I was beat.*



*Stonehenge. [From the same.]*

I HAVE now, with considerable labour, (says Mr. Davies,) and, to the best of my abilities, with accuracy and fidelity, translated and explained the Gododin of Aneurin, that the reader, having the whole work under his eye, may draw his own conclusion from it: and this, if I mistake not, must amount to a conviction, that the great catastrophe which the Bard deploras, was no other than that historical event, the massacre of the British nobles by the Saxon king, in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge; and, consequently, that the magnificent temple, or sanctuary, so often introduced, was that identical structure.

From hence it must follow, that this pile could not have been erected, as fable has sometimes reported, in commemoration of the massacre; but that, on the contrary, it was a monument of venerable antiquity in the days of Hengist; and that its peculiar sanctity influenced the selection of that spot for the place of conference between the British and Saxon princes. It is equally clear, that the sacred building did not receive its name, Gwaith Emrys, from Emrys, or Ambrosius, a prince who fought with Hengist: but that, on the other hand, it communicated to him its own name, as he was the president and defender of the Ambrosial stones.

That this ancient structure was sacred to the Druidical superstition, is fully evident, from the language in which it was described, and the great veneration in which it was held by the primitive Bards, those immediate descendants, and avowed disciples of the British Druids.

As the “ great sanctuary of the dominion,” or metropolitan temple of our heathen ancestors, so complex in its plan, and constructed upon such a multitude of astronomical calculations, we find it was not exclusively dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, or any other individual object of superstition; but it was a kind of *pantheon*, in which all the Arkite and Sabian divinities, of British theology, were supposed to have been present: for here we perceive Noe and Hu, the deified patriarch; Elphin and Rheiddin, the Sun; Eseye, Isis; Kêd, Ceres, with the cell of her sacred fire; Llywy, Proserpine; Gwydien, Hermes; Budd, Victory, and several others.

We learn from the Gododin, that the conference with Hengist, and the fatal banquet, took place upon the Ystre, or Cursus, which is still discernible, at the distance of half a mile north from the temple. Here, we are told, some temporary buildings of *rudely-hewn timber* were erected, for the accommodation of the assembly.

It is easy to account for the choice of this spot, in an age of that gross superstition, which overspread our country in the fifth century. The Celtæ of Gaul and Britain, during their Pagan state, were, for the most part, governed by their priests, whose custom it was to assemble, at a certain season, to deliberate upon the greatest civil questions, *in loco consecrato*, or within the verge of their sanctuaries. And as this particular sanctuary of Stonehenge had been esteemed pre-eminently sacred before the coming of the Romans, and whilst the Britons were an independent nation, so,

at



at the departure of those foreigners, it had recovered its ancient reputation amongst a people, who were still pertinaciously attached to their national usages and superstitions. And May was the season appointed for the meeting, because it was the solemn anniversary of the British mysteries.

To most readers it must appear singular, that in an age when Britain was *nominally* christian, the Bards should speak with veneration of a heathen temple, in which heathen rites were still celebrated: the fact, however, is recorded against them in their own *compositions*. It may, indeed, be urged as an excuse for our present author, that he describes the *ancient*, rather than the *actual* solemnities of the place; and that during the great Bardic festival, some ancient rites may have been admitted, which were not, at that time, in general establishment: but I do not mean to be his apologist. Whatever Aneurin might have called himself, it is evident, from the warmth of his language, when speaking of those mystical characters, Hu, Kêd, Llywy, and the rest, that they were objects of veneration to him; and so, I am persuaded, they were to the body of the British nation, whose profession of Christianity was certainly very imperfect.

The Bards were generally their priests; and these, as it appears from their own works, were determined bigots to the ancient superstition. Many of the populace of this age were also disciples of Pelagius, whose great aim it was to blend the heterogeneous tissue of Druidism with a few shreds of

Christianity. Could a people, who had profited so little by the light of the gospel, complain of the act of Providence, in depriving them of their dominion and their country?

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*Ancient British Coins.* [From the same.]

THE old Britons, as their own writings testify against them, in an age of the greatest public calamity, and after the gospel had been published in their land, neglected the worship of the true God, and sought protection from heathenish rites, charms, and incantations. These vanities deceived them; their crimes were justly punished, and they lost their political existence.

As to the nature of the charms to which they had recourse, I have shewn, from Thaliessin, that they had certain magical figures of horses impressed upon small pieces of gold and silver, which were delivered to the deluded people, as pledges of supernatural assistance; that these figures were sacred to the gods of heathenism, were deemed efficacious for the defence of the country, and were precisely of the same form, as the monsters which we find upon the ancient British coins.

To this I have added Aneurin's account of a talisman, for the protection of the patriotic warrior, and the destruction of the foe. This talisman had those very symbols which we discover on the coins, and they were so adjusted, as to constitute the figure of a horse, of the same monstrous form which the coins exhibit, and with the



same accompaniments. This talisman was impressed upon gold; many duplicates of it were provided, and it was emphatically styled the talisman of Cunobeline. Its preparation was deemed the highest effort of British magic; it was the shield of the solemn festival, sacred to the Arkite god and goddess, whose names and attributes appear upon the coins; and it was given to the warriors as a certain pledge, that these divinities would attend them in their enterprise.

If all this will not produce conviction, that many of the British coins, published by our antiquaries, are the identical talismans intended by our Bardic magi, I have nothing more to urge. Yet I trust, however this may be determined, that the candid critic will acquit me of having taken up the idea upon slight or improbable grounds, and that he will acknowledge, that the Britons ascribed supernatural virtues to some trinkets, of similar device.

But whilst I leave the original use and application of these coins to the judgment of the public, I must declare my own conviction, that the symbols and inscriptions which I have remarked, agree so minutely with the lore of the Bards and Triads, that is evident our writers and engravers had precisely the same system in view. And this unity of design gives the strongest support to the credit of our national monuments.

The fabrication of the coins cannot be stigmatized as a modern device for the purpose of elucidating the Bards; nor will the judicious critic assert, that the works of the

Bards are recent forgeries, with a view to the explanation of the coins. Both the one and the other have remained inexplicable for ages; but, in my opinion, they may now be regarded as consistent, not only amongst themselves, but also, allowing for local peculiarities, with the most ancient and general system of mythology, developed by two of the first antiquaries of our age.

The Bards, the mythological Triads, and the coins, are therefore proved by mutual evidence, in which there can be no collusion, to be genuine monuments of the heathenish superstition of Britain.

And they unite in their testimony, that this superstition, notwithstanding the singularity of a few minuter features, could boast of no great and fundamental principle, which was appropriate to itself. Like the general error of other nations, it consisted of certain memorials of the preservation of mankind at the deluge, and some perverted reliques of the patriarchal religion, blended with an idolatrous worship of the host of heaven.

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*Origin of the Marvellous or Poetical Machinery of Old England. [From a Letter subjoined to Part ii. of Romantic Mythology, entitled Faëry.]*

THE notion of our marvellous imagery being of Oriental, instead of Northern extraction, is, of course, solely tenable, on the supposition that it originated from the Saracens, who extended their conquests into Europe at an early period;



period; and, more particularly, from the Arabians, who established a learned seminary at Cordova.\* But this supposition, not less than the preceding, seems to be completely invalidated by one or two obvious considerations.

If the similarity which exists between the popular superstitions of the Goths, and the poetical machinery of the English, be attributed to the circumstance of their having mutually descended from a Saracen original; it cannot be reasonably denied that the resemblance must have extended to the Oriental archetype from which they are supposed to be derived. Had not this been the case, we must have recourse to some causes, beyond what are merely natural, in order to account for the striking and uniform coincidences which are observable between them, and which could not be accidental. And, viewing the controversy in this light, we are not without a sufficient test by which it may be speedily terminated; for, in "the Arabian Nights," we possess a production, admirably calculated for the purpose of determining it; as it is a work which is not only distinguished by its descriptive accuracy, but, what renders it peculiarly adapted to the present occasion, it is a work professedly marvellous. Many skilful Orientalists have given their testimony in favour of our translations; as

being generally faithful to the spirit of the original; as exhibiting a just specimen of the Oriental fictions; and as containing a true picture of Eastern customs and opinions. In point of strength and variety in the detail of incidents, and delineation of manners, it is probably surpassed by no existing production, if those of Homer and Shakspeare are excepted. But, even though we cannot form an idea of any standard better calculated for deciding the present question, its testimony seems to offer nothing in favour of the Oriental origin ascribed to our fictitious imagery. For, notwithstanding the accuracy and circumstantialness of its descriptions, we search it, but in vain, for any spiritual existences possessing a striking, much less an uniform, resemblance to the interesting little beings, which are naturalized, under the title of elves, in our poetical machinery. The genii of the Arabians, peri of the Persians, fate of the Italians, and faries of Spencer, are of a totally distinct order; and it is curious to remark, that they exhibit, not merely a casual resemblance among themselves, but that strong likeness which indicates sisters of the same parentage. Instead of preserving that marked and uniform coincidence, which is discoverable between our elves and the Northern alfar, they seem essentially distinguished from the whole of that

\* As the Saracens, invited by Count Julian, entered Spain in the year 712; they arrived in Europe at a period sufficiently early to have propagated those superstitious notions, which occur in the compositions of Sæmund, Sigvatur, and Thiodolf: the eldest of whom flourished a century and a half subsequently to this period. But before this, the Goths had sufficient time to establish their superstitions in the Spanish territory. Their empire began in this country in the year 408, was in its meridian in 500, and began to decline, being superseded by that of the Moors, in 713.



race which fiction represents as of diminutive size, and as principally engaged in the domestic concerns of the cottage. No instances are related of their dances on the green by moonlight, of their watching over secreted treasures, of their misleading travellers by delusive lights, and of their conducting them into habitations excavated in the rocks and mountains.

Were we even to wave the objections arising from hence, which appear to be completely subversive of the Eastern origin ascribed to our superstitions; exceptions, not less fatal to the pretensions of the Orientalists, appear capable of being suggested, from the general and implicit credulity with which those fancies have been received in England and Scandinavia. However competent the reasoning may be thought, which is employed in favour of the Saracen origin of our fairy machinery; however adequate to account for the construction of a system of poetical imagery; it seems wholly insufficient to account for the production of a body of popular superstitions. The poet, or fabulist, might have acquired such notions, through the channels of verbal intercourse or literary communication; but he must have wanted influence, to diffuse them so widely, and to impress them so forcibly, as to procure them the religious veneration of the natives of those countries in which they were propagated: and, let it be remembered, that without these qualifications, they must have wanted the essentials necessary to render them superstitions and to gain them popularity. That the

power of the poet never extended to this height, is fully attested by experience. As far as those romantic notions employed in our machinery are mere poetical fancies, they seem never to have been believed by the Goths or English; as far as they are superstitious tenets, they appear never admitted by the Arabians or Saracens.

While the reasons deducible from these circumstances operate so decidedly against the cause of the Orientalists, they are no less decisive in strengthening that of the Northerns. The coincidences existing between the mythological system of the latter, and our preternatural imagery, are not only of the closest kind, but extend to every particular in which a resemblance may be expected. The nation from whom, according to the present theory, they were spread throughout Europe, possessed every influence necessary to gain them credence and to give them publicity; or, to state this circumstance more truly, as well as more favourably to the Scandinavian cause, carried them into those regions which they conquered and colonized. At a very early period, the emigrants from Scandinavia acquired considerable territories on the borders of the Euxine Sea, and there formed themselves into two kingdoms, under the title of Wisigoths and Ostrogoths. From these settlements they extended their conquests over the southern provinces of the Roman empire, and finally occupied, besides Denmark and Germany, France, Spain, England, and Italy.\* Into all

\* They seized on Spain in 409, over-ran Italy and took Rome in 410; invaded France in 412, and entered England, at the solicitation of Vortigern, in 447.



these countries they carried their language and introduced their religion; and we consequently find that all retain some remains of their superstition, together with some characteristick peculiarities which indicate the source from whence they descended.

In fact, the reasoning of the learned historian of English poetry may be admitted, almost without limitation or exception, as far as it is intended to account for the origin of the marvellous machinery of the Italian and English Romantic Epopee. As the productions of this kind arose with increased splendour out of the ruins of the metrical romance; and as this latter was a species of composition which succeeded the epoch of the crusades, it imbibed that deep colouring of the Oriental fictions, of which it imparted a strong tincture to the former. But none of the productions of either description possess any considerable part of that imagery, which forms so distinguished a portion of our poetical system, and which has received the sanction of popular credulity in this country. In a word, the wild fictions of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Spencer, are not less different in their nature than their origin, from the fine fancies of Shakespeare, Pope, and Drayton. And, unless I have been reasoning to little purpose, this circumstance is to be attributed to their having sprung from different sources; the former having proceeded from the Saracen superstitions, but the latter descended from the Gothic mythology.

*A Coin, perhaps the oldest in the World. [From L'Ambigu ou Variétés Littéraires, &c. December, 1809.]*

A PEASANT lately found, in a field near Monterosi, a coin believed to be the most ancient in existence. It appears to have been struck under Servius Tullius VI. king of the Romans, who died in the 218th year after the building of Rome. Of course it has seen twenty-three centuries. It weighs eleven ounces seventeen pennyweights, its diameter two inches ten lines; on one side it has a head of Minerva, a front view of her face, and her helmet the *Pallas Galatea*; and on the other an ox, with a small perpendicular line, I. denoting the number one, among the Roman ciphers. On the exergue is inscribed, in large rude character, *Roma*. This type is that of which we have a description by Pliny, Plutarch, and Varro, and which is referred by those writers to the epoch of Servius Tullius. In Cardinal Zalada's collection of coins there is one, the type or figure of which is the same as that of the piece lately discovered. The antiquaries who have examined them, have remarked a difference between them in respect of the just weight of such coins. The piece recently discovered is, in fact, one of a Roman pound weight, for the difference of seven pennyweights is to be ascribed to the alteration produced by time. The characters of the word *Roma* are of the same form with those of Etruria and Samnium. The metal is exceedingly pure, and bears a great resemblance to the Egyptian brass of the coins of the Ptolomies.

*Ancient*



*Ancient Chimneys.* [From *L'Ambigu*, Nov. 1809.]

IN a subterraneous habitation, lately discovered by digging into the ruins of Pompeia, was found a tube of clay, in one of the corners of it, intended to let out the smoke. This discovery decides the question so long agitated among the learned, whether or no the ancients were acquainted with tubed chimneys.

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*Description of the celebrated Moorish Palace and Fortress of Alhambra.* [From *Semple's Second Journey in Spain.*]

THE Alhambra is, however, the great object of attraction to every traveller visiting Granada, and has been the subject of many descriptions. As has been already mentioned, this great Moorish palace and fortress stands upon a steep ridge which bounds the city to the eastward, or rather which forms an acute angle entering it on that side. The walls follow with sufficient accuracy the general outline of the edges of the ridge, and, before the invention of gunpowder, must have been, from their strength and situation, nearly impregnable. The extreme length of the whole is about six hundred yards, with a breadth nearly uniform of about one hundred and fifty. Within this space the Moorish monarchs of Granada had accumulated all that, according to their notions, was secure in war, or magnificent and luxurious in peace; and the towers, the walls, the halls of audience, the bed-chambers, and the baths, which still exist in excellent pre-

servation, all tend to give us a lively idea of what these notions were.

The Alhambra has been often described; I wish rather to collect in my own mind the impression made by the whole, than to enter into a minute account of its endless details. It was commenced by Mohammed Abu Abdallah, king of Granada, about the year 1260, and was called by him Medina Alhambra, or the Red City, supposed to be from the colour of the soil, which abounds in many parts in oxyd of iron. As the first walls were composed chiefly of earth mixed on the spot with a small quantity of chalk, it is easy to observe, by their present state, what was the prevailing nature of the soil; for wherever we find them in the greatest decay, there the oxyd of iron has been so abundant as to prevent the union of the other materials with the chalk. The principal entrance is from the street of Gomeres, where we ascend, and pass first through a kind of triumphal arch erected in the time of Charles the Fifth. Here the hill begins to be covered with trees, which, from the broken nature of the ground, produce a pleasing effect. On the left is a sloping terrace faced with stone, by which we ascend, and enter the great gate of the fortress, called the Gate of the Tribunal, according to the eastern custom of judging in the gate, and to which allusions are so frequently made in the scriptures. Over the entrance is sculptured an arm with a hand, the symbol of power, and of various other mystical qualities among the Arabians. According to an inscription in Arabic characters, this gate



gate was built in the year 1344. The first absurdity that strikes us here is a wooden image of the Virgin Mary, placed in a niche near the inscription, and which has been opened purposely for its reception. A little farther on, in a recess, is an altar and a picture, which, we are informed, by a long inscription in letters of gold, was the second likeness ever taken by St. Luke of the most holy Virgin—let us attend no more to such absurdities!

After passing through various Moorish arches, we arrive at the Square of the Cisterns, so called from two great reservoirs beneath the surface, where the water of the Darro is brought in a conduit from the distance of about half a league: this square is on the highest part of the ridge; the views from it are grand and interesting; and it was therefore chosen by the Spaniards as a spot for erecting the greatest absurdity within the walls of the Alhambra. On one side of the square stands the palace of Charles the Fifth, commenced by him with the design of shewing the great superiority of the Christian architecture over that of the Moors, but which has never yet been finished: the plan of the building is noble and simple, the execution is excellent throughout, and the whole, if completed, would be a habitation worthy of a great monarch; yet, placed where it is, and with the poor design of insulting, if I may so say, the finest monument of ancient Moorish architecture in Europe, we lose all sight of its beauties, and can regard it only as a more systematic absurdity than the image of the Virgin, or the picture painted by St. Luke!

With these impressions we turn

with more pleasure to the ancient palace of the Moorish kings. The principal gate fronts the south, and is thus concealed by the palace of Charles the Fifth: it is formed of a circular arch on two thick pillars, above which are three windows, with carvings of flowers and leaves, amid which is an Arabic inscription, signifying "God alone is Conqueror;" a motto which is repeated incessantly throughout the building. Through the gate we enter a low gallery, adorned in like manner with various figures and inscriptions, and supported upon eight columns; the diameter of these columns is the same from the base upward, the capitals are variously adorned, and flowers, leaves and shields, on which are inscribed the words "God alone is Conqueror," are scattered about in great profusion. Above is another gallery, nearly corresponding in all respects with the one beneath. From the gallery we enter the principal court, surrounded by walls of twenty-five feet in height, and having in the middle a pool of water nearly one hundred and thirty feet in length, by thirty in breadth; this served for the purification of those who went to prayer in the royal mosque, which was within the palace. From this court another gallery conducts us through an outer apartment to the Hall of Comaresch, or the Hall of Audience, where ambassadors were presented to the king. Here the Moorish artists appear to have exerted all their skill to produce a brilliant and imposing effect: the form is a square of about forty-two feet, and the height nearly seventy; nine windows, three in each of three sides, are so placed



as to throw light in every direction upon the niches, the interwoven borders, the garlands of flowers and leaves, the medallions, with Arabic inscriptions of "Glory be to God," "God alone is Conqueror," and the intersecting arches and circles, adorned with flowers, fruits, and shells. From the floor to the roof all is ornament, and of various colours, deep blue, red, green, or glittering with gilding: the ceiling is a kind of cupola, composed of wood of different colours, silvered or gilt, forming circles, crowns, and stars; the pavement is of various coloured tiles. On all sides are the minutiae of art; and by inscriptions over the windows, no longer legible, but which have been preserved in books, it would appear that there was formerly a fountain in the hall, of which at present no trace remains.

The Court of Lions is the most magnificent of the Alhambra, and shews the peculiar genius and defects of the Arabian artists. It is in length about one hundred and thirty feet, and seventy-five in breadth, surrounded by a low gallery, supported by one hundred and twenty-eight pillars of white marble. The view of these delicate columns, which are little more than ten feet high, and of uniform diameters, pleases more than all the glitter of the royal apartments; they stand in groups of four and four on the sides of the entrance, of three and three in front, and alternately grouped and single all round beneath the gallery. It is not possible to see a finer specimen of the Arabian taste: the contrast is, however, very great when we come to exa-

mine the lions from which this part of the Alhambra derives its name. In the centre, a large circular fount, or basin of marble, is supported by twelve lions, the sculpture and proportions of which are well calculated to produce a smile; the basin itself is elegant, forming a dodecagon, with an inscription on each of the sides, and ornamented with leaves and flowers; but nothing can place in a stronger light the ignorance of the Arabian sculptors, when they ventured to represent animals, than the twelve lions which support this admirable cup. We are, indeed, at a loss to account for this singular and direct violation of the laws of Mahomet, which expressly forbid the representation of any thing in heaven above, or earth beneath; certainly in this instance the beauty of the workmanship cannot be urged as an excuse for the violation of the precept: such lions were never before seen; yet they were thought admirable at the period of their being placed there, as we may learn from the inscription on one of the sides of the cup—"O thou that beholdest these lions, breath alone is wanting to enable them to shew their fury!"

The remaining parts of the Alhambra are such as might be expected in the palace of an eastern monarch. Every thing appears contrived for the sake of coolness; the marble floors, the roofs, evidently formed upon the model of stalactites, the apartments screened from the light, the baths, the fountains, are all the luxuries of a warm climate. In the Hall of the Two Sisters, so called from two large pieces of marble which form part of the pavement, the roof is finished



ed with infinite labour, and were it not for the splendour of the colours, might well excite the idea of some cool dripping cave. In the corresponding apartment, called the Hall of the Abencerraxes, is a fountain, in the marble basin of which is a reddish stain. This, you are told, proceeds from the blood of six-and-thirty cavaliers of the noble family of the Abencerraxes, who were here beheaded on false accusations; one of them for unlawful intercourse with the sultana, and the rest for an alleged conspiracy against their sovereign, Abo Abdeli. This tale, which is not countenanced by the authority of a single respectable historian, would long ere this have been forgotten, had not superstition taken it up. These noble youths were secretly attached to Christianity; even through the walls of the palace they were heard, at the hour of death, exhorting each other in the name of Jesus; and the blood of these martyrs has indelibly stained the marble, and remains an unquestionable record of the crime and the miracle!

In two small apartments off the Hall of the Tribunal, are paintings on the ceilings, which have given rise to many conjectures; some have supposed them to have been painted since the conquest of Granada, by the Spaniards, founding this opinion upon the known law of Mahomet; but if the Arabian monarchs could so far break through the superstitious restrictions of their prophet as to have marble lions in their courts, they need not have been scrupulous about a few paintings in their closets. One represents a landscape with trees, and two young women

sitting admiring it; others a chace, with cavaliers and their servants on horseback; a castle, out of which two ladies, with their dunnas, are coming to receive some knights who are approaching dismounted; men combating an enchanter with a long beard, holding a lady by both her hands, and a knight with a couched lance riding full speed to her deliverance: such are the subjects of these paintings, which shew the very infancy of the art. The most interesting is the representation of judges assembled, and deliberating on the life of an accused person: and perhaps, as the only specimens existing of Mahometan paintings, the whole are not unworthy of being copied and made public.

In one small room, from the construction of the roof, a whisper in one corner is distinctly heard in the other. This may have appeared a wonderful invention to the Moors, as it seems to the greater part of the Spaniards who visit it, but to one who has been in the whispering-gallery of St. Paul's, nothing can appear more childish than this contrivance. In fact, the size of the room is such, that a whisper might easily be heard across it with very little effort.

The Queen's Dressing-closet is a pleasant little apartment, into which we enter by a gallery to the eastward of the Hall of Audience; it is ornamented with paintings, the subjects of which are chiefly taken from the Roman mythology, and which of course are comparatively of a modern date. In a smaller closet near to it is a marble slab inserted in the pavement, with holes, and a vacancy beneath, where



where incense was burned, the smoke of which ascended through these holes, and thus perfumed any person standing over them. The views from the windows of these apartments are very grand; in which respect, indeed, this palace, even in its present state of ruin, has greatly the advantage over any other in Europe. The views, even from 'the stately brow of Windsor's height,' are not equal to those from the upper windows of the Alhambra, on account of the romantic ridges of mountains which on all sides border the plain of Granada.

It is evident that what now exists of this palace is but a small part of the original building, of which traces may yet be seen in all directions, whilst in many spots even the ruins have perished. Among the former the remains of the burying-place of the Arabian monarch of Granada, near that part of the building called the quarter of the Abencerraxes. It forms a square of about four yards each side, and thirteen in height, and is now part of the dwelling-house of the curate of the parish. No ornaments of any kind can now be traced upon the walls; but the roof, which forms a kind of cupola, is of admirable workmanship, with a flower inscribed in a star in the centre. Here were found, in the year 1574, four marble grave-stones of kings buried beneath, partly sunk in the earth, but still shewing, in what was above, Arabian inscriptions handsomely cut. The epitaphs were in prose, and on the opposite side of each were verses, which have been preserved and translated by the Royal Academy of Saint

Ferdinand. As a specimen of the Arabian taste, the verses of the grave-stone of King Abilhagex are perhaps not unworthy of translation. It runs nearly as follows:—

“ In the name of God,

“ Compassionate and merciful:

“ Salute with humility and praise from thy tomb the grace of God, which will perpetually assist you until the day when men shall arise, with humbled countenances, before the Awakener of the dead in his judgment seat. And thou, O sepulchre! art not such, but rather a garden of odoriferous fruits. And if I wish to give you deserved praise, I must say no other than—  
Oh! thou cover of orange blossoms and pearls! Oh! abode of honour! Oh! burying-place of virtue! Oh! fall of greatness, and eclipse of the moon in her full! since death has deposited in you a great lord of generous blood, and the most perfect of the kings of Beninazere. In you lie buried honour, generosity, and greatness, the well-endowed with the fear of God. If not so, who like Abilhagex dispelled the darkness of heresy? This is the blood of Zadhe el Hazragi Aben Obeda. Oh! exceedingly generous! when modesty, pity, honour, and gravity are mentioned, and you would wish to talk of his greatness, it is like talking of the boundless ocean. Were opportunities sometimes unfavourable? and do you ever by chance see any thing permanent, or a man uniformly prosperous? Time has two faces, one for the day, another for the night; and such being its nature, we must not accuse it for its uncertainty. He died praising God, prostrated in prayer before him, filled with virtue, his tongue moistened



moistened with his reciting. To God be the honour of such a death, equal to the death of Omar. In the most pacific state of his reign, it was permitted, that he being so lofty, should receive felicity from the hands of one of low birth and station, in order that the most inadvertent of all might meet with an unexpected event. And it must not be reckoned as an affront, that the great receives an offence from the small, because the reasons for the judgments of God are too high for our comprehension; as was Ali offended by Aben Mulgem, and Hamza the Valiant by Guahxi. Let us hold our arms ready, and our lances, and let us submit to the Divine will, even when we cannot comprehend it; and thus he who trusts in this world, of whatever condition he may be, shall find himself deceived and lost in that trust. Then, O King of that kingdom which lasts for ever, and whose prerogative it is solely to command men, and all creatures! cover our faults with the veil of thy mercy; for it is in thy mercy alone that we can trust for a refuge. And cover the king of the true believers with thy mercy, which may lead him to peace and joy; for he who is near to thee, O our God! shall not be shaken; and the life of man is a deception, and without security. May God cover with his mercy our sovereign, and join him to his blessed predecessor in glory!"

Connected with the old fortifications of the Alhambra are several towers, the highest of which is used as a prison. I was surprised to see confined here a number of men, whom, from their dress, language, and manners, I took to be

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Spaniards. I was told that they were Frenchmen, many of whom had been resident in Granada for upwards of thirty years, and almost all of them married to Spanish women. Their sole crime was that of being Frenchmen by birth, for they certainly did not appear to be such in any other respect. Some of them were engaged in various games, some conversed, whilst others mounted on the highest platform of the tower, looked down upon the city, where they might with ease discover the roofs of their own houses from which they had been so cruelly torn. It does not appear possible, by any sophistry, to justify the act of seizing and imprisoning men reposing in all the security of citizenship. The just cause of the Spaniards should not have been tarnished by so base and cowardly a proceeding. It may perhaps be said that they were placed there to be protected against any sudden bursts of the fury of the populace. I do not, however, believe this to have been the original motive; and, even if it were, it might justify the government, but not the national character. On the summit of the tower is a great bell, which is never rung except on particular occasions. The sound extends over the whole plain of Granada, and never fails to bring immense crowds from all the surrounding country to learn the cause. It had been sounded, I was told, for three days successively, not long ago, for the purpose of collecting recruits, and that upwards of twenty thousand men were thus attracted to the city in that space of time.

Upon the whole, the Alhambra, like every other Moorish monument

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that I have yet seen, greatly disappointed my expectations. It appears to me an immense collection of littlenesses: the effect produced is sometimes elegant, often beautiful, but nowhere elevated, simple, or sublime. It is certainly pleasing to tread floors once so sacred and concealed; to be in the halls, the baths, the bed-chambers, of a race of monarchs whose very nation has been expelled from Europe: to moralize upon their walls falling to decay, upon their sepulchres converted into places of abode for the living: but our eyes

become fatigued with the incessant repetition of points and stars, and intersecting circles, gilt and silvered, and of various hues. We may admire the beauty of the situation, and the prospects; we may, for a short time, be pleased with the infinity of details; but at a single view of the aqueduct of Segovia, of Pompey's pillar standing solitarily at the mouth of the Nile, or a glance upwards at the dome of St. Paul's, to one who has never seen it before, is worth all the beauties of the Alhambra.



## MISCELLANEOUS.

*Observations on the Mohammedan Religion. [From Mr. Jackson's Account of the Empire of Marocco.]*

**M**ANY writers have endeavoured to vilify the Mohammedan religion, by exposing the worst side of it, blackened by various fables, invented for divers sinister purposes; these representations, indeed, have been transmitted to posterity, by enthusiasts who have been anxious to acquire ecclesiastical fame, or by men who appear to have known but little of the original language of Mohammedans, and whose object was to abuse and calumniate; but we shall, on a minute examination of the doctrines contained in the Koran, find that it approaches nearer to the Christian religion in its moral precepts, than any other with which we are acquainted. Indeed, were there as many absurdities in this religion as some persons have attributed to it, it is probable that it would not have extended itself over so great a portion of the habitable globe; for we find it embraced, with little exception, from the shores of West Barbary, to the most eastern part of Chinese

Tartary, an extent of upwards of 8000 miles; and from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, with the exception of a few nations of Pagans; neither is there any language spoken and understood by so great a proportion of the population of the world as that in which it is promulgated; of this, however, I shall speak more particularly in the next chapter.

Koran, chap. vii. — “Forgive easily: command nothing but what is just: dispute not with the ignorant.”

Koran, chap. xi. — “O earth, swallow up thy waters: O heaven, withhold thy rain: immediately the waters subsided, the ark rested on Mount Al Judi, and these words were heard: Wo to the wicked nation!”

Chap. xiii. — “They who do good for evil shall obtain paradise for their reward.”

From these extracts we see that the Mohammedans have some of the same moral precepts laid down for their guidance which are inculcated by the Gospel of Christ. They believe in the flood; they teach forgiveness of injuries; justice, and rendering good for evil. The nations which followed Pa-



ganism were taught by Mohammed the unity of God. He exhorted them to believe with the heart, that there is only one God, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, eternal, and that he is spiritual. That the angels are subtle, pure bodies, formed of light; neither eating, drinking, or sleeping; not of different sexes; having no carnal desires; nor degrees of relationship, and are of various forms.

Mohammed maintained that Jesus Christ was a prophet, and that those who believed it not were infidels. He says, the sacred books are 104, of which the Almighty gave to Adam ten; to Seth fifty; to Idris, or Enoch, thirty; to Abraham ten; to Moses one, which is the Law; to David one; to Jesus one, which is the Gospel; to Mohammed one, the Koran; and he asserts, that whoever rejects, or calls in question, the divine inspiration of any of the foregoing books is an infidel. He says, also, that he who can lay his hand on his heart and say, "I fear not the resurrection, nor am I in any concern about hell, and care not for heaven," is an incorrigible infidel.

The Mohammedans are fatalists, consequently they bear all kinds of misfortune with fortitude; if the Mooselmin be plunged from the highest prosperity to the lowest state of adversity, he exclaims, "God's will is supreme, there is none but God!"

Islamism, or Mohammedanism, he maintains, is submission to God; that all are born in Islam, or in submission to God, but afterwards swerve through bad education.

The Mooselmin maintain, that

reason without faith cannot distinguish truth from error; and add, that a steady adherence to its suggestions is the road to impiety.

Religion and the state are considered as twins, inseparable; if one die, the other cannot survive.

The most refined and intelligent Mohammedans are not, however, of opinion, that God is the author of all good and evil; but maintain that every man who follows the direct or good way, has the protecting eye of God upon him, and that God is with him; but that, if he withdraw his influence from any one, then evil or misfortune ensues; not actively from God, but passively from the withdrawing of that protecting influence; that this is an act of the Almighty, which cannot be easily comprehended by our weak reason; and that it is not willed by him with approbation, but necessarily.

The Mooselmin's ideas of the Creator are grand and elevated. Whatever is, exists either necessarily and of itself, and is God, or has not its being from itself, and does not exist necessarily, and is of two sorts, substance and accidents; substances are of two kinds, abstract and concrete; abstract substances are, all spirits and intellectual beings; concrete being the matter and form.

Whenever God is spoken of by the Mohammedans, as having form, eyes, &c. it is meant allegorically to convey the idea of some particular attribute.

They deny that Christ was crucified; so good a man, they assert could not have been crucified. God would not permit it: but He confounded the Jews, and one of

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the thieves, they assert, was made to personate him.

Finally, the Mohammedan religion recommends toleration; and all liberal Mohammedans insist that every man ought to worship God according to the law of his forefathers. "If it pleased God," say they, "all men would believe; why then should a worm, a wretched mortal, be so foolish as to pretend to force other men to believe? The soul believes only *by the will of God*: these are the true principles of Mohammedans."

It must, however, be observed, that the principles here laid down are not always the rule of action, any more than the sublime truths inculcated by the Christian religion, are altogether acted upon by its professors.

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*Nature and Effects of a peculiar Species of Plague which depopulated West Barbary in 1799 and 1800. [From the same.]*

FROM various circumstances and appearances, and from the character of the epidemical distemper which raged lately in the south of Spain, there is every reason to suppose it was similar to that distemper or plague which depopulated West Barbary; for whether we call it by the more reconcileable appellation of the epidemy, or yellow fever, it was undoubtedly a plague, and a most destructive one, for wherever it prevailed, it invariably carried off, in a few months, one-half, or one-third, of the population.

It does not appear how the plague originated in Fas in the

year 1799. Some persons who were there at the time it broke out have confidently ascribed it to infected merchandize imported into that place from the east; whilst others, of equal veracity and judgment, have not scrupled to ascribe it to the locusts which had infested West Barbary during the seven preceding years, the destruction of which was followed by the (jedrie) small-pox, which pervaded the country, and was generally fatal. The jedrie is supposed to be the forerunner of this species of epidemy, as appears by an ancient Arabic manuscript, which gives an account of the same disorder having carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants of West Barbary about four centuries since. But however this destructive epidemy originated, its leading features were novel, and its consequences more dreadful, than the common plague of Turkey, or that of Syria or Egypt, as will appear by the following observations:

In the month of April, 1799, a plague of a most destructive nature manifested itself in the city of Old Faz, which soon after communicated itself to the new city, carrying off one or two the first day, three or four the second day, six or eight the third day, and increasing progressively, until the mortality amounted to two in the hundred of the aggregate population, continuing, with unabated violence, ten, fifteen, or twenty days: being of longer duration in old than in new towns; then diminishing in a progressive proportion from one thousand a day to nine hundred, then to eight hundred, and so on until it disappeared.



Whilst it raged in the town of Mogodor, a small village (Diabet), situated about two miles south-east of that place, remained uninfected, although the communication was open between them: on the thirty-fourth day, however, after its first appearance at Mogodor, this village was discovered to be infected, and the disorder raged with great violence, making dreadful havoc among the human species for twenty-one days, carrying off, during that period, one hundred persons out of one hundred and thirty-three, the original population of the village, before the plague visited it; none died after this, and those who were infected, recovered in the course of a month or two, some losing an eye, or the use of a leg or an arm.

Many similar circumstances might be here adduced relative to the numerous and populous villages dispersed through the extensive Shel-luh province of Haha, all which shared a similar or a worse fate. Travelling through this province, shortly after the plague had exhausted itself, I saw many uninhabited ruins, which I had before witnessed as flourishing villages; on making inquiry concerning the population of these dismal remains, I was informed that in one village, which contained six hundred inhabitants, four persons only had escaped the ravage. Other villages which had contained four or five hundred, had only seven or eight survivors left to relate the calamities they had suffered. Families which had retired to the country to avoid the infection, on returning to town, when all infection had apparently ceased, were generally attacked and died; a singu-

lar instance of this kind happened at Mogodor, where, after the mortality had subsided, a corps of troops arrived from the city of Terodant, in the province of Suse, where the plague had been raging, and had subsided; these troops, after remaining three days at Mogodor, were attacked with the disease, and it raged exclusively among them for about a month, during which it carried off two-thirds of their original number, one hundred men; during this interval the other inhabitants of the town were exempt from the disorder, though these troops were not confined to any particular quarter, many of them having had apartments in the houses of the inhabitants of the town.

The destruction of the human species in the province of Suse was considerably greater than elsewhere; Terodant, formerly the metropolis of a kingdom, but now that of Suse, lost, when the infection was at its height, about eight hundred each day; the ruined, but still extensive and populous city of Marocco, lost one thousand each day; the populous cities of Old and New Fas diminished in population twelve or fifteen hundred each day, insomuch that in these extensive cities, the mortality was so great, that the living having not time to bury the dead, the bodies were deposited or thrown altogether, into large holes which, when nearly full, were covered over with earth. Young, healthy, and robust persons of full stamina, were for the most part attacked first, then women and children, and lastly, thin, sickly, emaciated, and old people.

After this deadly calamity had subsided,



subsided, we beheld a general alteration in the fortunes and circumstances of men; we saw persons who, before plague, were common labourers, now in possession of thousands, and keeping horses without knowing how to ride them, parties of this description were met wherever we went, and the men of family called them in derision (*El wurata*) the inheritors. Provisions also became extremely cheap and abundant; the flocks and herds had been left in the fields, and there was now no one to own them; and the propensity to plunder, so notoriously attached to the character of the Arab, as well as to the *Chellue* and Moor, was superseded by a conscientious regard to justice, originating from a continual apprehension of dissolution, and that the *El khere*, as the plague was now called, was a judgment of the Omnipotent on the disobedience of man, and that it behoved every individual to amend his conduct, as a preparation to his departure for Paradise.

The expense of labour at the same time increased enormously, and never was equality in the human species more conspicuous than at this time; when corn was to be ground, or bread baked, both were performed in the houses of the affluent, and prepared by themselves, for the very few people whom the plague had spared, were insufficient to administer to the wants of the rich and independant, and they were accordingly compelled to work for themselves, performing personally the menial offices of their respective families.

The country being now depopulated, and much of the territory without owners, vast tribes of

Arabs emigrated from their abodes in the interior of Sahara, and took possession of the country contiguous to the river *Draha*, as well as many districts in *Suse*; and, in short, settling themselves, and pitching their tents wherever they found a fertile country with little or no population.

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*A Week in Paris. By Lieut. Colonel Pinkney. [From the Universal Magazine.]*

THERE is no place in the world, perhaps, more distinguished for literary eminence, in every part of art and science, than Paris. The literary institutions of Paris, therefore, were the objects of my first visit. Every capital has its theatres, public gardens, and palaces; but Paris alone has its public libraries on a scale of equal utility and magnificence. In Paris alone, science seems to be considered as an object of importance to mankind, and therefore as a suitable object for the protection of government. In Paris alone, to say all in a word, the poorest student, the most ragged philosopher, has all the treasures of princes at his command; the national library opens at his call, and the most expensive books are delivered for his use.

On the morning following my arrival, Mr. Younge accompanied me to the national library. On entering it, we ascended a most superb staircase painted by *Pellegrine*, by which we were led to the library on the first floor. It consists of a suit of spacious and magnificent apartments, extending round three sides of a quadrangle.



The books are ranged round the sides, according to the order of the respective subjects, and are said to amount to nearly half a million. Each division has an attending librarian, of whom every one may require the book he wishes, and which is immediately delivered to him. Being themselves gentlemen, there is no apprehension that they will accept any pecuniary remuneration; but there is likewise a strict order that no money shall be given to any of the inferior attendants. There are tables and chairs in numbers, and nothing seemed neglected, which could conduce even to the comfort of the readers.

The most complete department of the library is that of the manuscripts. This collection amounts to nearly fifty thousand volumes, and amongst them innumerable letters, and even treatises, by the early kings of France. A manuscript is shewn as written by Louis the Fourteenth: it is intitled, "Memoirs of his own Time, written by the King himself." I much doubt, however, the authenticity of this production. Louis the Fourteenth had other more immediate concerns than writing the history of France. France is full of these literary forgeries. Every king of France, if the titles of the books may be received as a proof of their authenticity, has not only written his life, but written it like a philosopher and historian, candidly confessing his errors and abusing his ministers.

The second floor of the building contains the genealogies of the French families. They are deposited in boxes, which are labelled with the several family names. They are considered as public re-

cords, and are only producible in courts of justice, in order to determine the titles to real property. No one is allowed to copy them, except by the most special permission, which is never granted but to historiographers of established name and reputation.—The cabinet of antiques is stated to be very rich, and, to judge by appearances, is not inferior to its reputation. The collection was made by Caylus. It chiefly consists of vases, busts, and articles of domestic use amongst the Romans. The greater part of them have been already copied as models, in the ornamenting of furniture, by the Parisian artists. This fashion indeed is carried almost to a mania.—Every thing must be Greek and Roman, without any reference to nature or propriety. For example, what could be so absurd as the natural realization of some of these capricious ornaments? What lady would choose to sleep in a bed, up the pillars of which serpents were crawling? Yet is such a realization the only criterion of taste and propriety.

The cabinet of engravings detained us nearly two hours. The portefeuilles containing the prints are distributed into twelve classes. Some of these divisions invited us to a minute inspection. Such was the class containing the French fashions from the age of Clovis to Louis the Sixteenth. In another class was the costume of every nation in the world; in a third, portraits of eminent persons of all ages and nations, and in a fourth, a collection of prints relating to public festivals, cavalcades, tournaments, coronations, royal funerals, &c. France is the only kingdom  
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in the world which possesses a treasure like this, and which knows how to estimate it at its proper value.

From the national library we drove to the *Athenée*, a library and lecture institution, supported by voluntary subscription. It is much of the same nature as an institution of a similar kind in London, termed the British Institute; but the French *Athenæum* has infinitely the advantage. The subscription is cheaper, being about four louis annually, and the lectures are more elegant, if not more scientific. There are usually three lectures daily; the first on sciences, and the other two on belles lettres. The lecture on science is considered as very able, but those on the belles lettres were merely suited, as I understood, to French frivolity. The rooms were so full as to render our stay unpleasant, and we thereby lost an anatomy lecture, which was about to commence. I should not forget to mention, that all the Parisian journals and magazines, and many of the German periodical works, were lying on the tables, and the library seemed altogether as complete as it was comfortable. The subscribers are numerous, and the institution itself in fashion. How long it will so last, no one will venture to predict.

The library of the Pantheon and that of the Institute finished our morning's occupation. They are both on the same scale and nearly on the same general plan as the national library. The library of the Institute, however, is only open to foreigners and the members of the Institute. The Institute holds its sitting every month, and,

according to all report, is then frivolous enough. I had not an opportunity of being present at one of these sittings, but, from what I heard, I did not much regret my disappointment.

We returned home to dress for dinner. Mr. Younge informed me, that he expected a very large party in the evening, chiefly French; and as his lady herself was a French woman, and had arranged her domestic establishment accordingly, I felt some curiosity.

About eight, or nearer nine, Mr. Younge and myself, with two or three other of the dinner company, were summoned up to the drawing-room. The summons itself had something peculiar. The doors of the parlour, which were folding, were thrown open, and two female attendants, dressed like vestals, and holding torches of white wax, summoned us by a low curtsy, and preceded us up the great staircase to the doors of the anti-chamber, where they made another salutation, and took their station on each side. The anti-chamber was filled with servants, who were seated on benches fixed to the wall, but who did not rise on our entry. Some of them were even playing at cards, others at dominos, and all of them seemed perfectly at their ease. The anti-chamber opened by an arched doorway into an handsome room, lighted by a chandelier of the most brilliant cut glass; the pannels of the room were very tastily painted, and the glasses on each side very large, and in magnificent frames. The further extremity of this room opened by folding doors into the principal drawing-room, where the company were collected. It was  
brilliantly



brilliantly lighted, as well by patent lamps, as by a chandelier in the middle. The furniture had a resemblance to what I had seen in fashionable houses in England. The carpet was of red baize with a Turkish border, and figured in the middle like a harlequin's jacket. The principal novelty was a blue ribbon which divided the room lengthways, the one side of it being for the dancers, the other for the card-players. The ribbon was supported at proper distances by white staves, similar to those of the court ushers.

The ball had little to distinguish it from the balls of England and America, except that the ladies danced with infinitely more skill, and therefore with more grace. The fashionable French dancing is exactly that of our operas. They are all figurantes, and care not what they exhibit, so that they exhibit their skill. I could not but figure to myself the confusion of an English girl, were she even present at a French assembly. Yet so powerful is habit, that not only did the ladies seem insensible, but even the gentlemen, such as did not dance, regarded them with indifference.

Cotillons and waltzes were the only dances of the evening. The waltzes were danced in couples, twenty or thirty at a time. The measure was quick, and all the parties seemed animated. I cannot say that I saw any thing indecorous in the embraces of the ladies and their partners, except in the mere act itself; but the waltz will never become a current fashion in England or America.

There is no precedency in a French assembly except among the

military. This is managed with much delicacy. Every group is thrown as much as possible into a circle. The tables are all circular, and cotillons are chiefly preferred from having this quality.

I did not join the card-players; there were about half a dozen tables, and the several parties appeared to play very high. When the game, or a certain number of games were over, the parties rose from their seats, and bowing to any whom they saw near them, invited them to succeed them in their seats. These invitations were sometimes accepted, but more frequently declined. The division of the drawing room set apart for the card-players served rather as a promenade for the company who did not dance; they here ranged themselves in a line along the ribbon, and criticised the several dancers. Some of these spectators seemed most egregious fops. One of them, with the exception of his linen, was dressed completely in purple silk- or satin, and another in a rose-coloured silk coat, with white satin waistcoat, and small clothes, and white silk stockings. The greater part of the ladies were dressed in fancy habits from the antique. Some were sphinxes, some vestals, some Dians, half a dozen Minervas, and a score of Junos and Cleopatras. One girl was pointed out to me as being perfectly *à l'Anglaise*. — Her hair, perfectly undressed, was combed off her forehead, and hung down her back in its full length behind. She reminded me only of a school-boy playing without his hat.

We were summoned to the supper-table about three in the morning. This repast was a perfect English



English dinner. Soup, fish, poultry, and ragouts, succeeded each other in almost endless variety. A fruit-basket was served round by the servants together with the bread-basket, and a small case of liqueurs was placed at every third plate. Some of these were contained in glass figures of Cupids, in which case, in order to get at the liqueur, it was necessary to break off a small globule affixed to the breast of the figure. The French confectioners are more ingenious than delicate in these contrivances; but the French ladies seemed better pleased with such conceit in proportion to their intelligible references. Some of these naked Cupids, which were perfect in all their parts, were handed from the gentlemen to the ladies, and from the ladies to each other, and as freely examined and criticised, as if they had been paintings of birds. The gentlemen, upon their parts, were equally as facetious upon the naked Venusses; and a swan affixed to a Leda, was the lucky source of innumerable pleasant questions and answers. Every thing, in a word, is tolerated which can in any way be passed into an equivoue. Their conversation in this respect resembles their dress—no matter how thin that covering may be, so that there be one.

So much for a French assembly or fashionable rout, which certainly excels an English one in elegance and fancy, as much as it falls short of it in substantial mirth. The French, it must be confessed, infinitely excel every other nation in all things connected with spectacle, and more or less this spectacle pervades all their parties. They dance,

they converse, they sing, for exhibition, and as if they were on the stage. Their conversation, therefore, has frequently more wit than interest, and their dancing more vanity than mirth. They seem in both respects to want that happy carelessness which pleases by being pleased. A French-woman is a figurante even in her chit-chat.

It may be expected that I did not omit to visit the theatres. Mr. Younge accompanied me successively to nearly all of them—two or three in an evening. Upon this subject, however, I shall say nothing, as every book of travels has so fully described some or other of them, that nothing in fact is farther required.

I had resolved not to leave Paris without seeing the emperor, and being informed that he was to hold an audience on the following day, I applied to Mr. Younge to procure my formal introduction. With this purpose we waited upon General Armstrong, who sent my name to the grand chamberlain with the necessary formalities.—This formality is a certificate under the hand of the ambassador, that the person soliciting the introduction has been introduced at his own court, or that, according to the best knowledge of the ambassador, he is not a merchant—a *negociant actuel*. It may be briefly observed, however, that the French negociant answers better to the English mechanic, than to the honourable appellation, merchant. General Armstrong promised me a very interesting spectacle in the Imperial audience. “It’s the most splendid court in Europe,” said he; “the Court of London, and even of Vienna, will not bear a comparison



comparison with it." Every one agreed in the justice of this remark, and my curiosity was strongly expressed.

On the day appointed, about three o'clock, Mr. Younge accompanied me to the palace, where we were immediately conducted to a splendid saloon, which is termed the Ambassadors' Hall. Refreshments were here handed round to the company, which was very numerous, and amongst them many German princes in their grand court-dress. The conversation became very general; those who had seen Buonaparte, describing him to those who were about to be introduced. Every one agreed that he was the most extraordinary man that Europe had produced in many centuries, and that even his appearance was in no slight degree indicative of his character. "He possesses an eye," said one gentleman, "in which Lavater might have understood an hero." Mr. Younge confirmed this observation, and prepared me to regard him with more than common attention.

The doors of the saloon were at length thrown open, and some of the officers of the grand chamberlain, with white wands and embroidered robes and scarfs, bowing low to the company, invited us, by waving their staves, to follow them up the grand staircase. Every one now arranged themselves, in pairs, behind their respective ambassadors, and followed the ushers in procession, according to the precedence of their respective countries, the Imperial, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors forming the van. The staircase was lined on both sides with grenadiers of the Legion of Honour, most of

whom, privates as well as officers, were arrayed in the order. The officers, as we passed, exchanged salutes with the ambassadors; and as the Imperial ambassador, who led the procession, reached the door of the anti-chamber, two trumpeters on each side played a congratulatory flourish. The ushers who had led us so far, now took their stations on each side the door, and others, in more splendid habits, succeeded them in the office of conducting us.

We now entered the anti-chamber, in which was stationed the regular guard of the palace. We were here saluted both by privates and officers, the Imperial Guard being considered as part of the household. From the anti-chamber we passed onwards through nearly a dozen most splendid apartments, and at length reached the presence-chamber.

My eyes were instantly in search of the emperor, who was at the farther extremity, surrounded by a numerous circle of officers and counsellors. The circle opened on our arrival, and withdrew behind the emperor. The whole of our company now ranged themselves, the ambassadors in front, and their several countrymen behind their respective ministers.

Buonaparte now advanced to the Imperial ambassador, with whom, when present, he always begins the audience. I had now an opportunity to regard him attentively. His person is below the middle size, but well composed; his features regular, but in their *tout ensemble* stern and commanding; his complexion sallow, and his general mien military. He was dressed very splendidly in purple velvet,  
the



the coat and waistcoat embroidered with gold bees, and with the grand star of the Legion of Honour worked into the coat.

He passed no one without notice, and to all the ambassadors he spoke once or twice. When he reached General Armstrong, he asked him whether America could not live without foreign commerce as well as France? and then added, without waiting for his answer, "There is one nation in the world which must be taught, by experience, that her merchants are not necessary to the existence of all others nations, and that she cannot hold us all in commercial slavery; England is only sensible in her computations."

The audience took up little less than two hours, after which the emperor withdrew into an adjoining apartment; and the company departed in the same order, and with the same appendages as upon their entrance.

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*Of the Country of Magad'ha, the Kings of which were Lords Paramount and Emperours of India for above Two Thousand Years. [Extracted from an Essay on Anu-Gangam, or the Gangetic Provinces, and more particularly Magad'ha. By Captain J. Wilford. Published in Asiatic Researches, or Transactions, Vol. ix. Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition.]*

THE country of Magad'ha was thus called from the numerous families descended from the sage Maga, the offspring of the sun,

and the grandson of the venerable Twashtáh in the west. They came into India in the time of Crīshna, at the request of his son Sám̐ba. They settled in the province of Cícáta, now south Bahar. There are two tribes of Bráhm̐ens in India; those of Can'yácubja, or Canoge; and the S'acas or S'acalas, thus called because they came from Sác̐am, or Sác̐a-dwípa. They are also called Magas, from their sire Maga; and from them are sprung all the Magas (or Mugs) in the eastern parts of India, the Burman empire, Siam, and China. I shall give an account of their origin and emigration to India, when I come to treat of the White Island. The other Bráhm̐ens in India are called Can'yácubja, because that was their first settlement on their arrival in India. It is universally acknowledged, that the kings of Magad'ha gave every possible encouragement to learning, which they endeavoured to diffuse through all classes, by encouraging learned men to write in the spoken dialect of the country. Tradition says, that there were treatises on almost every subject in the Magad'hi, Báli, or Páli dialect, which are supposed to be still extant. I could not, however, procure any; and I believe that they were doomed to oblivion by the Brahmenical class, who by no means encourage the composing of books in the vulgar dialects. Should they exist, however, they are to be found among the followers of Jina; and Major Mackenzie says, that these sectaries are in possession of a great many treatises on different subjects. That this is the case here, I am credibly informed: but the Jainas are not of  
a com-



a communicative disposition; and I hope that gentleman will find them more tractable than in the peninsula. From that circumstance the dialect of Magad'ha is become the Sanscrit of Ceylon, Siam, and the Burman empire, where it is called indifferently Báli, or Magad'hi. Captain Mahony writes that word Magedee; and Mr. Buchanan, in his learned and interesting Essay on the Religion and Literature of the Burmahs, calls it Magata. Both say that it is the same with the Báli, or Páli, which last denomination prevails through the countries of Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, though hardly known in India, where they call it Magadhi. According to Capt. J. Towers, the word Páli is written in Aracan, Palit, where the letter T has a very peculiar sound. The country of Pali, or of the children of Pali, or Bali, the same with Maha-nanda, according to the Purán'as, included all the country to the south of the Ganges, from the banks of the Soane to the western branch of the Ganges.

The Báli characters, either square or round, are obviously derived from the Sanscrit; but is doubtful whether, in their present state, they ever prevailed, or were used in any part of India. Among the numerous inscriptions in Bahar, only a few in that character have been found. One was kindly sent to me by Mr. Dick of the civil service. It was obviously written in the Burmah character, but I could not decipher it.

The Bards of Magad'ha were in great repute formerly, and they are mentioned under the name of Magad'has. They reckon three sorts of Bards in India: the Ma-

gad'has, or historians, thus called because those of Magad'ha were the most esteemed; the Sutas, or Genealogists; and the Bandis, whose duty was to salute, early in the morning, the king or chief, in selected phrase, and well-chosen words, wishing him long life and prosperity. The usual name in India for a Bard is Bhát, vulgarly pronounced Bhat. It is not a Sanscrit appellation, though asserted to be derived from it. But the original name, as it was pronounced several hundred years ago, was Bárdái or Bárdáhi, though some think it a different name, applied to the same class of people.

Bhát, or Bhat, is derived from the Sanscrit Várta, or Bar'ta: and which is the same with the English word and the German wort, a word. In the west, Bhats were equally called Bardi in Latin, and and Bhardh in Welsh. They were also called Vates, from *fari, fatus sum* in Latin, the same with Vártá; the letter R being dropped, as in the vulgar dialects of India. They were also denominated Eubages, from the Sanscrit verb Vacha, or Bacha, to speak, which becomes Uvácha and Ubacha, through various moods and tenses. Vacha, or Bacha, becomes also Bága, or Vága; hence the Irish word Bogh, rendered Logos, or speech, by General Vallancey. The word Bardai, or Vardai, comes obviously from the same root Vártá; but my learned friends are of opinion, that it comes from Bhár-dánam, which signifies to burden with; because they are burdened with the internal management of the royal household: and this is the case, to this day, in Gurjárat; being next to the Prad'hán, or



prime minister (called Pardon by Mr. Lord), though independent of him.

The famous Chandra, or Chandra-Bárdái, was Bard to Prīthu-Rāja, king of Dilli, whose wars are the subject of an epic poem, in the spoken dialect of Canoge, and of some antiquity, since it is mentioned in the Ayin-Acheri. He was a favourite of Devi, and was Tri-Cála, knowing the past, present, and future. The title of Bárdái is translated musician by Abul Fazil. His functions, both in the field, and at home, were exactly those of the ancient Bards in the west: except that, in India, a real Bard sings only, but does not play upon any instrument; this being the office of musicians who do not sing. He took a most active part in the bloody war between Prīthu-Rāja, and Jaya-Chan'dra, king of Canoge, and Mahá Rájá at that time, about a beautiful damsel given to the latter, by Vírabhadra, king of Ceylon; when Jaya-Chan'dra went in person, at the head of a numerous army, to force him to become tributary, and vassal of the empire; giving out, that he was only going to worship at the place of Cárticéya-Swámí, in the fort of Sancara Ghar in Sinhala, or Ceylon; which place is resorted to, equally by orthodox Hindus, Bauddhists, and even Musulmans. He was accompanied by Carna-Daharya, king of Magad'ha. Prīthu-Rāja waged a long and bloody war against Sultan Gori; but was defeated and lost his life, in the year 1192. Part of the poem, in which Prīthu-Rāja's wars with Jaya-Chan'dra and Sultan Gori, are described, is in my possession.

The Bards of mortal men are not mentioned in any Sanscrit book that ever I saw: only those of the gods. The Sid'dhas, the Cháran'as, and the Cinnaras, are the three classes mentioned in the retinue of the gods, besides the Purónita, or high priest: the regent of the planet Jupiter enjoys that high office among the gods; and S'ucra, who presides over Venus among the giants. The Sid'dhas are priests, and persons of uncommon learning and deep knowledge, to whom nothing is impossible. The Cháran'as are also acquainted with the genealogies of the gods and of mankind. The bards of mortal men were also called Cháran'as, according to Abul-fazil. Every great man in India, had Bhats in his retinue: the practice is still kept up in Garjarát, where they are highly respected to this day, according to my Pandit, who is a native of that country. The Bhats or Bhactas, and Cháran'as, are mentioned by Abul-fazil, in his description of Subah Gujarat. Their employment, says he, is to sing hymns, recite genealogies, and warlike songs in battle, to animate the troops. They acted also as heralds, as in the case of Chandra-Bardai. Abul-fazil makes some difference between the Bhats and Cháran'as; but my Pandit says, that he never knew of any. Cháran'a being really the Sanscrit word for Bhat or Bhacta. Chárana, their ancestor, is said to have sprung from the sweat of Mahadéva, who intrusted him with the care of his Ox Nandi, who resides in the White Island. But I am told, that, in the Purán'as, it is said, that they were born from the churning of



of the right arm of Véna, father of Prīthu or Noah. Bards, in this part of India, being without employ, are become a most despicable race of men. They are more respected in the Deccan, according to Major Mackenzie, who says, that they are generally called Cavisars, from Cavyéswaras, or the Lords of the Drama.

The merchants of Magad'ha formed not only a peculiar class, but also a particular tribe, called the Magad'hī tribe. It seems, that they were bold, enterprising, and at the same time cautious and circumspect; hence they are said to be merchants by the father's, and warriors by the mother's side, according to Mr. Colebrooke's account of the Hindu classes. According to the Vishnu-purán'a, the kings of Magad'ha originally resided at a place called Giri-Vraja, or Giri-Braja. Vraja is synonymous with Ghosha, a herdsman, also the abode of a herdsman; and being situated in the hills, it was called Giri-vraja. From that circumstance, the kings of Magad'ha were, till a very late period, called Vraja-balas, or rather, in the spoken dialects, Vraja-wālās, or Braja-walas, distorted afterwards by Musulman writers, into Birdaoval, according to Herbelot, and Birdawal according to Abulfeda; who says it was also the name of their metropolis. Giri-Braja was situated in the province of South Bahar, among the mountains of Sivira, now called the Rāja-gir, or the royal mountains; but more probably the real name was Rājagriha, from a place of that name, implying the royal abode. It is erroneously written, in Major Rennel's atlas, Rargiara.

This is acknowledged to have been one of their places of abode; for they say, that the royal throne was at a place called Asana, above Gáyá, on the river Balga, now Fulgo, called Cacuthis by Arrian. Asana signifies a royal seat, or throne; and Ptolemy mentions, also, a place of that name, Asana Mára, or the destroyed throne. It is called Pràcjyotisha in the Purán'as, and its remains are near Go-háti, on the frontiers of Assam.

There, among the Rāja-grītha mountains, the unfortunate Jara-sand'ha had a palace, near some hot springs, where he generally resided; some remains of it are to be seen to this day, and it is considered as a place of worship. The Pūjā is there performed, first in honour of Crishna and the five Pándavas; then with flowers in honour of old Sand'ha, and his son Sahadéva. There, in memory of this unfortunate hero, martial games are annually exhibited. They are performed with clubs, whilst drums are constantly beating. I am informed, that there is a statue of him, of an ordinary size, and seemingly of great antiquity. He is represented naked, with a club in his hand. Formerly the same games were exhibited, in his honour also, opposite to Patna, in a small island, called, from that circumstance. Sam-Mallaca, and Sambalaca by Ptolemy. They were then celebrated with great solemnity; people came from distant parts, and, during the time they lasted, a fair was held there. The games, the fair, and the place where it was held, were famous all over India, and the name of Sam-Mallaca became synonymous with Pátali-putra.



Pátali-putra. It is now called Summalpoor, or Sumbulpoor, and, in Major Rennel's atlas, Sabelpoor.

From the manner in which Jara-Sand'ha is represented there, and also, from other circumstances, he is fully entitled to the epithet of Hercules, or Haracula, given to him by Nonnus in his Dionysiacs.

The 'Sinhálas, according to Captain Mahony, say that Budd'ha was born in the country of Mad-dadesa (Magad'ha-desa), in Dumba-deeva (Jambu-dwípa), at a place called Cumbool-wat-pooree, (Camalá-vatí-purí); and that he died at Cooseemapooree (Cusumápuri) in the same country. Camalávatí-purí is the same with Padmávatí-purí, or the city of the Lotos; which we have seen is the same with Cusumápuri, now understood of Patna. It is added, that he died at the court of king Mallalel, which should be Mahá-ballala, or Má-vallala, a very common name for kings. I have shewn before, that Cusumápuri, Padmávatí, Camalá-vatí-purí are epithets, and not proper names of places; and applicable, and generally applied, to the place of residence of great kings. Pátali-putra is never mentioned in the Purán'as, or Sanscrit books of any antiquity; and its grammatical name is Pátali-pura. As it was the metropolis of the empire of Magad'ha, in latter times, and had also the emphatical name of Padmá-vatí-purí given to it; every transaction mentioned, as having happened at Padmávatí, was of course understood of the last known place under that name; and indeed, it was soon forgotten, that there were once several cities of that name in that country.

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The Magas in Bengal are mentioned by Pliny under the name of Macca-Calingas. It appears from the context, that the upper part of the Bay of Bengal was divided into three parts, called in general Calinga, or the sea-shore in Sanscrit, from its abounding with creeks. West Calinga extended from the river of Cuttaca to the western mouth of the Ganges. In an island of the Ganges, *ample magnitudinis*, of very great magnitude, and of course the Delta was a single nation called Modo-Galica and Modo-Galenca, from the Sanscrit Madhya-Calinga, or Middle Calinga: then came the Macco Calingas, or the Magas of Chittigong, from Maga-Calinga. The Magas or Mugs maintained themselves as an independent tribe in the Delta for a long time; and they were at last expelled by the Musulmans and the Rájas of Tipera, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, as mentioned by P. Monserrat. Through the Burman empire, Arracan and in Chittigong the priests only are called Magas, according to Col. Symes; but in Chittigong and adjacent countries, the name of Muga is also attributed to the whole tribe.

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*A Country-house—and a House in the Country.* [From the *Morning Chronicle*, Aug. 26, 1809.]

MR. EDITOR,

AS there may be some little interval between the taking of Flushing and of Antwerp, I hope you will find room to represent the grievances of a man who dates all his misfortunes from that which

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from



forms the hopes and happiness of two-thirds of his fellow-citizens, I mean the possession of a *country-house*.

Influenced by my wife and family, and by the physician and apothecary, who, I verily believe, were in league with them, to persuade me that London, at this season of the year, is very pernicious to the health, and on Sundays absolutely fatal to human life and happiness; I say, Sir, teased, tormented, and half convinced by these arguments, in an evil hour, I took a *country-house*—a house, Sir, in which I was taught to believe that I could enjoy the calm pleasures of rural solitude, unruffled by the buz of promiscuous society, and the many external and discordant noises which disturb the auricular faculties of the Londoners.

A *country-house* I took, and that it might be the more convenient, within five miles of the metropolis, close to a road through which coaches were hourly passing and repassing, so that any of my family might have a *cast*, as it is called, at a very trifling expense, besides the great convenience of errand-carts, return-chaises, and other vehicles for lumber or pleasure.

But, Sir, let no quiet citizen henceforth hire a house that is beset with so many *conveniencies*, and let him know, by my hard fate, that the *conveniencies* he enjoys may be enjoyed by others; that the carriages that are hourly passing and repassing may convey those whom he does not wish to see, and that a house within five miles of London, on a public road, is a fair mark for loungers, idlers, and

consumers of time and provisions. I had not been *quietly* settled a fortnight at my *country-house*, when I found it turned into an *inn*, or a *Sunday ordinary*, a *cake-house*, a *tea-drinking place*, and, in short, every thing but what I intended.

In an evil hour I praised the *conveniencies* of my house—How could my friends believe me without *witnessing* them? I spoke of my lofty rooms—they *must dine* in them; of my excellent bed-chambers—they *must stay a night* with me; of my garden and fruit—they *must pluck it with their own hands*; of my fine arched cellar—they *must taste my wine*; and of the many pleasant rides in the neighbourhood—they *must come down for a week*!

I vainly hoped for one day of quiet. Sunday, emphatically styled a *day of rest*, I thought I could depend upon. Alas! Sir, it is with me a day of bustle and perplexity. Although I have neither *licence* nor *profits*, I am all day providing for my guests, who are so good-natured as to praise the contents of my pantry and my cellar in the most extravagant terms. There is no *port* in the country equal to mine; my *Madeira* is better calculated for gouty habits than any that ever passed the line; and my *hock* is so healthful in hot weather, and so little disposed to turn acid on the stomach, that the greatest compliment they can pay me is to use it as a *substitute* for *malt liquor*!

Sir, I once tried what an early hour would do. Loving to have all my children and grand-children about me on Sunday, I fixed my dinner-hour at three o'clock, fondly



ly thinking that I should bilk those *impromptu* visitors, who are then only drawing on their boots, and thinking which way they shall turn their horses' heads, and upon whom they shall inflict a visitation. But let no simple soul depend on his cunning. My three-o'clock scheme made no alteration but this, that what I called *dinner* became a *luncheon* to my visitors, who having eat, and drank some of my *excellent light wines*, departed just in time to gallop five miles farther, and dine with another friend, who does business of that kind in the evening. And scarcely are they gone, when they are replaced by another set, who having been compelled to dine with *old Squaretoes* at his d—d hour of *half past two*, pop in on me, to tell me the news, and taste that *curious claret* they had heard so much about!

I have only to add, that the present summer has contributed not a little to my grievances—so many wet evenings, “one could not turn out a dog in such weather;” and my *beds* are *so excellent*, many of my friends never slept so sound any where—and then a ride next morning is so pleasant—the dust laid—even when the weather is as favourable as can be wished, yet the *cool of the morning* has so many charms, that my *spare beds* (I wish there had never been such a piece of furniture invented) are all occupied; and were you to hear of all my *excellencies* and *conveniencies*, you would be puzzled to know whether I was most renowned as the keeper of an *inn*, a *tavern*, or a *hotel*.

But an end must be put to these things, and I hereby give notice,

that if any London gentleman wishes to go into this *line of business*, I shall be happy to treat with him for the lease of the house, and he shall have the *goodwill* for nothing. I cannot, however, conclude without mentioning the opinion of a friend to whom I lately communicated my grievances. After a short pause, and striking his forehead, he exclaimed—“Mr Placid, I have hit it!—I have hit it!—all your distresses arises from this one mistake—you took a *country-house* instead of a *house in the country*!”

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

HUM. PLACID.

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*Parallel between Linnæus and Buffon.* [Extracted from the *Notes of Cuvier on the Abbé de Lille's Three Reigns of Nature.*]

IT is an ingenious idea of the author of the *Three Reigns*, to bring together (in the Botanical Garden at Paris) the shades of two rivals who were far from being friends, but who, nevertheless, notwithstanding the oppositeness of their views and characters, or rather from that very oppositeness, co-operated for an advancement of natural history, as rapid as it was extensive.

Linnæus and Buffon seemed, in fact, to possess, respectively, qualities that could not be found in conjunction in the same person, but whose union at the same time was necessary to give to the study of nature so powerful an impulsion.

Both of these men, enthusiasts in their respective studies, and burn-



ing with a love of fame, of indefatigable industry, great sensibility, strong imagination, and vigorous understanding, came to the field armed with the resources of profound erudition. But in this field each chalked out for himself a different course, according to the particular bent of his genius. Linnæus, with fine discrimination, seized the distinguishing features of things. Buffon, at one glance, combined the remotest relations. Linnæus, accurate and exact, has created a new language, for the purpose of communicating his ideas with precision and vigour. Buffon, copious and rich, employs the whole compass and powers of his vernacular tongue, for unfolding the extent of his conceptions. Never were the beauties with which the Creator has adorned every thing to which he has given being, described in a more impressive manner than by Linnæus in detail. Never was the majesty of the creation, or the striking grandeur of the laws to which it is subjected, more nobly displayed than by Buffon. The first, frightened at the chaos in which the history of nature had been left by the negligence of his predecessors, had the skill, by simple methods and clear and short definitions, to reduce this immense labyrinth to order; and to render the knowledge of particular substances a matter of easy attainment. The second, disgusted at the dryness of writers contented, for the most part, with being exact, knows how to interest us in particular beings by the magic of his harmonious and poetical language. Sometimes, when one is fatigued with the toilsome study of Linnæus, he loves to repose on

Buffon. But it always happens that when we have felt the emotions excited in our soul by the enchanting eloquence of Buffon, we are disposed to return to Linnæus in order to arrange the enchanting pictures of the former into proper order; being afraid lest our recollections of them should be no other than assemblages of ideas vague and confused. And undoubtedly it is not the least merit of those two writers, that they constantly inspire, reciprocally, a desire of returning from the one to the other, although this alternation seems to prove, and proves, in fact, that there is something wanting in each of them.

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### Population.

[From the Morning Chronicle.]

SIR,

IF you can spare a small space at this anxious crisis, I hope you will allow me to make a few remarks on the dread of *excessive population*, which has lately seized some philosophers, and produced, I must confess, some ingenious treatises. The fear seems to be lest population should exceed the means of support, and it has been asserted that a nation should grow no more men and women than it can feed. Now, Sir, although I cannot think that we have a right to thin nations as we would thin gooseberry-bushes, yet I am disposed to speak a word of comfort to those who are still alarmed at the increasing population of this country, and who have proposed plans for diminishing it which have not met, nor are likely to meet, with public approbation.



approbation. I have lately discovered so many *antidotes to population*, fair, legal, and even in the opinion of some, honourable as well as fashionable, that I hope no nation, organized as ours is, will ever be afraid of being too populous, or take it into their heads that they have conquered "death and the grave."

These medical writers who have been at the pains to write systems, inform us that the human species is liable to so many disorders, that I am surprised there should be a living being on the earth. Dr. Cullen's list of diseases amounts to 150; that of Sauvage to 315; that of Linnæus to 326; that of Vogel to 560; and Sagar, a later writer, contents himself with 351. Cullen's must be evidently too few, because it bears no proportion to any of the others. Let us then strike a kind of balance, and console those who dread excessive population, by informing them that mankind are provided with *three hundred and fifty-five mortal diseases*.

To this three hundred and fifty *diseases*, let us add one thousand *doctors*, which in this country is, I am told, a moderate computation; about two thousand *apothecaries* and *surgeons*, and an equal number of *quacks*, or what is the same, *quack medicines*, and I flatter myself we shall be enabled to keep our population within very decent bounds. But if all this be not enough, I have still a very handsome reserve in the following articles, all either strictly legal, or strictly honourable and fashionable, namely,

The *Gin-shop*,  
The *Lottery*,  
The *Gaming-Table*,  
The *Third Bottle*,  
*Broken Hearts*,  
*Unbroken Horses*,  
and, now and then,  
A little WAR!

I am, Sir,  
Your humble Servant,  
A CALCULATOR.



## P O E T R Y.

## ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1809.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. P. L.

**F**ULL-ORB'D in equinoctial skies  
 When the pale moon malignant rides,  
 And bids the howling tempest rise,  
 And swells the ocean's briny tides,  
 Dreadful against the sounding shore  
 The winds and waves tumultuous roar,  
 The torrent-braving mound in vain  
 The stormy inroad would restrain,  
 The surges with resistless sway  
 Force o'er the labour'd mole their way,  
 Scorn every weak resource of human toil,  
 O'erwhelm the peopled town, and waste the cultur'd soil.

But when, by native fences barr'd  
 From billowy rage, the happier land,  
 And rocky cliffs for ever stand  
 To the wide-water'd coast a guard,  
 Such as on Vecta's southern steep  
 Look down defiance on the raging deep,  
 Such as on Dover's breezy down  
 On Gallia's hostile borders frown,  
 Tho' billows urging billows roar  
 And idly beat against the shore,  
 While from the heights sublime the swain  
 Mocks the vain efforts of the foaming main,  
 Till Nature bids the deluged surge subside,  
 Hush'd is the tempest's voice, and reluctant rolls the tide.  
 So o'er Europa's ravag'd plain

We saw the torrent wild of war  
 Resistless spread its iron reign,  
 And scatter ruin wide and far;  
 The embattled wall, the warlike band,  
 Vainly the Tyrant's course withstand;  
 Before the impious sons of Gaul  
 The legions fly, the bulwarks fall;  
 Yet Britain's floating castles sweep  
 Invasion from her subject deep,

Yet



Yet by her rocks secure from harm,  
 Securer by her patriot arm,  
 Iberia turns the battle's tide,  
 Resists the injurious Tyrant's pride.  
 While freely floating in the ambient sky,  
 Sacred to Freedom's cause, their mingled ensigns fly.

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.— June 4.

[By the same.]

**W**HILE Europe with dejected eye  
 Beholds around her rural reign  
 Whilom of Peace the fair domain  
 The scene of desolation lie;  
 Or if with trembling hope she cast  
 Her looks on hours of glory past:  
 And burn again with virtuous fame  
 Her ancient honours to reclaim,  
 And brace the corslet on her breast,  
 And grasp the spear and wave the crest;  
 Yet lies her course through war's ensanguin'd flood;  
 Yet must she win her way through carnage and thro' blood.

Ah! happier Britain, o'er thy plain  
 Still smiling Peace and Freedom reign,  
 And while thy sons with pitying eye  
 Beholds the fields of ruin round them lie;  
 The storms that shake each neighbour-realm with fear,  
 Like distant thunder die upon the ear;  
 They bless the halcyon hours that gave,  
 To rule a people free and brave,  
 A patriot Monarch all their own,  
 Their swords his bulwark; and their hearts his throne,  
 And while to this auspicious day  
 The Muse devotes her tributary lay,  
 A nation's vows in choral Pæan join,  
 And consecrate to Fame a 'verse as mean as mine.'

Yet not to selfish thoughts confin'd,  
 Are the warm feelings of a virtuous mind:  
 The Royal Patriot, while he views,  
 Peace o'er his realms her bliss diffuse,  
 Mourns for the sorrows that afflict mankind.  
 Go forth, my sons, he cries; my Britons, go,  
 And rescue Europe from her ruthless foe.  
 Behold, in arms, Austria's Imperial Lord;  
 Behold Iberia draw the avenging sword;—



O let, with their's, your mingling ensigns fly,  
 In the great cause of injur'd Liberty!  
 Go forth, my sons, and to the world declare,  
 When suffering Freedom calls, Britannia's arms are there!

### PICTURE OF A BRIGHT FROSTY DAY.

[From Grahame's British Georgics.]

**R**UDDY is now the dawning as in June,  
 And clear and blue the vault of noon-tide sky:  
 Nor is the slanting orb of day unfelt.  
 From sunward rocks, the icicle's faint drop,  
 By lonely river-side, is heard at times  
 To break the silence deep: for now the stream  
 Is mute, or faintly gurgles far below  
 Its frozen ceiling: silent stands the mill,  
 The wheel immovable, and shod with ice.  
 The babbling rivulet, at each little slope,  
 Flows scantily beneath a lucid veil,  
 And seems a pearly current liquified;  
 While, at the shelvy side, in thousand shapes  
 Fantastical, the frostwork domes uprear  
 Their tiny fabrics, &c.—  
 Spotless parterres, all freckt with snow-white flowers,  
 Flowers that no archetype in nature own;  
 Or spreads the piky crystals into fields  
 Of bearded grain, rustling in autumn breeze.

### A SUMMER DAWN!

[From the same.]

**Y**ES,—let the husbandman arouse to toil,  
 While yet the sky a deep empurpled tint  
 Northward displays,—before the corn-craik's call  
 In mist-veiled meads awake the nestling lark,  
 To hail the dawn. Sweet is the dubious bound  
 Of night and morn, when spray and plant are drenched  
 In dew; sweet now the odour-breathing birch,  
 The gaudy broom, the orchard's blushing boughs,  
 The milk-white thorn, on which the blackbird roosts,  
 Till light he shakes his ruffling plumes, and chants  
 His roundelay; and sweet the bean-field rows,  
 'Tween which the drilling plough is artful steered,  
 Shaking the dew-drop gently from the bloom.  
 Thence on their lingering wings the west winds waft  
 A balmy odour; struck with new delight,  
 The toil-worn traveller pauses on his way.

Perhaps



Perhaps some veteran, whom Egyptian sands  
 Have reft of sight, (O, when will warfare cease !)  
 Leans on his staff, and wishes that but once,  
 But only once, he could behold those blooms,  
 Which now recal his father's little field.

### THE EFFECTS OF JUDICIOUS CULTURE.

[From the same.]

**B**Y such resources so applied, I've seen,  
 As if it were, a new creation smile ;  
 Have seen the clover, red and white supplant  
 The purple heath-bell ; rustling ears succeed  
 The dreary stillness of the lurid moor ;  
 The gluttoned heifer lowing for the pail,  
 Where starving sheep picked up their scanty fare ;  
 The sheltering hawthorn blossom, where the furze  
 Its rugged aspect reared ; and I have heard,  
 Where melancholy plovers hovering screamed,  
 The partridge-call, at gloamin's lovely hour,  
 Far o'er the ridges break the tranquil hush ;  
 And morning larks ascend with songs of joy,  
 Where erst the whinchat chirped from stone to stone.

### A DESCRIPTION OF THE COTTAGER'S OCCUPATION IN WINTER.

[From the same.]

**H**E shuts again his door, and turns his hand  
 To home employment,—mending now a hive,  
 With bark of brier darned pliant through the seams ;  
 Or, looking forward through the wintry gloom  
 To summer days, and meadows newly mown,  
 Repairs his toothless rake ; or feeds his bees ;  
 Or drives a nail into his studded shoon ;  
 Or twists a wisp, and winds the spiral steps  
 Around the hen-roost ladder : deeply fixed,  
 Meanwhile his children quit their play, and stand  
 With look inquiring, and inquiring tongue,  
 Admiring much his skill. Thus glides the day ;  
 Thus glide the evening hours, when laid to rest  
 His imps are stilled, and with its deep-toned hum  
 The wool-wheel joins the excluded tempest's howl.  
 Perhaps some neighbour braves the blast, and cheers  
 The fire-side ring ; then blaze the added peats,  
 Or moss-dug faggot, brightening roof and wall,  
 And rows of glancing plates that grace the shelves.



The jest meanwhile, or story of old times,  
Goes cheery round; or, from some well-soiled page,  
Are read the deeds of heroes, by the light  
Mayhap of brands, whereon—when greenwood trees  
Were all their canopy—their armour hung.

## RECOMMENDATION OF PLANTING WILLOWS FOR BASKET-MAKING.

[From the same.]

THE man bowed down with age, the sickly youth,  
The widowed mother with her little child,  
That lends its aid and loves to be employed,  
Find, from this easy toil, a help in need.  
The blind man's blessing lights on him who plants  
An osier bed : Oh ! I have seen a smile  
Of mild content upon the assembled group  
Of piteous visages, whose dextrous hands,  
Taught by the public care, plied the light task ;  
And I have heard, their hour of labour done,  
That simple, sacred strain, *By Babel's streams*,  
Rise from the sightless band, with such a power  
Of heart-dissolving melody,—move such a host  
Of strong o'erwhelming feelings in the breast,  
As wrung a tear from most obdurate eyes.

Once I beheld a captive, whom these wars  
Had made an inmate of the prison-house,  
Cheering with wicker-work (that almost seemed  
To him a sort of play) his dreary hours.  
I asked his story : in my native tongue  
(Long use had made it easy as his own)  
He answered thus :—Before these wars began,  
I dwelt upon the willowy banks of Loire :  
I married one who, from my boyish days,  
Had been my playmate. One morn,—I'll ne'er forget!—  
While busy choosing out the prettiest twigs,  
To warp a cradle for our child unborn,  
We heard the tidings, that the conscript-lot  
Had fallen on me ; it came like a death-knell.  
The mother perished, but the babe survived ;  
And, ere my parting day, his rocking couch  
I made complete, and saw him sleeping smile,—  
The smile that played upon the cheek of her  
Who lay clay-cold. Alas ! the hour soon came  
That forced my fettered arms to quit my child ;  
And whether now he lives to deck with flowers  
The sod upon his mother's grave, or lies  
Beneath it by her side, I ne'er could learn :

I think



I think he's gone ; and now I only wish  
 For liberty and home, that I may see,  
 And stretch myself and die upon that grave !

A FAMILY OF COTTAGERS REDUCED BY THE MONO-  
 POLIZERS OF LAND TO MIGRATE TO A CITY.

[From the same.]

————— BEHOLD the band  
 With some small remnant of their household gear,  
 Drawn by the horse which once they called their own ;  
 Behold them take a last look of that roof,  
 From whence no smoke ascends, and onward move  
 In silence ; whilst each passing object wakes  
 Remembrances of scenes that never more  
 Will glad their hearts ;—the mill, the smiddy blaze  
 So cheerful, and the doubling hammer's clink,  
 Now dying on the ear, now on the breeze  
 Heard once again. Ah ! why that joyous *bark*  
 Precursive ! Little dost thou ween, poor thing !  
 That ne'er again the slowly-stepping herd,  
 And nibbling flock, thou'lt drive a-field or home ;  
 That ne'er again thou'lt chase the limping hare,  
 While, knowing well thy eager yelp, she scorns  
 Thy utmost speed, and, from the thistly lea,  
 Espies, secure, thy puzzled fruitless search.—

————— But soon thou wilt forget  
 The cheerful fields ; not so the infant train,  
 Thy playmates gay.—

————— Oft from their high  
 And wretched roof, they look, trying, through clouds  
 Of driving smoke, a glimpse of the green fields  
 To gain, while, at the view, they feel their hearts  
 Sinking within them. Ah ! these vain regrets  
 For happiness that now is but a dream,  
 Are not their sorest evil. No ; disease  
 (The harvest of the crowded house of toil)  
 Approaches, withering first the opening bloom  
 Of infant years.—

————— O ! that heart-wringing cry,  
 To take them home,—to take them home again,—  
 Their ceaseless, death-bed cry, poor innocents !  
 Repeated while the power to lisp is theirs ;—  
 Alas ! that home no more shall ye behold ;  
 No more along the thistly lea pursue  
 The flying down ; no more, transported, rush  
 From learning's humble door, with playmates blythe,  
 To gather pebbles in the shallow burn.



HIGHLAND REAPERS RETURNING FROM A LOWLAND  
HARVEST.

[From the same.]

**O**FT, at this season, faintly meets the ear  
 The song of harvest bands, that plod their way  
 From dark Lochaber, or the distant isles,  
 Journeying for weeks to gain a month of toil :  
 Sweet is the falling of the single voice,  
 And sweet the joining of the choral swell,  
 Without a pause ta'en up by old and young,  
 Alternating, in wildly-measured strain,  
 Thus they, 'mid clouds of flying dust, beguile,  
 With songs of ancient times, their tedious way.

## THE TEMPLE OF REASON.

[From Principal Brown's Philemon; or the Progress of Virtue.]

**P**HILEMON trod the metaphysic soil  
 With cautious step, and profit paid his toil.  
 For, he pursued the clear and solid road,  
 And shunn'd the devious path which sceptics trod ;  
 Where doubt and fear perplex them as they go,  
 Where knowledge only teaches not to know :  
 Where motley shapes appear : Religion's face  
 Is shewn enrag'd, or practising grimace ;  
*Folly* advances, cloth'd in *Wisdom's* guise,  
 While *Wisdom*, in a fool's coat, strikes the eyes ;  
 Death, in tremendous armour, stands array'd :  
 No gleam from heav'n illumines the grisly shade ;  
 Man without solace of his woes is left,  
 And weeping Nature of her sire bereft ;  
 Insidious meteors glimmer to ensnare ;  
 Research and study settle in despair !  
 These paths could ne'er Philemon tempt to roam  
 From that which led to Reason's lofty dome,  
 Though rough and steep : he persever'd to climb  
 Till patient progress gain'd the top sublime.  
 Arriv'd, admitted to the sacred bound,  
 With rapture, he survey'd the scene around.  
 The solid structure on four columns rear'd,  
 Half in the clouds, and half on earth appear'd,  
 To shew on Reason's energies we soar  
 From earth ; from time, eternity explore.



On adamant was fix'd her simple throne,  
 No gaudy ornaments around it shone;  
 No gold, emboss'd on iv'ry, shot a blaze;  
 No diamond sparkled with alternate rays.  
 But, graceful sculpture deck'd the modest seat  
 With emblems chaste, and elegantly neat.  
 The sceptre Reason bore that can assuage  
 The bursting passions, and subdue their rage.  
 On her right hand Religion held the book  
 Whose periods flow from Inspiration's brook,  
 When knowledge fail'd, and darkling doubts perplex'd,  
*Religion* bade her hear the sacred text,  
 Dispell'd the clouds, and open'd, to her view,  
 The realms of light, and bliss for ever new,  
*Experience*, on her left, the fruits display'd,  
 Her sure instructions to our race convey'd,  
 Abundance rising from the fertile plains,  
 The guiltless wealth which Industry obtains;  
 All, Art bestows to polish, and improve,  
 Man's ills to lighten, or their cause remove.  
 Before her, *Happiness*, in sweetest strain,  
 Sung all the joys that follow in her train;  
 Health, competence; the conscience void of fear;  
 The will to heav'n resign'd; the judgment clear;  
 Th' unblemish'd name; affection; mutual trust;  
 And hope that springs above, and spurns the dust,  
 While these she sung, she cast her look on high,  
 The roof disclosing a cerulean sky;  
 And breathing odours round the palace flew,  
 Such as the rose dispenses, fresh with dew.  
 Philemon, thus, th' approving Goddess hail'd:  
 "Advance; thy patient labours have prevail'd.  
 "None reach the palace where my power resides,  
 "But such as love of truth impels, and guides.  
 "Thee I receive, and register as mine;  
 "To guard the glorious privilege be thine!"

The Youth, this vision shewn to Fancy's eye,  
 Adhered to Truth, and spurn'd the Sophist's lie.

Those principles, which on the heart engrav'd,  
 Have mad Opinion's shifting tempests brav'd,  
 Which, undefac'd by manners, or by times,  
 By revolutions and their train of crimes,  
 Man, civiliz'd or savage, still has felt,  
 And will retain, till Nature's fabric melt—  
 These in the holy shrine of Conscience laid  
 No doubt could soil, no sophistry invade,



## AN AFRICAN SONG.

**P**OOR Zeila on wide water gaze,  
 Where white man tear her love away ;  
 In vain she to poor Oran prays ;  
 In vain she call the ship to stay !

Back to her hut can Zeila go ;  
 From Oran dear how can she sleep ;  
 When Zeila breast swell big wid woe,  
 When Zeila eye do nought but weep.

Rise, Sun of Morn ! but give no light  
 To cruel man who him enslave !  
 Poor Oran pine, far, far from sight,  
 Or now lie dead below cold wave.

But if him live, him see no more  
 The big tear drop from Zeila eye ;  
 Then where white man poor Oran tore,  
 I'll sit me down, and soon will die.

## TRANSLATION FROM A SONNET OF METASTASIO.

**S**TRANGER ! my waves were born far, far from here,  
 For I by birth am a mountain-stream ;  
 The champaign and the mead, unblest I deem,  
 But rocks I love, rough rocks and shadows drear.

He harms not me nor mine, yon summer sun,  
 For many a grot and cooling cave have I ;  
 And while far deeper streams all frozen lie,  
 My waves unseen and unmolested run.

Thrice happy thus, so tranquil and so pure,  
 Heedless of sunshine and of day, I creep,  
 Known to myself, but to the world obscure.  
 Thrice happy thus, I travel to the deep,  
 And soon shall rest contented and secure.  
 Hush'd in the grave where all my fathers sleep.

L.

## THE VINE AND THE YEW-TREE.

[From the Morning Herald.]

**M**ILD shone the moon, as near yon abbey wall  
 A pensive stranger took his lonely way  
 I heard him all mankind ungrateful call,  
 And wish his heart as pitiless as they.

Sudden



Sudden he paus'd, near a poor blighted vine,  
 Whose branches wither'd round a tree in view ;  
 " Poor plant," said he, " why did thy leaves entwine  
 " The noxious verdure of that fatal yew ?

" Ah ! like the wretch, who now deplores thy fate,  
 " You sought the bland embraces of a friend,  
 " Who basely has return'd thy *love* with *hate*,  
 " And throws thee off when all thy blossoms end."

One leaf I'll take, and bear it in my breast,  
 And moisten it with many a fruitless tear ;  
 It whispers to my heart the word—*distrust* ;  
 Yes—to this foolish heart thou shalt be dear!

IGNOTUS.

## REFLECTIONS OF AN O. P. IN THE COUNTRY.

[From the Morning Chronicle.]

" *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,*" &c.

Horace, Epodon Liber, Ode 2.

**H**APPY the man, who, safe from *rows*,  
 His native fields in quiet ploughs—  
 Who, far from Covent-garden's noise,  
 Domestic quietness enjoys—  
 Unvext by squabbles of New Price,  
 And Managerial avarice—  
 Unthump'd by Israelitish blackguards,  
 For holding or beholding placards—  
 Who safe his nose can put his hand on,  
 Uncharg'd by ready-swearing Br——on  
 With harbouring a whistle in it,  
 If it remain there half a minute—  
 (And yet, Heav'n knows, one's *nasal bellows*  
 Had need be held, amongst the fellows  
 Who by the Managers are sent  
 To help the hoax of *six per cent.*  
 By very *force* of argument ;  
 But not in force of *words* whose charm is,  
 No—in o'erpow'ring '*Vi et Armis* ;'  
 Whistles to stop with *fists* their care is,  
 Confound *such anti-fis-tularies* !)—  
 Happy, who's not, at twelve o'clock,  
 Compell'd his friends from bed to knock,  
 To bail him for creating riot  
 Where he *intended* to be quiet ;

Altho'



Altho' he might, as sure most men do,  
 Knock down a man '*se defendendo*,  
 Who, but for that, had beat his eyes out,  
 Yet, ne'ertheless, is first that cries out—  
 Happy, who, safe from fears like these,  
 Praises, but *acts* not with, O. P.'s ;  
 No hired bludgeonists astound him ;  
 His smiling family around him  
 Impart a more delightful charm  
 Than all the mimic melo-drame,  
 Which fumes, struts, fiddles o'er the stage,  
 Disgrace and scandal of the age—  
 Happy, who, far from *trash* and *rows*,  
 Enjoys a cheerful, *quiet house*,  
 Preserves unshock'd his common sense,  
 Keeps safe his *person* and his *pence*.

W. M.

## LORD CASTLEREAGH AND SIR WILLIAM CURTIS.

[From the same.]

[Many persons of sensibility were much affected at the parting interview between Lord Castlereagh and Sir William Curtis, when the worthy Alderman sailed with the Expedition. Since Gay's "Black-eyed Susan," there has scarcely occurred a more pleasing subject for Lyric Poetry, and a Parody on that beautiful composition has been prettily attempted by Mr. Dent.]

ALL in the Downs the fleet was moor'd,  
 The streamers waving in the wind,  
 When Castlereagh appear'd on board,  
 " Ah! where shall I my Curtis find?  
 " Tell me, ye jovial sailors, tell me true,  
 " If my fat William sails among your crew?"

William, who high upon the poop,  
 Rock'd by the billows to and fro,  
 Hear'd, as he supp'd his turtle soup,  
 The well-known Viscount's voice below.  
 The spoon drops greasy from his savoury hands,  
 And quick as lightning on the deck he stands.

So Isaac Hawkins Browne at prayer  
 Shuts close his hymn-book to his breast,  
 If Perceval's shrill note he hear,  
 And drops into the Treasury nest,  
 The noblest biscuit-baker in the fleet,  
 Might catch William's ear that call so sweet.



" O Castlereagh, thou spotless peer,  
 " My vote shall ever true remain,  
 " Let me wipe off that *Union* tear,  
 " We only part to meet again.  
 " Change ministers about!—my vote shall be  
 " The faithful compass that still points to thee!  
 " Believe not what Reformers say  
 " Who tempt with doubts thy constant mind,  
 " They swear Contractors, when away,  
 " *Two strings to ev'ry bow* can find;  
 " Yes, yes, believe them when they tell thee so,  
 " Thine are my only strings, and only bow.  
 " Though *Flushing* claim this face to-day,  
 " Let not a paler statesman mourn,  
 " Though cannon roar, yet Castlereagh  
 " Shall see his alderman return,  
 " All safe and sound, tho' forc'd-meat balls should fly,  
 " And claret still shall wet his civic eye."

Tremendous Chatham gave the word,  
 Sir Home his swelling topsails spread,  
 No longer Castlereagh's on board,  
 Sir William wept, and went to bed.  
 The Viscount's boat unwilling rows to land,  
 " A Jew!" he cried, and waved his lily hand.

## TOBY TOSSPOT.

[From a Morning Paper.]

ALAS! what pity 'tis that regularity,  
 Like Isaac Shove's, is such a rarity!  
 But there are swilling wights in London town,  
 Term'd Jolly Dogs—Choice Spirits,—*alias* Swine;  
 Who pour, in midnight revel, bumpers down,  
 Making their throats a thoroughfare for wine,  
 These spendthrifts, who life's pleasures thus out-run,  
 Dosing, with head-achs, till the afternoon,  
 Lose half man's regular estate of sun,  
 By borrowing, too largely, of the moon.  
 One of this kidney—Toby Tossopot hight,—  
 Was coming from the Bedford late at night:  
 And being *Bacchi plenus*,—full of wine,—  
 Although he had a tolerable notion  
 Of aiming at progressive motion,  
 'Twasn't direct,—'twas serpentine.



He work'd, with sinuosities, along,  
 Like Monsieur Corkscrew, worming thro' a cork ;  
 Not straight, like Corkscrew's proxy, stiff Don Prong,  
 A Fork.

At length, with near four bottles in his pate,  
 He saw the moon shining on Shove's brass plate ;  
 When reading " Please to ring the bell ;"  
 And being civil beyond measure,  
 " Ring it !" says Toby—" very well ;  
 I'll ring it with a deal of pleasure."

Toby, the kindest soul in all the town,  
 Gave it a jerk that almost jerk'd it down.  
 He waited full two minutes ; no one came ;  
 He waited full two minutes more—and then—  
 Says Toby—" If he's deaf, I'm not to blame ;  
 I'll pull it for the gentleman again."

But the first peal 'woke Isaac in a fright,  
 Who, quick as lightning, popping up his head,  
 Sat on his head's *antipodes* in bed,—  
 Pale as a parsnip—bolt upright.

At length, he, wisely, to himself did say,—  
 Calming his fears,—  
 " Tush ! 'tis some fool has rung and run away ;"—  
 When peal the second rattled in his ears !

Shove jump'd into the middle of the floor ;  
 And, trembling at each breath of air that stirr'd,  
 He grop'd down stairs, and open'd the street-door,  
 While Toby was performing peal the third.

Isaac eyed Toby, fearfully askant,  
 And saw he was a strapper—stout and tall—  
 Then put this question—" Pray, Sir, what d'ye want ?"  
 Says Toby—" I want nothing, Sir, at all."

" Want nothing !—Sir, you've pull'd my bell, I vow,  
 As if you'd jerk it off the wire !"  
 Quoth Toby—gravely making him a bow—  
 " I pull'd it, Sir, at your desire."

" At mine !"—" Yes, your's—I hope I've done it well :  
 High time for bed, Sir : I was hastening to it :  
 But if you write up *Please to ring the bell*,  
 Common politeness makes me stop and do it."



## ON THE WHIP CLUB.

**T**WO varying races are in Britain born,  
 One courts a nation's praises, one her scorn;  
 Those pant her sons o'er tented fields to guide,  
 Or steer her thunders thro' the foaming tide;  
 Whilst these, disgraceful born in luckless hour,  
 Burn but to guide with skill a coach-and-four.  
 To guess their sires each a sure clue affords,  
 These are the coachman's sons, and those my Lord's!  
 Both follow Fame, pursuing different courses;  
 Those, Britain, scourge thy foes—and these thy horses;  
 Give them their due, nor let occasion slip;  
 On those thy laurels lay—on these the whip!

SATIRIST.

ON BEING CONFINED TO SCHOOL ONE PLEASANT  
MORNING IN SPRING.

WRITTEN BY MR. H. KIRKE WHITE AT THE AGE OF THIRTEEN.

[From the Remains of Henry Kirke White, late of St. John's College,  
 Cambridge.]

**T**HE morning sun's enchanting rays  
 Now call forth every songster's praise;  
 Now the lark, with upward flight,  
 Gayly ushers in the light;  
 While wildly warbling from each tree,  
 The birds sing songs to Liberty.

But for me no songster sings,  
 For me no joyous lark up-springs;  
 For I, confin'd in gloomy school,  
 Must own the pedant's iron rule,  
 And far from sylvan shades and bowers,  
 In durance vile must pass the hours;  
 There can the scholiast's dreary lines,  
 Where no bright ray of genius shines,  
 And close to rugged learning cling,  
 While laughs around the jocund spring.

How gladly would my soul forego  
 All that arithmeticians know,  
 Or stiff grammarians quaintly teach,  
 Or all that industry can reach,  
 To taste each morn of all the joys  
 That with the laughing sun arise;



And unconstrain'd to rove along  
 The bushy brakes and glens among ;  
 And woo the muse's gentle power,  
 In unfrequented rural bower !  
 But ah ! such heav'n-approaching joys  
 Will never greet my longing eyes ;  
 Still will they cheat in vision fine,  
 Yet never but in fancy shine.

Oh ! that I were the little wren  
 That shrilly chirps from yonder glen !  
 Oh ! far away I then would rove,  
 To some secluded bushy grove ;  
 There hop and sing with careless glee,  
 Hop and sing at liberty ;  
 And, till death should stop my lays,  
 Far from men would spend my days.

### SONG.

WRITTEN AT THE AGE OF FOURTEEN.

[From the same.]

#### I.

**S**OFTLY, softly blow, ye breezes,  
 Gently o'er my Edwy fly !  
 Lo ! he slumbers, slumbers sweetly ;  
 Softly, zephyrs, pass him by !  
     My love is asleep,  
     He lies by the deep,  
 All along where the salt waves sigh.

#### II.

I have cover'd him with rushes,  
 Water-flags, and branches dry.  
 Edwy, long have been thy slumbers ;  
 Edwy, Edwy, ope thine eye !  
     My love is asleep,  
     He lies by the deep,  
 All along where the salt waves sigh.

#### III.

Still he sleeps ; he will not waken,  
 Fastly closed is his eye ;  
 Paler is his cheek, and chiller  
 Than the icy moon on high.  
     Alas ! he is dead,  
     He has chose his death-bed  
 All along where the salt waves sigh.



## IV.

Is it, is it so, my Edwy?  
 Will thy slumbers never fly?  
 Could'st thou think I would survive thee?  
 No, my love, thou bids't me seek  
     Thou bid'st me seek  
     Thy death-bed bleak  
 All along where the salt waves sigh.

## V.

I will gently kiss thy cold lips,  
 On thy breast I'll lay my head,  
 And the winds shall sing our death-dirge,  
 And our shroud the waters spread;  
     The moon will smile sweet,  
     And the wild wave will beat,  
 Oh! so softly o'er our lonely bed.

## THE WANDERING BOY.

## A SONG.

[From the same.]

## I.

**W**HEN the winter wind whistles along the wild moor,  
 And the cottager shuts on the beggar his door;  
 When the chilling tear stands in my comfortless eye!  
 Oh! how hard is the lot of the wandering boy!

## II.

The winter is cold, and I have no vest,  
 And my heart it is cold as it beats in my breast;  
 No father, no mother, no kindred have I,  
 For I am a parentless wandering boy!

## III.

Yet I had a home, and I once had a sire,  
 A mother who granted each infant desire;  
 Our cottage it stood in a wood-embower'd vale,  
 Where the ring-dove would warble its sorrowful tale.

## IV.

But my father and mother were summon'd away,  
 And they left me to hard-hearted strangers a prey;  
 I fled from their rigour with many a sigh,  
 And now I'm a poor little wandering boy!



## V.

The wind it is keen, and the snow loads the gale,  
 And no one will list to my innocent tale ;  
 I'll go to the grave where my parents both lie,  
 And death shall befriend the poor wandering boy!

## DESCRIPTION OF A SUMMER'S EVE.

[From the same.]

**D**OWN the sultry arc of day,  
 The burning wheels have urg'd their way,  
 And Eve along the western skies  
 Sheds her intermingling dyes.  
 Down the deep, the miry lane,  
 Creeking comes the empty wain,  
 And driver on the shaft-horse sits,  
 Whistling now-and-then by fits ;  
 And oft, with his accustom'd call,  
 Urging on the sluggish Ball.  
 The barn is still, the master's gone,  
 And thresher puts his jacket on,  
 While Dick, upon the ladder tall,  
 Nails the dead kite to the wall.  
 Here comes shepherd Jack at last,  
 He has penn'd the sheep-cote fast,  
 For 'twas but two nights before,  
 A lamb was eaten on the moor :  
 His empty wallet *Rover* carries,  
 Nor for Jack, when near home, tarries.  
 With lolling tongue he runs to try,  
 If the horse-trough be not dry.  
 The milk is settled in the pans,  
 And supper-messes in the cans ;  
 In the hovel carts are wheel'd,  
 And both the colts are drove a-field ;  
 The horses are all bedded up,  
 And the ewe is with the tup.  
 The snare for Mister Fox is set,  
 The leaven laid, the thatching wet,  
 And Bess has slink'd away to talk  
 With Roger in the holly-walk.

Now on the settle all, but Bess,  
 Are set to eat their supper-mess ;  
 And little Tom, and roguish Kate,  
 Are swinging on the meadow gate.



Now they chat of various things,  
 Of taxes, ministers, and kings,  
 Or else tell all the village news,  
 How madam did the 'squire refuse;  
 How parson on his tythes was bent,  
 And landlord oft distrain'd for rent.  
 Thus do they talk, till in the sky  
 The pale-ey'd moon is mounted high,  
 And from the alehouse drunken Ned  
 Had reel'd—then hasten all to bed.  
 The mistress sees that lazy Kate  
 The happing coal on kitchen grate  
 Has laid—while master goes throughout,  
 Sees shutters fast, the mastiff out,  
 The candles safe, the hearths all clear,  
 And nought from thieves or fire to fear;  
 Then both to bed together creep,  
 And join the general troop of sleep.

[From Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*.]

I.

**O**N Susquehana's side, fair Wyoming,  
 Although the wild flower on thy ruin'd wall  
 And roofless homes a sad remembrance bring  
 Of what thy gentle people did befall,  
 Yet thou wert once the loveliest land of all  
 That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.  
 Sweet land! may I thy lost delights recall,  
 And paint thy Gertrude in her bowers of yore,  
 Whose beauty was the love of Pennsylvania's shore!

II.

It was beneath thy skies that, but to prune  
 His Autumn fruits, or skim the light canoe,  
 Perchance along thy river calm at noon,  
 The happy shepherd swain had nought to do  
 From morn till evening's sweeter pastime grew;  
 Their timbrel, in the dance of forests brown  
 When lovely maidens pranked in flowret new,  
 And aye, those sunny mountains half way down  
 Would echo flagelet from some romantic town.



## III.

Then, where of Indian hills the daylight takes  
 His leave, how might you the flamingo see  
 Disporting like a meteor on the lakes—  
 And playful squirrel on his nut-grown tree:  
 And every sound of life was full of glee,  
 From merry mock-bird's song, or hum of men,  
 While heark'ning, fearing nought their revelry,  
 The wild deer arch'd his neck from glades, and then,  
 Unhunted, sought his woods and wilderness again.

## IV

And scarce had Wyoming of war or crime  
 Heard but in transatlantic story rung,  
 For here the exile met from ev'ry clime,  
 And spoke in friendship ev'ry distant tongue;  
 Men from the blood of warring Europe sprung,  
 Were but divided by the running brook;  
 And happy where no Rhenish trumpet sung,  
 On plains no sieging mine's volcano shook,  
 The blue-ey'd German chang'd his sword to pruning-hook.

## V.

Nor far some Andalusian saraband  
 Would sound to many a native rondelay.  
 But who is he that yet a dearer land  
 Remembers, over hills and far away?  
 Green Albyn! \* what though he no more survey  
 Thy ships at anchor on the quiet shore,  
 Thy pellochs rolling from the mountain bay;  
 Thy lone sepulchral cairn upon the moor,  
 And distant isles that hear the loud Corbrechtan roar! †

## VI.

Alas! poor Caledonia's mountaineer,  
 That want's stern edict e'er, and feudal grief,  
 Had forced him from a home he lov'd so dear!  
 Yet found he here a home, and glad relief,  
 And ply'd the bev'rage from his own fair sheaf,  
 That fir'd his Highland blood with mickle glee;  
 And England sent her men, of men the chief,  
 Who taught those sires of Empire yet to be,  
 To plant the tree of life; to plant fair freedom's tree!

\* Scotland.

† The great whirlpool of the Western Hebrides.



## VII.

Here was not mingled in the city's pomp  
Of life's extremes the grandeur and the gloom;  
Judgment awoke not here her dismal tromp,  
Nor seal'd in blood a fellow-creature's doom,  
Nor mourn'd the captive in a living tomb.  
One venerable man, beloved of all,  
Sufficed where innocence was yet in bloom,  
To sway the strife, that seldom might befall,  
And Albert was their judge in patriarchal hall.



# ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

FOR 1809.

*Voyage D'Alexander De Humboldt et Aimy Bompland.*

THE name of Alexander Humboldt has justly attained to a decided pre-eminence among the various travellers of the present day, the most philosophical not excepted. It has rarely happened, nor can it be expected often to happen, that an individual shall be so admirably disposed and qualified for such grand designs as Humboldt has accomplished. Few men have ever united such a variety of knowledge, such sublimity of genius, such ardent curiosity, such courage and perseverance, and such a just sense of true glory, with so plentiful a fortune. By exploring the regions of the New World between the tropics he has increased the stores of both physical and moral science, natural history, mathematical geography, the history of human society and human nature. The mass of curious facts and observations, and the magnificent collections he has made for the advance-

ment of science, exceed those of any one else that has preceded him in the same career. These acquisitions, arranged according to the kingdoms to which they respectively belong, are delivered to the public, by a succession of deliveries, embellished by all the luxury of the arts of typography and design.

Baron Humboldt is a native of Prussia, where he has large estates. He began his travels in Europe at the age of twenty-one, and in the course of six years he visited Germany, Poland, France, Switzerland, part of England, Italy, Hungary, and Spain. Having returned to Paris in 1798, he was invited by the governors of the Museum of Natural History to accompany Captain Baudin in a voyage round the world. But that design was given up in consequence of a renewal of hostilities with Austria. Mr. Humboldt, on this, began to think seriously of executing a design which he had long entertained, of visiting the East in the character, that is, with the views and curiosity of a philosopher.



pher. He wished earnestly to join the expedition that had set out to Egypt, from whence he hoped to penetrate into Arabia, and crossing the Gulph of Persia, to reach the English settlements in India. But the situation of France, after the battle of the Nile, became every day more and more critical. The Barbary powers, according to their custom, made war on the defeated party, and the navigation of the Mediterranean, for French vessels, was extremely dangerous. Humboldt staid two months at Marseilles, where he hoped to obtain a passage on board a Swedish frigate, with a consul from Sweden to Algiers. His patience being worn out, he went to Spain, in the hopes of finding a ready passage to Barbary from thence. He carried with him astronomical instruments, and an apparatus for the cultivation of experimental philosophy, which he had purchased in England.

But a more extensive prospect was now opened to him. After residing some months, he obtained from the court of Spain, in the most liberal and flattering manner, permission to visit her colonies in the New World. He immediately called from Paris his friend Bompland, whose profound knowledge in botany and zoology were equalled only by his zeal to advance, without ceasing, in the way of new discovery. The two voyagers, without losing a moment's time, went on board a Spanish vessel at Corunna, and after touching at the Canary Isles, where they climbed the pique of Teydé to see its crater, pursuing their voyage, arrived, in the month of July, at Cumana, in South America.

The literary labours of Humboldt and Bompland, the fruits of their long-continued, variegated, and perilous travels in the Spanish colonies of America, are divided into six parts; each of these parts being subdivided into a number of volumes, and these again into *livraisons* (deliveries), one of which is presented to the public from time to time, according to the progress made in the whole work. Each of these volumes, which may be considered as distinct works, is sold separately, and with a particular title. This is very judicious.

The first part contains general physics and an historical account of the voyage; comprised in five vols. 4to. with two atlases. The first volume is intitled "An Essay on the Geography of Plants, accompanied with a Physical Table of the Equinoctial Regions; founded on Measurements from the 10th Degree of North, to the 10th Degree of South Latitude: forming an Introduction to the whole Work." This volume has been published, as also those relating to the history of the voyage.

The second part is taken up with "Comparative Zoology and Anatomy." Published.

The third part is "A Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Mexico; in one vol. 4to. with an Atlas in folio." Published.

The fourth part, "Astronomy and Magnetism; three vols. 4to." Published.

The fifth part is intitled "An Essay on Geological Pasigraphy, (General and Physical Geography) one vol. 4to." In the press.

The sixth part is taken up with botany. In the press.

The



The reason why the geography of plants and the physical table of the equinoctial, or equatorial, regions appears foremost in the work, is set forth with great judgment and elegance of taste by Mr. Humboldt, in his preface: "Placed at a distance from Europe for five years, and having traversed countries, several of which were never visited by naturalists, I ought, perhaps, to publish, without delay, an abridged account of my voyage to the tropics, and of the series of phenomena that presented themselves to my researches. I flatter myself that such promptitude would have been approved by the public; a part of whom have shewn a most generous concern, both for my personal safety, and the success of my expedition. But I have thought it best, before speaking of myself and the obstacles I had to surmount in the course of my operations, to draw the attention of natural philosophers to those grand appearances which nature presents to our view in the regions which I have visited. It is their general contour, their *tout ensemble*, that forms the subject of the present essay. It exhibits the general result of observations developed in detail in other works which I am preparing for the public. These embrace all, not only the natural phenomena observed on the surface of the globe, but in the atmosphere that surrounds it. The natural philosopher who is acquainted with the actual state of science, will not be surprised to see so great a number of objects treated of in so small a number of pages. If I could have employed more time in digesting them, my work would have lain

in a still narrower compass, for a table of natural appearances ought not to exhibit any other views than such as are grand; results that are certain and capable of being expressed in exact numbers. My voyage to the tropics has furnished precious materials for a physical history of the world. Grand objects are best described when they are seen, and make an impression on our mind through the senses. It was at the foot of Chimborazo, on the coast of the South Sea, that I composed the greatest part of the present work."

It would be a pleasure to us to extract from the two pieces composing the first part of the voyage of Humboldt, some passages for the amusement of our ingenious and intelligent readers. But of this our limits will not admit for the present. In subsequent volumes, we shall have opportunities of presenting, under different heads, extracts from the magnificent and valuable work before us, in the farther progress of its publication, as we have done in our present volume, under the head of Natural History.

What remained of 1798, after the month of July, the travellers employed in visiting the coast of Paria, the Indian missions of Chaymas, and the provinces of New Andalusia, New Barcelona, Venezuelas, and Spanish Guyana.

Humboldt and Bompland, leaving Caraccas, January 1800, visited the delicious valleys of Aragua, the great Lake of Valeria, or Tacarigua, the appearance of which calls to mind the Lake of Geneva, but whose borders are clothed with the brilliant vegetation of the tropical regions. Traversing the cele-

brated



brated Llanos, that immense succession of deserts, in extent two hundred miles, where there is no water or other herbage than a kind of dry grass, they suffered greatly from the excess of the heat, which was from 110 to 115 degrees of the thermometer of Fahrenheit. At St. Fernando, on the river Apura, they entered the Oronooko, in the 7th degree of north latitude, they proceeded up its vast bed to its confluence with the Guaviari; from whence they went up the small rivers of Atabapo, Juimini, and Temi. From the mission of Saritta they went by land to the sources of the famous Rio Negro, where they found about thirty Indians employed in transporting canoes through thick forests to the Creek of Pemichin. Committing themselves to the stream of the Negro, they fell down to Fort St. Charles; from whence, by the Cassiquiari, they went again to the river Oronooko and the mission of Esmeralda. But they were prevented by Guaiques and independent tribes of Indians, people of clear complexions and small stature, but of very warlike dispositions, from mounting up the country to the sources of the Oronooko; wherefore they fell down the river towards its mouth. This navigation was most disagreeable and painful; in the day-time they suffered from the want of provisions, and in the night they were deluged by torrents of rain, which poured on them incessantly. When they had recourse for shelter and some miserable sustenance, they were tormented with clouds of insects; nor durst they seek any relief by bathing in the rivers, which were watched in all parts by the croco-

diles, ready to devour any thing living that should come within their reach. Having made their escape from these pains and perils, as well as the dangerous exhalations produced by the burning rays of the sun, they returned to Cumana by the plains of Cari and mission of the Carribs; a race of men distinct from all others, and, next to the Patagonians, perhaps, of the most gigantic stature and strength in the known world.

After some months repose, which was necessary to recruit their exhausted strength, our travellers went to the Island of Cuba, where they remained three months, during which time Humboldt ascertained the longitude of the Havannah, and assisted the planters in the construction of works for making their sugar. It was then their intention to go to Vera Cruz, and thence to proceed by Mexico and Acapulco to the Philippine Isles, and from thence, if possible, by Bombay and Aleppo, to Constantinople. But false intelligence respecting the sailing of Captain Baudin, on a voyage round the world, above mentioned, induced him to change his route. For preventing accidents, Humboldt sent his collections of manuscripts from Cuba directly to Europe.

In March, 1801, he hired a small vessel, in which he set sail from Barbatono to Carthagena. But continual calms and contrary currents rendered the voyage very tedious and irksome, and the season was too far advanced to admit of crossing the Isthmus of Panama, and thus reaching Guyaquil or Lima, where it was expected to meet the French navigator. This plan was therefore abandoned, and



and Humboldt, desirous of becoming acquainted with the celebrated American naturalist, Mutis, and examining his superb collection, resolved to repair to the place of his residence through the interior of the country. Plunging into the woods of Turbacó, and travelling along the banks of the beautiful river Magdalena, they come to a village called Hunda; from whence they pursued their journey through ancient forests of oak, Melastoma, and Cinchona (*alias* Quinquina) to Santa Fé de Bogota, capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada, situate in a beautiful plain, at the height of 8,700 English feet above the level of the sea. Here every surrounding object is fitted to please the taste, and delight and transport the imagination. The mines of Maraquita, and Santa Anna of Tipaquira are in the neighbourhood. The natural bridge of Sconcouza, composed of three fragments of rock, detached by an earthquake, is a curious object; and the magnificent cataract of Tequendama, falling from a height of six hundred feet, presents one of the grandest spectacles in nature.

In September, 1801, though the rainy season was not yet over, Humboldt and Bompland set out on their journey to Quito. Having crossed the Andes of Quindin, a chain of mountains partly covered with snow, they pursued their journey by Carthago, situate in the fine valley of Cava, Buga, Popayan, and through the dangerous defiles of Almaguer, avoiding the pestilential valley of Palia, to the town of Pasto, built in a plain near a volcanic mountain,

whose summit is sometimes covered with snow. Then crossing the Ria Guaitora by a bridge thrown over a ravine more than half a mile in perpendicular height, they journeyed through a flat country under culture, and rich in the grains of Europe, though at the height of 9,300 feet above the sea, and came to the village of Tuscan, situate near a castle of the Incas and the rock of Rumichaca. Descending from thence into the valley of Chota, which, though only two miles in breadth, is one in depth, and into that of Guallabamba, which is half a mile deep, and where they experienced an insupportable heat, they arrived at the famous city of Quito in the month of January, 1802. Here they rested from their fatigues, and enjoyed the pleasures of hospitality and ease, amidst the grandest productions of nature.

For about eight months Humboldt remained in the kingdom of Quito, making excursions to the volcanoes in the neighbourhood and the highest mountains of the Andes. After three different attempts, he twice, at the peril of his life, gained the summit of the Pechincha, carrying along with him the proper instruments of natural philosophy, to the elevation of 15,940 feet above the level of the sea. He then went to see the porphyry mountain of Antisana, where there is a crater in the midst of eternal snow, at the height of 19,150 feet above the sea.

After this our travellers, accompanied by a son of the marquis de Silva-Alegre, who, from an ardent love of the sciences, remained constantly with and never quitted them from the day of their arrival in Quito,



having resolved on an enterprize still more arduous, set out in the middle of summer for the volcano of Tungaragua, and the Nevads (the snow-clad heights) of Chimborazo. They passed over the deplorable ruins and other villages destroyed the 7th February, 1797, by an earthquake, which in a moment swallowed up 40,000 souls.

On the summit of Chuehilla de Guandisava, a chain of calcined rocks, which, before the dreadful earthquake just mentioned, were covered with a forest of odorous cedars. They calculated that Tungaragua rose to an elevation of 16,500 feet above the sea. At length, after incredible efforts, they arrived at the back, which was the eastern side of Chimborazo, and fixed their instruments on the narrow edge of a rock projecting from the immense space covered with impenetrable snow. A wide breach of five hundred feet prevented their farther progress. The density of the air was reduced to half. They felt a piercing cold, and great difficulty of breathing. The blood ran from their eyes, their lips, and their gums. They were then on the most elevated point of the globe that had ever been trod by mortal. Its height, which exceeded that to which Condamine ascended in 1745, by 3,485 feet, was 19,500 feet above the level of the sea. From this ultimate position, they found by a trigonometrical operation, that the summit of Chimborazo was yet higher than the point where they stood, by 2,140 feet.

Having finished these important observations, our travellers descended into the regions of vegeta-

tion, and shaped their course along the sides of the great chain of the Andes. They were followed by about twenty mules, carrying their baggage. In their way to Cuenza, they viewed the ruins of the palaces of the Incas, and other monuments of ancient Peruvian grandeur. In the valley of Saragura, one of the most beautiful scenes in the Andes, they came to Loxa, a town famous for commerce in the jesuit's bark. The tree that produces it, the quinquina, grows on the back parts (*le revers*) of the mountains, about 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the temperature of climate between sixty and seventy degrees. They left the mountains near the Great Causway constructed by the Incas, at the height of two miles, along the chain of the Andes, and proceeded to San Felice. After a rapid and almost perpendicular descent of about a mile, they came to an Indian hut, and having travelled for some time through groves of oranges, went up the river Chayma in a canoe, and so arrived, at length, in the province of Jaen, at the cascades of Reutema, on the left bank of the river of the Amazons, where they found themselves to be only 1240 feet above the level of the sea. Humboldt and his companions, embarking on this mighty stream, ascended it as far as the cascades of Tomeperda; and then, turning their course toward the south-east, by the famous mines of Chota, situate in the Cordilleras, they came to the town of Laxa Marca, in the midst of a plain producing immense quantities of barley, though at an elevation of 2,730 feet. Having continued their descent for some time, on the



west side of the Andes, they perceived with transport the Pacific Ocean, and pursuing their course along its naked and barren shores, the temperature of the air being only, in the present month of October, seventy, and that of the water sixty-one degrees, arrived at Lima, the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru.

In Lima, Humboldt remained some months, delighted with the vivacity and intelligence of the inhabitants. At the port of Callao he had the good fortune to observe the emersion of the transit of Mercury over the disk of the sun. From Lima our travellers were sent by sea to Guayaquil, and from thence in a frigate to Acapulco, in the kingdom of New Spain. They found the inhabitants of this country suffering and unhappy under an insalubrious and sultry climate. But various circumstances obliged them to tarry there for a whole year. In April, 1803, they made an excursion from Acapulco to Tasco, famous for its mines, in a country clad with oak, fir, and ash, and producing abundance of both barley and wheat, at the height of 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. In a few days thereafter they arrived at the famous and opulent city of Mexico. The lakes between which Mexico has been built, have decreased in a very remarkable manner since the Spaniards have drained the adjacent land and opened the canal of Huchue. It is surrounded with alleys of trees, where there is a number of Indian villages. Mexico, situate at the height of 7,475 feet above the level of the sea, and at some distance two mountains covered with everlasting snow, enjoys a tem-

perate climate; its mean temperature being no more than sixty-two degrees of Fahrenheit.

Humboldt and his companions visited a great number of mines in the kingdom of Mexico. In the plains of Malpays they had the courage to descend to the very bottom of the crater of the great volcano of Torallo, from whence they carried away some specimens of its volcanic productions. The travels of our philosophers now drew towards a close. They departed early in 1804 from Mexico, and in their way to Vera Cruz visited several burning mountains, the crater of one of which was 17,736 feet above the sea. At Vera Cruz they set sail for the Havannah; from whence they set sail, in the month of July, for Philadelphia. After sojourning for some time in the United States, they crossed the Atlantic, and arrived safely in France, after six years spent in travels the most useful and satisfactory, but at the same time full of fatigues, dangers, and anxieties of every kind.

In the course of his travels, Baron Humboldt makes a variety of ingenious and important observations, among which are the following:

“In the genial climes of the south, Nature has poured forth her productions in rich variety and splendid profusion. Here is the reign of eternal spring, and flowers and fruits cluster the boughs in constant succession. Nothing can exceed the beauty and grandeur of the forests within the torrid zone. Thick intermingled trees, of majestic port and each varied hue, rear their lofty heads, crowned with odoriferous flowers, and spreading



spreading with umbrageous and resplendent foliage. Creeping plants, mantling in rank luxuriance, interlace the smooth trunks with endless festoons. Dense woods of this composition, interrupted only by some rivers, extend over a space of more than 1500 miles, from the banks of the Oronooko to the shores of the Amazon. The chief inhabitants of these forests are monkeys, which multiply exceedingly among the fruitful boughs. Some of them live in pairs, melancholy, shy, and avoiding even their own species. Others go in troops of eighty or a hundred, springing from branch to branch in quest of food.

“In the torrid zone, the blue sky takes a deeper tint; the nights are resplendent, and the vault of heaven, exhibiting in succession the whole of the constellations, appears studded with fixed stars, which shine, like planets, with a clear and steady light. In the upper regions of the atmosphere, the attenuated air reflects only a dark azure. The cyanometer, which at Paris marked sixteen degrees, indicated twenty-three near the shores of Cumana, and forty-six on the heights of the Andes. So transparent is the air of those climates, that, in the mountains of Quito, one may distinguish, with the naked eye, the *poncho*, or white mantle of a person on horseback, at the distance of seventeen miles.

“But the equatorial regions of America, possessing, in consequence of their vast range of elevation, every possible degree of temperature, concentrate all the diversity of the vegetable tribes. From the shore of the Atlantic to

the heights of the Andes, the different kinds of plants follow each other in almost regular succession. Similar transitions, on a small scale, are observed among the Alps of Switzerland. Ascending these mountains from the lower valleys, we meet successively with chesnuts, beeches, oaks, and then pines, which, covering a much broader space, advance till they become stunted, and gradually disappear, not far from the verge of perennial snow. To trace the geography of plants in the low grounds of Europe, is rendered peculiarly difficult by the activity of cultivation; but in these boundless deserts, each species still occupies its own distinct territory. The vine occupies a narrow belt towards the north of the latitude of thirty degrees. Chesnuts grow in the same parallel. Next succeeds the oak, which extends almost to the sixtieth degree of latitude. In this temperate zone wheat and barley are cultivated. Oats prefer a colder climate, but will seldom thrive beyond the latitude of sixty-three degrees.

“The lofty chain of the Andes, running along the western coast of America, extends on both sides of the equator to near the thirtieth degree of latitude. It is of unequal height, sinking, in some parts, to six hundred feet from the level of the sea, and, at certain points, towering above the clouds, to an elevation of almost four miles. The colossal Chimborazo lifts its snowy head to an altitude which would equal that of the Peak of Teneriffe, though placed on the top of Mount Ætna. The medium height of the chain under the equator may be reckoned at 14,000 feet, while that of the Alps and Pyrennees hardly exceeds



8,000; its breadth is proportionally great, being sixty miles at Quito, and a hundred and fifty, or two hundred in Mexico, and some districts of the Peruvian territory. This stupendous ridge is intersected, in Peru and New Granada, as we have seen, by frequent clefts or ravines of amazing depth; but, to the north of the isthmus of Panama, it softens down by degrees, and spreads out into the vast elevated plain of Mexico. In the former provinces, accordingly, the inhabitants are obliged to travel on horseback or on foot, or even to be carried on the backs of Indians; whereas carriages drive with ease through the whole extent of New Spain, from Mexico to Santa Fé, along a road of more than 1500 miles."

"The most important feature of the American Continent is the very general and enormous elevation of its soil. In Europe, the highest tracts of cultivated land seldom rise more than 2,000 feet above the sea; but in the Peruvian territory, extensive plains occur at an altitude of 9,000 feet, and three fifths of the vice-royalty of Mexico, comprehending the interior provinces, present a surface of half a million of square miles, which runs nearly level, at an elevation from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, equal to that of the celebrated passages of Mount Cenis, of St. Gothard, or of the Great St. Bernard. These remarkable facts are deduced chiefly from barometrical observations. But Humboldt has adopted a very ingenious mode, infinitely superior to any description, of representing, at one view, the collective results of his topographical and mi-

neralogical survey. He has given profiles or vertical sections of the countries which he visited, across the continent, from Acapulco to Mexico, and thence to Vera Cruz; from Mexico to Guanajuato, and as far as the volcano of Jorullo; and from Mexico to Valladolid. These beautiful plates are in every way highly interesting.

"The central Andes are rich beyond conception in all the metals, lead only excepted. One of the most curious ores in the bowels of those mountains is the *pacos*, a compound of clay, oxyd of iron, and the muriate of silver with native silver. The mines of Mexico and Peru, so long the objects of envy and admiration, far from being yet exhausted, promise, under a liberal and improved system, to become more productive than ever. But Nature has blended with those hidden treasures the active elements of destruction. The whole chain of the Andes is subject to the most terrible earthquakes. From Catopaxi to the South Sea, no fewer than forty volcanoes are constantly burning, some of them, especially the lower ones, ejecting lava, and others discharging the muriate of ammonia, scorified basalt and porphyry, enormous quantities of water, and especially *moya*, or clay mixed with sulphur and carbonaceous matter. Eternal snow invests their sides, and forms a barrier to the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Near that confine, the torpor of vegetation is marked by dreary wastes.

"In these wide solitudes, the *condor*, a fierce and powerful bird of prey, fixes its gloomy abode. Its size, however, has been greatly exaggerated; it is not larger than the



the *Læmmer Geyer*, or Alpine vulture of Europe, its extreme length being only three feet and a half, and its breadth across the wings nine feet. The condor pursues the small deer of the Andes, and commits very considerable havoc among sheep and heifers. It tears out the eyes and the tongue, and leaves the wretched animal to languish and expire. Estimating from very probable *data*, this bird skims whole hours at the height of four miles; and its power of wing must be prodigious, and its pliancy of organs most astonishing, since in an instant it can dart from the chill region of mid-air to the sultry shores of the ocean.

“The condor is sometimes caught alive, by means of a slip-cord; and this chase, termed *correr buitres*, is, next to a bull-fight, the most favourite diversion of the Spanish colonists. The dead carcass of a cow or horse soon attracts from a distance crowds of these birds, which have a most acute scent. They fall on with incredible voracity; devour the eyes and the tongue of the animal, and plunging through the *anus*, gorge themselves with the entrails. In this drowsy plight they are approached by the Indians, who easily throw a noose over them. The condor, thus entangled, looks shy and sullen; it is most tenacious of life, and is therefore made to suffer a variety of protracted tortures.”

“In South America we find plains of immense extent. The Llanos (plains), or savannahs, extending to a vast distance from the borders of the Orinoko, resemble the smooth surface of the ocean. Co-

vered with a slight layer of earth, moistened by dew, or inundated with periodical rains, though destitute of trees and running water, produce in abundance a species of tall and spongy grass, that nourishes immense herds of cattle, which, since the conquest of America have become wild, and live in a state of nature. The pampas of Buenos Ayres are of the same description, and still greater extent. Amidst the tufted grass live a kind of dogs that do not bark, that have become wild and live in holes, from whence they dart with fury on the weary traveller. It is under the happy climate of the meridional regions, that Nature has multiplied her vegetable productions with equal variety and splendour; here reigns a perpetual spring, and fruits succeed fruits, without interruption, on their ever-green bark.”

An observation was made by Humboldt, which will, no doubt, attract the attention, and may, perhaps, occasion some embarrassment to geologists. What have been called *secondary formations* are of immense thickness, and are found at an immense height. In the neighbourhood of Santa Fé we find beds of coal at the height of 8,500 feet above the level of the sea, and, near Huanooko, in Peru, at the height of 14,700. Fossils which have never been discovered in the Old World at a greater elevation than that of the Pyrenees, that is, 11,700 feet, are found in Peru, at 12,800, and even 14,120 feet above the level of the sea. The basaltes of Pichincha is found at an elevation of 15,500 feet, whilst its greatest elevation in the Old World is 4,225 feet. On



the other hand granite, which in Europe crowns the highest mountains, is not found in the American continent at a greater height than 11,500 feet. The icy summits of Chimborazo, of Cayambé, and of Anitsana, are entirely composed of porphyry, which on the sides of the Andes form a mass 1000 or 1200 feet thick.

The planters of New Spain divide the cultivated part of the country into three zones. First, the hot territory, not rising above the elevation of 1000. This region produces, in abundance, sugar, indigo, cotton, plantains, and bananas. Secondly, the temperate lands, which lie on the acclivity of the great chain, and which, at the height of 5000 feet, enjoy the temperature of spring, which rarely varies, during the course of the whole year, so much as ten degrees. Thirdly, the cold region, at the height of 8000 feet, comprehending such elevated plains or platforms as those of Mexico, whose temperature is generally under sixty-three degrees, and never exceeds seventy-five.

Mr. Humboldt has confirmed former accounts, and thrown some rays of new light on the character, habits, and manners of the native Indians. The natives of the temperate regions of New Spain are of a deeper colour than those that live under a hotter climate. This race of people, and above all the Mexicans, bending under long oppression, in qualities, both moral and intellectual, seem inferior even to the Africans. The same apathy of character is common to them and the individuals of the hot cli-

mates, where man is so easily supplied with the necessaries of life. Although they are sometimes governed by caprice, they are never induced to depart for a moment from their habitual listlessness by the love of gain. When our travellers visited the Havannah, they were struck with the singular beauty of the flowers which fell, white as snow, from the tops of the royal-palm, and, being desirous to examine the economy of vegetation in this efflorescence, for every branch or sprig bearing flowers, they offered the children of the negroes inhabiting the neighbouring villages two piastres, or near eight shillings sterling: but nothing could move them to stir a step.

As the summer advances, the low plains of the American coast begin to be scorched with excessive heat. The herbage is dried up to the very roots, and the hardened soil is of a burning heat. The cattle and other beasts of the field, enveloped in clouds of dust, and tormented with thirst, run wildly from place to place. But the mule, better guided by his natural instinct, scrapes out the water-melon with his foot, and sucks in a refreshing beverage. All of a sudden the piercing cries of apes of the largest kind announce the approach of rain. Incessant torrents inundate the plains. The crocodile and the boa, long concealed in a state of torpor, raise their horrible heads, and come out of their tombs with a terrible noise. By and by the rivers, overflowing their banks, cover the land with their vast inundations. The whole delta of the Oronooko is laid under a sheet



a sheet of water. In the midst of these aquatic scenes lives, in peace and liberty, the nation of the Quaranis, on the tops of the maritia, or palm-trees with fantailed leaves, in hammocks formed of the fibres of the leaves plaited and overlaid with clay. In these frail fabricks do the women light their fires and dress their vegetable food. The tree on which each family is suspended, furnishes it with the whole of its food. The pith of the maritia, which resembles sago, and its shelled fruit, furnishes this singular people, according to their respective ages, with nourishment both salubrious and pleasant. The wine of the palm is refreshing drink, and can even produce that state of inebriation which constitutes the supreme happiness of the savage. But although the members of this aërial republic enjoy a constancy of undisturbed repose, this is by no means the case with other savage tribes. Agitated by the most malignant passions, they are always ready to bathe themselves in blood. Those miserable wretches have no pleasure but in murder and rapine. When a tribe, weaker than its neighbours, ventures to traverse the plains, the individuals use the precaution of defacing their footsteps to escape being surprised and massacred. Nature seems to have seconded the ferocious propensities of those savages, in producing, in the burning climates of the torrid zone, the most active poisons. The darts and arrows impregnated with these carry with them inevitable death. And when these instruments are wanting to the savages, their ferocious industry finds means of supplying their place. The frightful Ottomaque is in the habit of

dipping the nail of his finger in the *curare*, a very active poison extracted from a species of the *phyllanthus*, and the least laceration produced by that nail is mortal. Thus the visions of primitive innocence vanish before the discoveries of travellers. Men become generous only in proportion to the degree of their civilization.

There have been lately published some numbers or deliveries of the *Atlas Pittoresque*, which was to accompany the *Relation Historique*, &c. under the title of *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the People of America*, by *Alexander de Humboldt*.

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*Travels in the North of Europe, containing Observations on some Parts of the Coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea. By J. A. De Luc, F.R.S. Translated from the French MSS. illustrated with a Map and Drawings.*

THE investigations of philosophers in the present period, appear to be directed chiefly to two opposite extremes: Nature in her grandest operations, and in her most subtle, minute, and secret resources: The kindred studies of astronomy and geology, and the properties of light and heat. It was observed in the last article, that some remarks have been made by Humboldt, in his *Travels* in the equatorial regions, that might perhaps occasion some embarrassment to geologists. Geology is the youngest of the sciences; it is but lately that the exact figure of the earth was ascertained; and later still that men were tolerably acquainted



acquainted with physical geography. Geology is, perhaps, yet too young to afford complete satisfaction on the complicated subject of which it treats. But the most probable of its general results or conclusions, as far as it has hitherto advanced, in our opinion, are exhibited in Professor John, (not Principal James) Playfair's *Illustrations of the Huttonian system*: and that in a very perspicuous, pleasing, and masterly manner. How far the observations made by Mr. Humboldt, concerning these secondary formations of nature in the equatorial regions, may invalidate, or appear, at first sight, to invalidate, the Huttonian system, Professor Playfair will judge, and will conduct himself on his usual maxim of being equally candid to acknowledge, and resolute to defend, the truth. Some of the remarks on this volume of De Luc's too, though not very many, seem to be of a nature to attract the attention of the professor, and to draw a reply; whether in any future edition of his *Illustrations of the Huttonian System*, or in a separate publication.

The systems of geologists, Mr. Playfair remarks, are usually reduced to two classes, according as they refer the origin of terrestrial bodies to the agency of fire or of water; and that, conformably to this division, their followers have of late been distinguished by the names of *Vulcanists* and *Neptunists*. He thinks that the leading facts in zoology are now known; and he remarks that a tendency may be observed in geological systems to approach to one another, and all of them to the Huttonian system. The countenance and support that is given, by this

concurrence, to the Huttonian system, Mr. Playfair judiciously remarks, is the greater, that it was extorted by the nature of things, notwithstanding an opposition from theoretical principles. This, he says, ought to be considered as a strong proof that the phenomena known to mineralogists are sufficient to justify the attempts to form a theory of the earth, being such as lead to the same conclusions, where there was not only no previous concert, but even a very marked opposition.

Of the two great systems which at present divide geologists, the *Vulcanic* and the *Neptunian*, Dr. Hutton belongs much more to the former than the latter; though, as he employs, in his system, the agency of both fire and water, he cannot, with strict propriety, be classed with either. In his system, water is first employed to deposit and arrange, and then fire, to consolidate, mineralize, and, lastly, to elevate the strata. But with respect to *unstratified* or *chrysalized* substances, he recognizes only the action of fire.

Mr. de Luc is altogether a *Neptunist*, and consequently adverse to the *Vulcanic* system. The whole of his present volume is a controversy with Mr. Playfair, whom he treats in a very respectful and gentlemanlike manner, about the erroneousness of the Huttonian, and the truth and certainty of his own system. "This work, (we are told in an advertisement) contains only the latest of his journeys. He has not yet been able to prepare for publication his earlier travels in Switzerland, and in Germany, from the year 1792 to 1799. But he considers the present volume (marked in the title-



page 1.) containing his observations on some parts of the Baltic and North Seas, and in different parts of England, as sufficient to establish all the propositions of the theory, of which the critical discussion forms the subject of his "Elementary Treatise on Geology;" and the descriptions contained in the last of these travels will, he thinks, in this country (England), be attended with the particular advantage of being easily verified.

The nature, object, and pretensions of his work are set forth in the following introduction :

"In the 'Elementary Treatise on Geology' lately published, I have set forth and discussed all the fundamental points of natural philosophy and natural history which concern the history of the earth, presenting them in such a manner as I have thought most proper for clearly pointing out the most essential monuments of that history, amidst the crowd of less important phenomena which surround them. The natural intermixture of these monuments creates, at first view, a certain confusion; in consequence of which a traveller cannot be fully sensible of their importance, till long observation has taught him to arrange them in different classes, as produced by causes, which have operated at different times; unless he has already been instructed by those who have made this the object of their study.

The method which I have followed, in order to direct the attention towards geological phenomena, has been, in every class of them, to compare together the various opinions of those who have

treated on the subject; no other course having appeared to me so proper for determining the points requiring particular examination. And since, among the theories which I do not admit, that of Dr. Hutton, defended by Mr. Playfair, has appeared to me most methodical, and at the same time that which, in its exposition, embraces the greatest number of the true characters of our continents, I have taken it principally as my object in these critical discussions.

As a solid geological theory must necessarily be founded on facts, which form a basis exposed to general view, it may seem at first surprising that controversies respecting this science have been carried on so long; I ought therefore to shew what, in the course of my study, has appeared to me to be the cause of their protraction. In discussing so extensive a theory, it would be impossible, at every step, to enter into all the details of the phenomena of each class; the deduction of consequences, whether direct or critical, would then be too much impeded in its course. For this reason, those geological works which contain theories, always present facts under general forms; I was myself often obliged to employ them in this manner in my late work; but I was careful to shew, from the very beginning, that to oppose thus one generalization of phenomena to another, was, in fact, only opposing assertion to assertion, until sufficient details should be adduced, to decide which was the true representation of the correspondent objects of Nature; and these details, the first foundation of every thing in geology,



geology, can be furnished only by travels, made for the express purpose of observation.

“ At the first glance, however, we seem to be here replunged into that confusion of objects, presented to our view by Nature herself; for we find, in the same places, phenomena which may be assigned to different periods of the history of the earth; and it is by the different judgments formed respecting those periods, that the contrariety between geological theories has been chiefly produced, and is still maintained. From this consideration, I was at first under some difficulty, with regard to the form which I should give to the relation of my travels. For, if to prevent this confusion of periods, I had been obliged to interrupt my account of every place, in order to point out the different characters of the objects there found together, and to what different times, notwithstanding their present union, they ought respectively to be referred, I should have fallen into a tediousness, equally fatiguing to my readers and to myself. And if, to avoid that inconvenience, I had abridged my descriptions, I should have acted in direct opposition to my own views; since it is only by the accumulation of particular phenomena, always the same under the same circumstances, that an exact generalization of each class of phenomena can be obtained.

“ These considerations have led me, as the means of avoiding comments continually repeated on the objects successively observed, to arrange, at the beginning, under certain heads, the points which are

to be proved by each class of phenomena. From such a definition of the characters of these points, the particular phenomena respectively belonging to them may be easily distinguished, wherever, in the course of the descriptions, they shall occur.

“ This plan, of giving at first a general view both of the points which are to be proved by facts, and of the manner in which facts are to effect the proof, will certainly require constant attention from my readers; but to what science is not attention necessary? If this method be duly considered, it will, I hope, be allowed, that, provided the facts generalized under each head be certified by the whole assemblage of the descriptions which respectively concern them, all the conclusions thence deduced are incontestible. This, then, is what must be constantly kept in view; since, when the importance of these different heads shall have been sufficiently considered, and the heads themselves committed to memory, each of them, by a sort of affinity, will attract to itself those phenomena, which properly belong to it, without interruption of the course of my observations, for the purpose of pointing out such relations wherever they occur.

“ There is one theoretical point, of which I have treated at considerable length in my late work, but which I must again introduce here in a formal manner, on account of its fundamental importance in the history of the earth. It consists in the following question: ‘ Can the state of our continents at their birth be certainly determined?’

“ The



“ The importance of this question will be fully perceived, if it be considered that we cannot obtain any information respecting the history of our globe, but from the continents themselves ; since from the sea we can learn nothing, except by the relations which it bears to them. But even the continents could afford us no instruction, were it not at present admitted by the most distinguished geologists, among whom I place Dr. Hutton and Mr. Playfair, that their birth is to be ascribed to some revolution on the globe, and not to any successive and slow cause, as had been supposed in several systems, before observations had been carried to their present extent. If, then, it can be determined with certainty, what the state of the continents was at the time of their first production ; that is to say, if, among the phenomena which their surface exhibits, we can distinguish those which originally belonged to them, the epoch of their birth becomes a point, which divides the history of the earth, by well-known monuments, into two very distinct periods, one prior, the other posterior, to that epoch ; and throughout the whole course of this history, these monuments will become our faithful guides. Having fully developed this subject in my former work, my present purpose is to point out in what manner observation must be directed, in order to discover these monuments, amidst the variety of phenomena belonging to the surface of the earth.

“ Since the whole mass of our continents consists of what are called mineral strata, the origin of

these is undoubtedly a geological point, which it is very important to determine ; and here I may again set out from a proposition, agreed to by all those who have sufficiently studied them ; namely, that they have been successively formed, one above another, on the bottom of the sea, in a situation nearly horizontal and continuous ; and that all the fractures and dislocations observed in them are the effects of catastrophes subsequent to their formation. On this particular, my opinion is the same as that of Mr. Playfair ; excepting when, with Dr. Hutton, he excludes, from the rank of mineral strata, granite and other contemporary substances, considering them as products of fusion, posterior to those to which he reserves the name of strata. But, for the present, I lay aside this object, as not essential ; and I shall introduce it only when, in the course of my travels, I shall come to places where we have both made observations on granite.

“ Considering here, then, only the strata of which the successive formation at the bottom of the sea is not questioned, it is certain that these strata, and their catastrophes, are the only archives in which we may read the history of the earth, previously to the birth of our present continents. Now the most striking features of the latter are, with respect to their surface, mountains, and valleys, hills and vales, and the sinuosities of plains ; and, with respect to their outline, capes, gulphs, and bays, and the steep cliffs on some of their coasts ; we must therefore examine whether these features originally be-  
longed



longed to our continents, or have been formed by causes subsequent to their birth.

“ We are thus led to the controversy concerning the origin of valleys, the greatest which has arisen among genealogists ; a controversy very extraordinary, since, after the length of time employed in observing the earth, it might seem that this question should have been decided by facts the most common and the most simple. I shall not stop to examine the causes of such indecision ; its existence sufficiently shews the necessity of endeavouring to throw light on a subject, which, while it shall be involved any obscurity, will always cause geology to appear, as it still appears to many, a science without foundation. Some geologists, among whom are Dr. Hutton and Mr. Playfair, ascribe valleys and vales to the mechanical action of running waters, and the indentations of the coasts to that of the sea. By this hypothesis, common to many other systems, the birth of our continents is carried back to a period of incalculable antiquity, in order to furnish time for various imaginary operations, by the diversity of which those systems are respectively distinguished. But my theory considers such features as having belonged to our continents from their birth, subject only to modification by the causes which still act upon them : these causes are well known, we see them in action, and the easily-determinable quantity of their perceptible effect proves, in opposition to the former opinion, that our continents are by no means of great antiquity.

“ It is thus that all geological questions centre in a single point, the decision of which embraces them all, as may have been seen in the preceding work ; no point is more directly subject to be determined by facts ; and these facts it is the business of geological travels to collect. I have thought it necessary to premise thus much, in order to shew beforehand in what manner most of the heads of the following statement, wherein are pointed out the objects which are to be proved by my Travels, are fundamentally connected with these two questions :—1. Have the cavities observable on our continents been produced by running waters ?—2. Have the indentations of their coasts been formed by the sea ? If the new facts which I shall adduce, observed in well-known places, where they may easily be verified, shall at last, by proving those to be general, which I had already described in my ‘ *Lettres sur l’Histoire de la Terre and de l’Homme*,’ decide these questions in the negative, geology will no longer be subject to arbitrary judgment ; a fixed point will be established in it, namely, the known state of our continents at their birth ; and neither the times preceding, nor those subsequent to that epoch, will any longer remain a field in which men may wander without a guide. This is the basis whereon is founded the geological system, which has been the object of my former works. I attribute the little attention which has been bestowed on them, especially by Mr. Playfair, to the want of sufficient details ; but these will be found in my Travels ; and it will be



be only by pointing out essential errors in my observations, that my system can, with any foundation, be farther attacked."

The heads under which Mr. de Luc points out the objects to be proved by his Travels are as follow :

" *Head 1.* Since the opposite sides of many valleys are formed of different substances, these valleys cannot be attributed to the action of rivers cutting through a continuous mass.

" 2. The difference between the gravels on the heights and on the declivities of the opposite sides of valleys, and that between those gravels and the stony strata which border them, are also in contradiction to this hypothesis.

" 3. The differences between the opposite sides of valleys, in their height and form, are not less contrary to the hypothesis in question.

" 4. The breadth and depth of valleys do not bear any proportion to the size of the rivers which flow in them.

" 5. The opinion that valleys have been excavated by rivers is also opposed by the great differences of declivity in the same valley.

" 6. The widenings and contractions of valleys are also a circumstance absolutely contrary to this hypothesis.

" 7. The aquatic plants, which grow on the beds of rivers, shew directly that no erosion takes place there.

" 8. Running waters, far from having produced the excavation of valleys, have in many places raised them to a higher level than they originally possessed.

" 9. Lakes also oppose an absolute barrier to this system.

" 10. The successive differences in the gravel on the beds of such rivers as flow in plains, after quitting mountains, prove that the materials, which once filled the vacancies of the latter, have not been carried away by those streams.

" 11. Characteristic differences between alluvial grounds, and such gravelly soils as are out of the courses of rivers.

" 12. The blocks of stone scattered over our continents cannot possibly have migrated on their surface.

" 13. Some valleys parallel to the coasts, by which streams arrive at the sea, are also contrary to the hypothesis of the excavation of valleys by running waters.

" 14. Many rivers, which, before they arrive at the sea, discharge themselves into gulphs, shew particularly, at that end of their course, that they have not dug their own channels.

" 15. The appearance of the sides of valleys, and of their summits, leaves no doubt with respect to the origin of all great sinuosities in the surface of our continents.

" 16. First consideration respecting the blocks and gravels, in opposition to the idea of their having been brought down from mountains, resulting from their nature.

" 17. Second consideration respecting the blocks and gravels, resulting from their situations; by which is excluded every idea of their migration from any place on the existing continents.

" 18. Effects of the sea on those coasts which, at the birth of the continents, extended towards it with a gentle declivity.

" 19. General considerations on steep coasts.

" 20. Effects



“ 20. Effects of the sea on cliffs composed of soft strata.

“ 21. Effects of the sea on steep coasts composed of stony strata.

“ 22. Effects of the sea in gulphs.

“ 23. General considerations on the phenomena which prove the small antiquity of our continents.

“ 24. The accumulation of fallen materials under the abrupt sides of mountains, as well in valleys as towards the plains, and those which are formed at the foot of steep coasts, constitute one of the most common of the classes of chronometers.

“ 25. The alluvial lands formed by rivers along their course constitute another class of chronometers.

“ 26. The maritime new lands form a large class of chronometers.

“ 27. Since the sea has occupied its present bed, its level has never changed.”

Mr. de Luc, having endeavoured to prove and illustrate the truth of each of these heads or positions, proceeds thus :

“ The history of our globe, like every other which relates to past time, can be traced back only by monuments. It is thus that the histories of nations have been compiled ; but of those the most ancient monuments have been successively effaced or disfigured by a thousand various events and interests ; and, for the most part, nothing remains in that respect but traditions, obscure, imperfect, and often fabulous : hence have arisen so many contradictions in the early annals of the same nation ; and from these has originated historic doubt.

“ The case is not the same with the history of the earth ; the mo-

numents of this are of too much magnitude to have been essentially changed by mankind, and the surface of the globe is covered with them : What, then, can be the reason that this history has been traced back in manners so discordant with each other ? It is because here the monuments are those of effects, produced by natural causes ; so that, unless these effects are recognised as indubitably belonging to certain causes, their nature cannot be really determined ; as reciprocally, unless this be perfectly determined, the real causes cannot possibly be discovered. Those geologists, therefore, who attempted to connect these effects with their causes, long before observation had made sufficient progress, could do it only at random. But the monuments remain, and may still lead to truth.

“ This is what I have endeavoured to render evident, in my determination of each of the preceding heads. I flatter myself that those who shall read them with attention will readily agree, that, if all the facts, of which they offer the compendium, are such as I have represented them under general forms, the history of the earth, which I have here successively traced, in opposition to different opinions, is established beyond all possibility of doubt. Now every thing in this history is connected, as may have been seen, with the four following points, which the observations assembled in my Travels will all concur to prove :

“ 1. The catastrophes, of which evident marks are impressed on the mass of our continents, by the valleys among mountains, the cavities of lakes, and the disturbed situation



tuation of the strata in the irregular skirts of these continents, took place at different periods, while our present land still constituted the bed of the sea.

“ 2. The birth of these continents was produced by the subsidence of others, over which the sea flowed, abandoning its ancient bed.

“ 3. Since that great revolution on our globe, the level of the sea has never changed.

“ 4. From the known operations of causes of every class upon the continents since their birth, it is certain that they cannot have existed a great many ages.

“ I have shewn in the ‘Elementary Treatise on Geology,’ that the whole of the history of the earth is connected with these propositions. They shall now be submitted, in all their parts, to the determination of facts; and I do not believe that the field of natural sciences can present any point of view, so well deserving the attention of every reflecting man. For the question to be decided is no less than this: whether geological monuments authorize us to discard, as so many authors have done, either explicitly or implicitly, the only written history of the earth and of mankind which now exists; a history more ancient than any other authentic writing, the origin of all religions, and the first, the positive, the only foundation of our own.”

With the advantage of this veneration for the writings of Moses for a guide, at least as a beacon against the danger of error, Mr. de Luc proceeds to confirm this theory by his late geological travels.

In perusing both the publications controverted by Mr. de Luc, we are struck with the variety and extent of knowledge that may be brought to bear on the subject of geology. Geology, which connects earth with heaven, and inquires, not only into the natural differences of things, but into all that is capable of modifying and changing the world of minerals, plants, and animals, in the lapse of time, appears to come in contact with all kinds of study or knowledge.

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*A View of Spain; comprising a Descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a general Statistical Account of the Country; including its Population, Agriculture, Commerce, and Finances; its Government, Civil and Ecclesiastical Establishments; the State of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature; its Manners, Customs, Natural History, &c. Translated from the French of Alexander de Laborde. In Five Volumes; with an Atlas in a separate and small Volume.*

Mr. de Laborde does not merit a place in our literary selections for the year, on account of any eminence in point of either genius or learning. He is a book-maker, though not one of the lowest class, that is, a mere operator with scissors and paste. He uses his own pen as well as those of others. He is a book-maker on a great scale; a banker become a book-maker, under the idea of its being a good mercantile speculation; and this circumstance alone might perhaps justify the notice here taken of him.



him. It is rather a singular phenomenon. It is a remarkable effect of the universality of the French language, that the probable circulation of a book shall induce a banker to betake himself to the business of authorship and bookselling. Mr. Laborde, too, has been at great pains and expense to seek, and has had, opportunities of being well acquainted with Spain and the Spaniards; he has had the aid of many books little known, and of others which few can either purchase, or have access to otherwise; and the subjects of his compilation are, at the present moment, particularly interesting.

Mr. de Laborde is editor of an expensive and splendid publication, intitled "*Voyage Pittoresque de L'Espagne*," which was undertaken by the banking-house of Laborde, at Paris, in which Alexander has a share, as a commercial speculation, to be executed by artists paid and employed under its direction. During the slow progress of this work, which was to derive its principal value, not from written narration or description, but from the arts of drawing and engraving, Mr. Laborde had leisure, collaterally with the '*Voyage Pittoresque*,' to carry on the work before us, the object of which is thus briefly set forth by the author:

"It is with pain I repeat, that I have dared to present to the public a work written and printed with such haste; I have left it nearly as it was committed to paper on the very spots where it was written; but the cause of its faults may be an excuse for them. It would have taken me three years

to execute this work tolerably, which it was necessary to finish in a few months. If I had delayed it, it would have been of no use. The works which relate to the laws, customs, and even manners of Spain, will soon be to that country what the ancient ordinances of war, the arrêts of parliament, and of the chamber of accounts, the liberties of the Gallic church, &c. are now to the French. Whatever may happen, bounds are now fixed between the past history of this country, and the future unknown events to which it is destined; and as the '*Picturesque Travels through Spain*' will describe the monuments, such as they have been, preserved to this time, so I have endeavoured, in this work, to ascertain the state of the legislation and of the industry of the country before they experienced any change whatever. My design is, that these two works should illustrate each other, and that neither should encroach too much on what belongs to the other. Thus the details in the *Itinerary* of the public edifices, of the arts, sciences, and literature, will be little more than a simple nomenclature in comparison to the expansion they will receive in the other work; whereas, all that relates to political economy, will appear simply as a sketch in the '*Voyage Pittoresque*.'

Mr. Laborde's "*View of Spain*" consists of an Introduction, which occupies about one-fourth part of the first volume; of short directions for travelling in Spain, which are taken chiefly from Fischer; of observations on the climate and physical geography of Spain, by the Baron de Humboldt; of a descriptive



scriptive itinerary of the provinces of Spain, which fills more than two volumes and a half; and lastly, of dissertations on the population, manufactures, commerce, government, laws, literature, and manners of the country, which take up the two concluding volumes. The division which exceeds in bulk that of all the other heads put together, the descriptive narrative, is incredibly tedious, insipid, and uninteresting, and, in many instances, deficient even in accuracy. The whole work is tarnished throughout with plagiarisms, anachronisms, historical blunders, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Of the plagiarisms and inconsistencies, the following is an instance: Mr. Laborde, in his introductory discourse, follows the opinion of Capmany, that at no period has Spain been so populous, industrious, commercial, and opulent as at the close of the eighteenth century. He acknowledges that the same view of the subject had been taken by Capmany. And in a note prefixed to his Introduction, he mentions that author as having been extremely useful to him—Extremely useful to him! why, he not only adopts the system of that learned, acute, and accurate historian, but the whole of the arguments and illustrations by which the justness of it is proved. Laborde, by his statement of the matter, assumes the merit of being an original inquirer. He claims the indulgence of his countrymen, for ‘combating ideas generally received,’ when he is, in fact, the mere copyist and translator of the Spanish historian, whom he mentions only incidentally as one who happened to entertain the same opinion, to

which he himself, it is insinuated, had been led by a deliberate and accurate investigation.

It was scarcely to have been expected, however, whether he was the original author, or only the adopter of the system in question, that he would have adopted those silly tales that stuff the ordinary books about the former state of Spain. Yet the same Laborde, who, in his Introduction, maintains that “At no period has Spain been so populous, industrious, commercial, and opulent as at the close of the eighteenth century,” gravely affirms, in a subsequent part of his book, that, in the sixteenth century, Toledo had 200,000 inhabitants; that Seville contained 16,000 silk-looms, 130,000 silk-weavers, and a population of 300,000 souls; that the silk manufacturers of Spain employed, in the sixteenth century, 1,100,000 persons; that 300,000 Moors quitted Seville when that city was surrendered to Ferdinand; that, in the kingdom of Grenada, at the time of its conquest, there were three millions of inhabitants, 400,000 lived within the walls of Grenada; and that Cordova, under the caliphs, contained a million, and Tarragona, under the Romans, two millions and a half of inhabitants. Mr. Laborde, it seems, had given credit to those idle fictions, before he met with Capmany’s book. But that, after embracing the system of Capmany, he should have retained and published those fruits of his former industry, can be attributed only to that mercantile avidity which hurried him on to the publication of his book in order to catch the market before it was closed. If he had delayed



his publication, he says, it would have been of no use; the fate of Spain might have been decided before it could have appeared. It would have been less interesting. To describe and transmit to posterity a full and faithful account of Spain before the usurpation of the crown by the Buonapartes, whatever might be the issue of the struggle, would have been a liberal design. But this was not the design of Laborde. He chose to let his work go prematurely into the world, with all its blunders and defects about it, rather than wholly to lose the market. This opulent man, acquainted "with so many families of distinction in Spain, and whose travels in that country, (we are told)\* including the various expenses incurred with a view to his two works, have not cost him less, upon a moderate calculation, than 20,000 pounds sterling," this rich banker, by his own confession, is to be classed among those senseless, short-sighted, and hungry booksellers, whose main aim is to strike the senses by the magnitude of their volumes, and to get the start of their competitors in the trade by early publication.

The portion of Laborde's "View of Spain" that does him most credit is, the passages relating to the *physical constitution of the Spaniards*, their character and manners, customs, dress, ceremonies, &c. These evince a considerable share of judgment and discrimination. We have made, for the amusement of our readers, pretty copious extracts from these parts of Laborde's work, under our

head of Characters. This portion of the book will, no doubt, appear the most interesting to the generality of readers. To those who are at all conversant with the study of Nature, the most valuable part is the section included in the Introduction, intitled "Observations upon the Face of the Country of Spain and its Climate, with a Representation of the Elevation of the two Castiles, in two geological engravings by M. A. de Humboldt." Here, again, the artifice of the book-maker appears. "For these engravings, as well as for the interesting explanation that accompanies them," Mr. Laborde acknowledges that he is "indebted to the great kindness of M. de Humboldt." He was indebted, perhaps, to Humboldt for the use of the engraven plates. But as to the explanation that accompanies them, Mr. Laborde is not more indebted than the whole literary world, to the great kindness of Mr. de Humboldt. The observations of Humboldt are these:

"No country of Europe presents so singular a configuration as Spain. It is this extraordinary form which accounts for the aridity of the soil in the interior of the Castiles, the power of evaporation, the want of rivers, and that difference of temperature which is observable between Madrid and Naples, two towns situated in the same degree of latitude. We shall only be able to give a rough sketch of this meteorological view of Spain. Very few observations have hitherto been made on the mean temperature, or on the height of the barometer. A great deal of valuable materials, perhaps, remains un-

\* Advertisement by the Translator.



known in the manuscripts of enlightened persons, who, without communicating with one another, or with the learned of other nations, have given themselves up to researches of this kind. When we do not possess exact observations, we must content ourselves with the analogy seen in neighbouring countries. It is easier to trace the natural aspect of New Spain than that of Old; and in this respect we are better acquainted with the colonies than with the mother country.

“ The interior of Spain is an elevated plain, and is the highest of any of the same kind in Europe which occupies a large extent of country. Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Scotland, contain ranges of mountains close to one another. These are masses furrowed with deep valleys, and surrounded with low plains. Switzerland is not really a raised plain. The cantons of Berne, Fribourg, Zurich, and all those countries covered with a new formation of freestone, are plains, the height of which is only from two hundred and forty to two hundred and eighty fathoms above the level of the ocean. They form part of the grand longitudinal valley which extends from the southwest to the north-east, between the chain of the upper Alps and Mount Jura, as appears by the beautiful geological maps just published by M. Ebel. In France, and particularly in Germany, there are raised plains, not of very great extent certainly, but well worth being mentioned. In France, the highest plain is that of Auvergne, in which Mont-d'Or, Cantal, and the Puy de Dome stand. It is three hundred and seventy fathoms above the sea, according to the barome-

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trical calculation of a celebrated mineralogist, M. de Buch. Lorraine forms a raised plain that extends between the Vosges and the chain of mountains which, passing by Epinal and Saint-Mihel, joins the Ardennes. This elevated plain, however, is only from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty fathoms high. The centre of the plains of France, the department of Loir and Cher, is from eighty to ninety fathoms high.

“ Bavaria is the most extensive and the highest level land of Germany. A vast plain, the bed of an ancient lake; extends from the granite mountains of the upper Palatinate (*Fichtel Gebürge*) to the foot of the Alps in the Tyrol. These plains (and this fact is very curious and hitherto little known), like the small plain of Auvergne, are from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty fathoms above the level of the ocean.

“ The interior of the two Castiles presents a raised plain, which exceeds in height and extent all those that we have just mentioned. Its mean elevation appears to be three hundred fathoms. The height of the barometer at Madrid is twenty-six inches two lines and two-fifths, according to a note communicated by M. Bauza, a distinguished astronomer, employed in the depôt of charts for the navy at Madrid. It is therefore two inches, or one-fourteenth lower than the mean height of the mercury at the level of the ocean. This is the difference of the pressure of the atmosphere which is experienced by all bodies exposed to the open air at Madrid, Cadiz, or Bourdeaux. At Madrid the ba-

3 N

rometer



rometer falls as low as twenty-five inches six lines, and even lower. The 'Diario de los nuevos descubrimientos de todas las Ciencias físicas,' volume iii. pages 56, 200, 407, contains a series of very interesting meteorological observations,

but which unfortunately do not include a whole year.

"The following is a table of the variations of the pressure of the air in the nine first months of the year 1793—

1793. MONTHS.	MAXIMUM.			MINIMUM.			MEAN HEIGHT of the Barometer.		
	Inch.	Lines.		Inch.	Lines.		Inch.	Lines.	
January,	26	5	8	25	9	8	26	2	6
February,	25	5	3	26	6	2	26	1	6
March,	26	4	7	25	6	0	25	11	6
April,	26	2	4	25	6	9	25	11	6
May,	26	4	6	25	10	5	26	0	8
June,	26	4	0	25	11	8	26	1	6
July,	26	4	3	26	0	7	26	2	4
August,	26	3	2	25	11	5	26	1	4
September,	26	4	3	25	11	0	26	1	7

"The mean height of the barometer at Madrid, observed by Don Felipe Bauza, shows that capital to be elevated three hundred and nine fathoms three-fifths above the level of the ocean, according to M. de Laplace and the new coefficient of M. Ramond, allowing the barometer on the coasts, with Shuckburgh and Fleurieu Bellevue, to be at three hundred and thirty-eight and twenty-four lines. Madrid consequently stands as high as the town of Inspruck, which is situated in one of the very high defiles of the Tyrol. The elevation of Madrid is fifteen times greater than that of Paris, three times greater than that of Mount Valerian, and also three times greater than that of Geneva.

"Lalande was the first who made known the elevation of Ma-

drid, according to the observations which were communicated to him by the celebrated geometrician, Don George Juan, "Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences de Paris," for the year 1776, page 148). He says, that in the street of *los Presiados*, near the *portijo de San Martin*, the town is two hundred and ninety-four fathoms higher than Paris; which makes it three hundred and fourteen fathoms above the level of the ocean. According to M. Thalacker, the mineralogist, who has taken several heights with the barometer in the environs of Madrid, the king's palace at St. Ildefonso is five hundred and ninety-three fathoms, which is higher than the edge of the crater of Mount Vesuvius. No other monarch in Europe is possessed of a palace in the regions of the clouds



clouds : in our countries the heavy summer clouds are from five hundred and fifty to six hundred fathoms high.

“ The height of the plain of the Castilles has an effect upon its temperature. We are astonished at not finding oranges in the open air in the latitude of forty, the same as that of Tarentum, part of Calabria, Thessalie, and Asia Minor. The mean temperature of Madrid appears to be fifty-nine degrees of Fahrenheit, while that of Peterburgh is thirty-nine degrees fifty-two minutes and thirty seconds; that of Berlin forty-six degrees fifty-seven minutes and thirty seconds; that of Paris fifty-three degrees fifty-six minutes and fifteen seconds; that of Marseilles fifty-eight degrees thirty-three minutes; that of Toulon sixty-one degrees fifteen minutes; that of Naples sixty-three degrees thirty minutes; and that of the countries situated under the equator and on the level of the ocean from seventy-nine to eighty-one degrees. Genoa is four degrees more to the north than Madrid, and yet the temperature of Genoa raises the glass almost two degrees higher than that of the capital of Spain. Such is the influence of local causes, of the elevation of site, the proximity to the sea, a chain of mountains which keeps off the cold northerly winds, and a great number of little circumstances, the combination of which moderates the temperature of places.

“ Rome, which is two degrees thirty-two minutes to the south of Genoa, but one degree twenty-nine minutes to the north of Ma-

drid, has almost the same mean temperature as the latter town. It is between sixty degrees seven minutes and thirty seconds, and sixty-one degrees fifteen minutes of Fahrenheit's, according to a great number of very exact observations made by M. Calandrelli and the elder M. de Humboldt, minister of the king of Prussia in Italy.”

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*Histoire des Deux Dernieres Rois de la Maison de Stuart. Par Ch. J. Fox. Suivies de Pieces originales et justificative; Ouvrage traduit de L'Anglais; auquel on a joint une Notice sur la Vie de L'Auteur, 2 Tomes, Paris, 1809.*

IN our last volume we gave a place among Miscellaneous Essays\*, to extracts from the French of Mr. de Bonald, ( a writer in very high estimation, we understand, at present, in France,) on the *Manner of writing History*; and from his *Legislation Primitive*. The chief reason, we stated, for introducing these was, that they furnished a most conspicuous proof and example of the debasing influence of military governments on literature. In the writings of Bonald, it was observed, very fine parts were employed in order to reconcile France and other nations to a system of despotism. We are induced by the same reason, to introduce into our present volume the French translation of *Mr. Fox's History*: of which it may be said, in general, that it is an exhibition or display of constitutional principles,



founded on historical facts. In the French translations, the constitutional principles on which Mr. Fox insists very much, and maintains throughout the whole of his work, by alteration and omission or mutilation, have been withheld as much as was at all possible, consistently with the preservation of the narrative part. For example, in a letter of Mr. Fox's to Mr. Laing, published by Lord Holland in a preface, Mr. Hume, the historian, is censured for his ridiculous partiality to kings and princes: which is represented by Mr. Fox "as more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher." The whole of this stricture, in the translation, is left out. Mr. Fox, speaking of the leaders of the long parliament, states, that "they proceeded to establish *that fundamental principle of all free government*, the preserving of the purse to the people and their representatives." In the translation, the words in this quotation, distinguished by italics, are left out. Mr. Fox's fine eulogium on General Washington is wholly omitted.

Among the reflections of Mr. Fox on the gloom and despair which must have been cast over those whose minds had been thoroughly imbued with a love of the good old cause, by the despotism of Charles II. is the following: "The hatred of tyranny must, in such persons, have been exasperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionably confirmed. To them the state of their country must have been intolerable." In

the French translation these reflections are suppressed. Mr. Fox compares the situation of Churchill and Godolphin, when they were the tools of James II. in his base money-transactions with the Court of France, with that in which they stood as the minister and general of another reign, conducting the confederacy against Lewis XIV. and triumphantly prosecuting the deliverance of Europe. "How forcibly," says Mr. Fox, "must the contemplation of these men, in such opposite situations, teach persons, engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desirable not only for the public good, but for their own greatness and consideration—for every object of generous ambition." This observation, in the French translation, is struck out.

Mr. Fox describes the progress and success of the Duke of Marlborough, in the prosecution of the design "to humble the pride of Lewis, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power, which it had been the business of a long life to raise, at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness towards his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations." This noble period is translated by the Frenchman thus:—"Pour humilier son orgueil, et pour faire trembler sa couronne sur sa tête."

Mr. Hume's apology for Charles II. has drawn from Mr. Fox a burst of indignation, involving an important precept to all historians: "A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet,



as it is less intelligible with respect to its motive than the other, so is it in its consequences still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind. Fear of censure from contemporaries, will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited authority. They will too often flatter themselves that the same power which commits the crime will secure them from the reproach. The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons, it is lamentable that this last defence (feeble enough at best) should in any degree be impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the benevolence and integrity of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders." The whole of this passage, containing so striking a moral, has, in the French translation, been suppressed. Mr. Fox, speaking of the right of political resistance, says: "Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes, in most instances, the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, distinguishes the well-considered enterprize of the patriot from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success is not in the power of man; but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time, as well as a proper object—by the prudence of his means, no less than by the purity of his views—by a

cause, not only intrinsically just, but likely to ensure general support, is the indispensable duty of him who engages in an insurrection against an existing government." This passage is expunged, as was to be expected. But, to enumerate all the instances in which Mr. Fox's history has been mutilated and garbled in the French translation, would, indeed, be a tedious task. There has been so much pains taken to pick out the white hairs from Mr. Fox's grey and venerable head, as in a very great measure to disfigure and disguise it. Yet, stripped as it is of the general reflections in which Mr. Fox has stamped the sanction of his great name upon the most important truths and precepts for guiding the conduct of public men, in periods of arbitrary administration, or popular delusion, the author's sentiments, in favour of liberty and justice, are so interwoven into the body of the composition, that they could not be wholly erased without tearing to pieces the whole texture, and destroying even the shew of a progressive narrative. And, after all that it has undergone, it will not be read in France without effect. It is only surprising that a translation of the book has been suffered to be sold at all.

This prodigious garbling of Mr. Fox's book in the French translation, excites the pleasing reflection that Buonaparte lives in terror, and that his very efforts, like those of all tyrants, to avert, tend to increase his danger. That Buonaparte has seen and perused Mr. Fox's book, which might be perused in so short a time, cannot be



doubted. He was personally acquainted with and possessed a high esteem for Mr. Fox. The appearance of the book was expected. It related to a period analogous to the circumstances of France for some time past: a republic, followed by the restoration of monarchy. And, lastly, all the alterations, interpolations, and expurgations it has undergone, prove that it must have been read by Buonaparte himself: for there is no translator that would have undertaken a business that required such excessive precaution before his translation could have any chance of being saleable; nor would that branch of the imperial police, which is charged with the care of the press, have ventured to sanction its publication, even as it is, without the authority of the person that must be called to mind by so many interesting analogies and recollections. Further still, the expurgations, in all probability, were not first made by the censors of the press, and then shewn, but originated with Buonaparte himself. It would have been a matter of extreme delicacy, if not of danger, for that board to have, of their own accord, struck out the passages bearing hard on Buonaparte. It would have discovered to the jealous Italian what, at the bottom of their hearts, they thought of him. If, again, Buonaparte, amidst the impatient curiosity of Paris and France, had given orders for the total suppression of the work, these orders would immediately have excited a suspicion, and inflamed curiosity still more. Such palpable evidence of caution, lest it should be read, would have brought it under the public eye, in

all its native terrors.—Buonaparte has, in many instances, but in none more glaringly than in defacing the sentiments of Mr. Fox, acknowledged that he sees, hanging over his head, the sword of Damocles. He is afraid, not without good reason, of the vicissitudes in public opinion and public spirit. Public opinion, in times of comparative barbarism and ignorance, is not so formidable, because it is not so easily or so completely formed, as in the present enlightened period of extended intercourse among men and nations. But an union of judgment, and a concert of wills, among vast bodies of men, spurns at the authority of tyrants.—Why are mobs, immense aggregates of unconnected individuals so formidable? Because each individual, weak and helpless in a solitary state, perceives and feels that he has more than the hands of the giant Briareus. He hesitates not to commit the most violent act, to undertake the most daring enterprise, because he knows that he will be seconded and supported by thousands and hundreds of thousands.

In adverting to the suppressed passages of Fox's History, we have the pleasure of divining the ideas, the cares and fears, that occurred to the mind of Buonaparte. When the garbling, of which he is the author, shall come to the knowledge of Frenchmen, as it infallibly will do, the original work will be sought after, and perused with redoubled avidity and effect.

As to the Life of Mr. Fox, prefixed to the translation, it is disclaimed, in a very marked manner, by the translator himself. It



is a miserable farrago of all the stories that could be scraped together from the inaccurate and false accounts that appeared in newspapers, magazines, and other pamphlets, after Mr. Fox's death, on pretence of gratifying public curiosity.

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*A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of 1809; from Lisbon, through the Western Skirts of the Sierra Morena, to Sevilla, Cordoba, Granada, Malaga, and Gibraltar, and thence to Tetuan and Tangiers. With Plates, containing twenty-four Figures, illustrative of the Costume and Manners of the Inhabitants of several of the Spanish Provinces. By Robert Semple, Author of Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples, and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople, in 1805, &c. &c.*

THERE are two kinds of travellers: 1. Travellers who, remaining long at different stages, make immense collections from printed books, and MS. contributions too, from individuals on all manner of subjects, History, Natural and Civil, Political and Rural Economy, the State of

Science, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, &c. &c. from which, with their own speculations intermixed, they make a great number of thick and heavy volumes, which they distinguish by the alluring name of Travels; though that of Miscellaneous Collections and Observations would be by far a more appropriate title. The journey is so slow, and interrupted by so frequent and such long intervals, that we entirely lose sight of it, and contemplate only an industrious compiler: an author, more anxious to display all that he knows, and all that he can scrape together, that can be crammed into his book by any kind of relation, than to draw from the life, and describe with fidelity and precision, what actually come under the recognizance of their own senses\*.

The second kind of travellers are they who go on, with more or less rapidity, but without interruption, and at every turn amuse their readers with something new or unexpected, either in the aspect of the country, or in the situation, character, and manners of men. Due rest and refreshment such travellers must have, as well as the loitering travellers, and different circumstances may invite them to sojourn longer in one territory, or remain longer in one spot than another. But still they are ever on

\* A traveller of this description had visited Sweden, some little time before Signior Guiseppe Acerbi passed through that country, in his travels to the North Cape. The Swedes told Acerbi, that the traveller, who was an Englishman, had been extremely troublesome to every society to which he had access, by not only endless questions to be answered verbally, but applications to divers persons for accounts of this and that in writing: while, at the same time, he did not lay himself out to afford either amusement or instruction, by his own conversation. This anecdote was not omitted in the translation of Acerbi's Travels; but it was discretely struck out by the bookseller Mawman, who purchased the translation, together with the copy-right of the original: as the trouble some travellers have, &c. was mentioned.



the whole in motion. They tell you what they see or hear; but it is no part of their plan to write histories, or statistical accounts of the countries through which they pass.

Mr. Semple belongs to this second class of travellers. He holds on in his course, which is pretty rapid, without stopping at any place, or on any occasion, to make collections or minute researches of any kind. He is guided in his attentions by taste and judgment. He describes sciences, societies, and persons in a lively manner, and he is throughout sensible, sincere, and candid. In a word, this Second Journey is, like the former, interesting, amusing, and instructive.

This Second Journey was undertaken with the intention of observing the effects produced upon Spain by the revolution. Mr. Semple proceeded from Falmouth to Lisbon, in the packet, in January, 1809. He found it dull and cheerless, and as much under the influence of fear, as of the hopes of patriotism. The state of Lisbon, and the Portuguese levies, he describes in the following manner:

“ Every Englishman was well aware that in case of the French entering Lisbon, his property would be the first object of search and confiscation, and that even his peaceful and mercantile pursuits might not suffice to protect his person from imprisonment. The doubts, the suspense, the alarm, the confusion which prevailed, may therefore be well imagined. Whilst such was the state of the English residents, the native inhabitants presented a different and more in-

teresting spectacle. Equally in suspense, equally in confusion, equally anxious after every fresh whisper of intelligence, they were yet chained to the spot by insurmountable ties, and obliged to wait at their post the issue of the contest. Hence a strange mixture of passions. Rage against the French who were advancing; rage against the English who were preparing to abandon them. The first was open and avowed: the second secret and concealed, but only waiting the last moment of embarkation to have displayed itself in all its madness. The conflict of contending passions ended in a burst of patriotism. When it could no longer be concealed that the English and Spanish armies in Galicia were retreating. When it became evident that the English force in Lisbon was making every preparation to embark at the shortest notice; and those regiments which had marched towards the frontiers were rapidly retreating without having seen an enemy: then the government made an animated appeal to the people, reminded them of the former glory of the Portuguese name, and called upon them to assert it. The enthusiasm created by such appeals, and by necessity, was very great. But had the French advanced, it would, in my opinion, have proved less fatal to them than to the stragglers of the English rear-guard. Happily this was not put to the test. The streets, the squares, the quays, were lined with ranks of volunteers, whose arms, equipment, and movements, were most various and whimsical. The greater proportion carried pikes; some were armed with fowling-



fowling-pieces, some with bayonets screwed on poles, some with small swords, with daggers, with pistols, or with a single pistol. Here and there in the ranks were seen halberts and pikes of curious and ancient workmanship, which had probably been wielded in the wars of the fifteenth century, and, after long lying in dust and darkness, were now dragged forth to light. The assortment of the men was as various as their arms. The tall and the short, the lean and the corpulent, the old man and the stripling, stood side by side. At the word of command, some turned to the right and others to the left, some parts of the line advanced while others remained stationary. In short, every thing was ridiculous except their cause, and that was most sacred.

“ It is only necessary once to see these or similar levies, to be impressed with the folly of attempting to defend a country with them against a regular force. In a town or a pass they may be of great service; but in the present state of military science, a state which trusts to them in any great degree for her safety, when the hour of danger approaches, will inevitably be lost. The sure and hard test of good troops is the bayonet: how then can it be expected that new levies of citizens should stand this test, at the very first time of their seeing an enemy? and stand it they must, seeing that they have no other arms but those of hand to hand, a pike, or a halberd, or a sword.

“ But the mob of Lisbon was armed, and determined to shew that it was so. Every night at

least one Frenchman, or one suspected to be so, was discovered and dragged to prison, where generally his dead body alone arrived. I myself was witness to an Englishman being murdered in this manner, and strove in vain to save his life. An Englishman! you exclaim. Yes, reader, an Englishman. It was on a Sunday evening, and I was proceeding up the principal street, when having advanced a little beyond the headquarters of the English general, I heard the shoutings of a great mob. They drew nearer, and I presently found myself enveloped in a furious crowd, dragging along a poor wretch in the English dress; his countenance disfigured with blood, and hardly able to stagger along from the blows which he had received. I demanded his crime. They told me he was a Frenchman: but an English officer, who was in the crowd, exclaimed, that it was his servant, and endeavoured to reason with some who appeared as leaders of the mob. At this intelligence I made my utmost efforts to get near the unfortunate man, and just arrived in time to seize with both my hands a pike, which some *brave* Portuguese from behind was endeavouring to thrust into his back. I called out to the officer to assist me. He replied, it was the positive order of the general, that in all such cases no Englishman should interfere, and advised me to take care of my own life. I was in the midst of pikes, swords, and daggers, which seemed to be thrust about in all directions, as if through madness or intoxication. In spite of all my struggles, I was thrown down and nearly trampled



trampled upon by the mob, and at length with difficulty escaped from amongst them. Next morning I was informed that the poor wretch had been murdered in the course of the night. And this passed within one hundred yards of the English head-quarters!

“Because they were armed, and the enemy was not at their gates, the Portuguese already began to utter rhodomontades. Every man finding a weapon in his hands, perhaps for the first time, performed with it a thousand deeds of heroism. But not merely what they were going to do, what they had already done against the common enemies of Europe was the topic of their discourses. They had gained, in conjunction with their English allies, the battle of Vimeira. It was a Portuguese soldier who made general Brenier prisoner, and they had beaten the French at Oporto. Lest there should be any doubt of these facts, an engraving of the battle of Vimeira, to be found in every shop, represented the dreadful Portuguese dragoons charging the enemy, and bearing away at least one-half of the palm of victory. I know not which was the greater hardship upon the brave army which gained that battle, to be stopped in the career of victory, or to be caricatured by such associates!”

From Lisbon Mr. Semple proceeded to Seville, by the usual road of Elvas and Badajoz. On his arrival in Spain he met frequent bodies of armed men going to join the armies. Being known for an Englishman, he was generally well treated, and saluted with cries of *Viva L'Inglaterra*, to which he

of course replied, *Viva l'Espagne*. On the 8th of Feb. “I reached, about mid-day, Los Santos de Maimona, by a road which, before entering, winds nearly round it.

“The population of this place may be computed at about twelve hundred souls; and the general appearance of the inhabitants is superior to that in any of the villages on the high road between it and Badajoz. The post-house was remarkably good, and a degree of cleanliness prevailed in its interior that might have been noticed even in England. Being announced as an Englishman, the door was soon surrounded by wondering peasants, while some of the better sort of the inhabitants, under various pretences, entered the house, and, having greeted me very courteously, began to ask a variety of questions. As the French had never yet penetrated into these mountains, the anxiety of the women was very great, to know whether there was any probability of their coming to Maimona. They were not ignorant of the excesses committed in Cordoba and Andujar by the army of Dupont; and fancy painted these excesses even in worse colours, if possible, than they had existed. When I assured them that England would never forsake their cause so long as they remained true to themselves, and gave them at the same time encouraging hopes for the future, their joy was hardly to be expressed. A general exclamation of “*Viva los Ingleses*” burst from the assembly, while their eagerness to befriend me was redoubled. I was pressed to take a portion of the family pucheiro; one took my hat, another my cloak, a third handed



handed me a chair, while a fourth stretched my wet gloves on his hands, and held them over the fire. After an hour's rest I set off, accompanied by many good wishes. From Maimona to Fuente de los Cantos the distance is four leagues, and the country is in a higher state of cultivation than any spot between this and Elvas. On both sides of the high road the fields were green with rising corn, thickly interspersed with olive-trees, and the whole presented the charming prospect of a rich plain of great extent, bordered all round by romantic hills. As we approach Fuente de los Cantos, we have a clear view of the town of Bienvenida, at the distance of about five miles to the north-east, apparently a place of considerable note, and situated at one extremity of the great plain near the gorges of the mountains, towards Llerena. On this road, I for the first time observed a considerable number of narrow waggons, with two wheels, and drawn by two mules. By means even of these clumsy waggons, two mules dragged at least as much as six could carry; yet such is the force of hereditary customs, that, together with these, I saw droves of mules and asses loaded with articles of the same kind, and conducted by muleteers. The peasantry in general seemed remarkably stout, although not tall, and their dress was almost uniformly of a dark brown. In four hours I reached Fuente de los Cantos, apparently nearly equal in size to Maimona, and surrounded by cultivated fields, and plantations of olive. The curiosity of the inhabitants of Fuente seemed even stronger, if possible, than what I

had witnessed at Maimona; and the lively and handsome appearance of the women was particularly striking. Here I found little to detain me. It wanted still more than an hour of sun-set, and I set off for Monasterio, another post of three leagues distant. A little boy was my guide, and so young that I felt him as if placed under my protection. After proceeding about a league from Fuente de los Cantos, the country becomes interesting, and gradually increases in interest as we approach Monasterio. The small, barren, and regularly rounded hills, give way to heights of various forms, and to chains of lofty mountains, the summits of which are only at intervals perceptible through the driving clouds. We begin to discern small woods in the hollows, on the sheltered slopes of the mountains, and on both sides of the road are scattered various species of the oak, the elm, the cork-tree, and the wild olive. From Abuera, or even perhaps from Badajoz, and the banks of the Guadiana, we have been constantly, but imperceptibly ascending until now, when it is evident that we are approaching towards the highest ridge of the Sierra Morena, which, in this direction, we have to pass. We make a descent to arrive at Monasterio. I arrived there about an hour after sun-set, and for the first time since leaving Badajoz, was challenged by the guard of the place, and asked for my passport. In this, however, they were easily satisfied; and I was speedily conducted to the post-house, where I again met in every individual the same eagerness to oblige an Englishman, which I had uniformly observed from the first moment of



my crossing the Guadiana. It was not a mercenary attention, which flies to execute your orders with the prospect of to-morrow's gain; but a grateful eagerness, which convinced me more and more how deeply the services which England had rendered to Spain were here imprinted upon every bosom. Such are the advantages which nations derive from acting on great and generous principles. The feelings, not only of these peasants, but of the great mass of Spanish peasantry, will survive many a political storm, and remain true to England, at a period too distant for us yet to form hypotheses upon. The peasantry of all countries form the true basis of their strength. Their prejudices are strong, generous, and obstinate; and amid the fall of thrones, and the puerile vacillations of emperors and kings, it is at least grateful to reflect, that the peasantry of the peninsula are, in these respects, decidedly English. It may, perhaps, be said with truth, that England alone can destroy these favourable prejudices.

“ The family at Monasterio, as usual, supped after me; and I observed with pleasure the children repeating their prayers, and kissing their hands to their parents before retiring to bed. This was not the first time that I was struck with the many points of resemblance between the generality of the Scottish peasants and those in many parts of Spain. The dark caps of the peasants of Sierra Morena, the uniformity of their dress, many of their dishes, the interior arrangement of their houses, the domestic manners of their women, their looks, their air, their gravity mixed with a dry humour, and an un-

feigned spirit of piety, all tend to remind us of many of the most prominent features in the character of the Scottish peasantry. I once made the same remark to a well-informed Spaniard at Madrid, on some of the peasants whom I observed to arrive there from various provinces. ‘ Undoubtedly,’ he replied, in all the spirit of a true Spaniard, ‘ do you not know, that we have formerly sent colonies to Scotland?’

“ Four hundred men of the second battalion of Cantabria were quartered here. The first battalion, they told me, was with the army; and in talking on these subjects, I found that an English regiment, the fortieth, which had lately passed along this road, on its way to Sevilla, was the theme of universal admiration. What chiefly excited the astonishment, and almost the envy, of the Spanish recruits, seemed to be the dress, and accoutrements of that regiment; nor could they avoid contrasting their own miserable dress and scanty pay, with those of their new allies. The women were particularly charmed; and the musicians, with their hats dressed round with feathers, had, I found, made a deep impression on every heart. The death of General Moore, and the embarkation of the English, was not yet known here, even to the best informed. A French emigrant of the revolution, married in Spain, and an officer of some rank in the Spanish army, visited me, and was now, for the first time, informed of these important events. The miserable system of keeping the people in a state of ignorance as much as possible, is still as strongly persisted in by the government



ment of Spain as in former periods. This officer informed me that he had commanded the cavalry of the rear-guard of the duke de Infantado's army, when it had been obliged to retreat, and had lost all its artillery. 'My men fought desperately,' said he, 'and twice drove back the enemy; but there was a great fault somewhere, for the whole of the guard under my command, appointed to cover the retreat of the artillery, did not exceed five hundred men.'—'You are a Frenchman,' said I, 'and have some means of judging, tell me candidly what is your opinion of the probable issue of the present contest?'—'I am certainly of opinion,' replied he, 'that if the Spaniards are supported by England, they can never be conquered.' Knowing how difficult it is ever to eradicate from the mind of a Frenchman, the idea of the glory of his country, I felt inclined to attach some weight to this opinion."

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"Having determined to proceed to Granada, and being perfectly satisfied with the lesson which I had received as to travelling with carriers, I resumed my favourite method by post, for which purpose I procured a licence.

"On the 26th February, at mid-day, I left Cordoba, my guide, as usual, having my portmanteau fastened before him. Instead of crossing the Guadalquivir by the bridge, we went above the town, where the banks were pleasantly adorned with trees, and passed over in a large boat. From the opposite bank the road begins immediately to ascend, and, for nearly two leagues, leads over a country of open downs,

sprinkled with fields of corn. In looking back, Cordoba appears far more interesting than when reviewed from any other point from which I had yet seen it. It appears closer and more compact; its churches, houses, walls, and towers, are more happily blended; and from these heights we look down upon it, as if seated in the bottom of a valley, screened by mountains, and by the side of a noble stream. After losing sight of Cordoba, I was struck with the appearance of the surrounding country, which presented rich fields of green corn scattered here and there, without the vestige of a human habitation near them, or, indeed, in sight, in any direction; one might almost have been tempted to regard them as the spontaneous productions of the ground. At the distance of three leagues from Cordoba, we reached El Cortijo del Genovese, or the Genoese Farm, a single miserable hut, somewhat removed from the road, with stables, out of which we were provided with very indifferent horses.

"Having proceeded about a league, we crossed the Badajocillo, now a considerable stream, and which we were obliged to pass three times in the space of little more than a league. It flows here through a fertile and extensive flat, bounded by low hills, and in a tolerably good state of cultivation. At the head of this flat, and three leagues from El Cortijo, stands Castro, of which we have a fine view in our approach, seated on a small rocky height, which appears to block up the valley, and break the bed of the Badajocillo, which flows round its bases. The walls form nearly a regular ob-

long,



long, and, from its situation and name, it was no doubt originally a Roman camp, to which many great towns may be traced, not only in Spain, but all over Germany, France, and Britain. Shortly before reaching Castro the ground becomes uneven, and my guide, using the privilege of a horseman, conducted me across a long succession of cultivated fields, promising the most abundant crops of beans and wheat. The population of Castro is reckoned at about four thousand souls; and, it being Sunday, the crowd which assembled when I reached the post-house, far exceeded any which I had yet witnessed on a similar occasion. They asked me a great number of questions; and I mentioned, without reserve, what was new to them, that the English army had embarked, and that it was said the Gallicians acted hostilely to that army, but had given up Corunna and Ferrol to the French. At the former intelligence they expressed great regret; and, when I concluded, there was a general cry of ‘*Malditos sean los Gallegos;*’ or, Curse the Gallicians.

“On leaving the place, I found a great concourse of people assembled at the gate, and lining both sides of a small bridge which is here thrown over the river, and was courteously saluted. Having got clear of the town, we soon entered upon a fine plain, similar to that on the other side of Castro, having the Badajocillo on our left, and gently rising hills on the right, whilst at a distance appeared the lofty mountains of the chain which divides Andalusia from Granada. We had not proceeded far when

we saw a great number of parties approaching towards us, and in a manner covering the plain. I at first imagined them to be inhabitants of Castro, who had been spending their Sunday in the country; but, on their nearer approach, they appeared to be composed entirely of men and youths, and who, I was informed, had been drafted, for the most part, from about Baena, for the army. This was occasioned by a recent decree of the Junta, calling upon this part of the country for men, and granting very few exemptions to such as were able to carry arms. Nothing could give a more striking picture of the patience and implicit obedience of the Spaniards to their government, than was presented by these successive groups, which had just so suddenly relinquished their homes, in strict obedience to a single decree of a self-appointed Junta. Some were old men with grey hairs, riding on asses; others, striplings under fourteen years of age, playing with each other as they went along the road. Most were silent; but some laughed and sang; while others, with downcast eyes and melancholy looks, appeared with difficulty to refrain from tears. ‘*Hay buenas noticias? Volveremos? Viva l’Inglaterra! Vamos!*’—Have you brought good news? Are we to return? England for ever! Let us go on! Such were the exclamations which shewed the various feelings of the parties, their hopes, and their fears; their anxiety to return, or their willingness, if not their eagerness, to advance. In this manner at least twelve hundred men and boys passed in review before me ere sun-set; nor was it possible to behold



behold so many individuals torn from their homes and peaceful occupations, and to reflect how many mothers, wives, and sisters, were at that moment plunged in sorrow for the departure of those so dear to them, whom they might never see again, without cursing, from the bottom of my soul, the ambition and perfidy of that man who was the sole cause of all this mischief and distress!

“ By degrees we left the plain and these interesting groups, and began to ascend the hills, among which Baena, three leagues from Castro, is seated. The approach to this town is highly pleasing, the hills round it being covered with plantations of olive-trees, while the opposite sides are full of vineyards, which yield a wine of great repute, even as far as Cordoba. The town itself stands upon the side, and towards the summit of a steep hill, and appears to have been formerly a place of much importance. The great square, or market-place, is larger, and more elegant, than any in Cordoba, or even in Sevilla, and the present population may be calculated at about seven or eight thousand souls. Instead of repairing to a posada, I accepted the invitation of the poor family at the post-house to partake of their supper; and, while it was preparing, I took a moonlight walk with one of the inhabitants through the streets of Baena. I every where observed a profound silence prevailing, unusual in a Spanish town, on so fine a moonlight Sunday evening; but the groups which I had met on the road, and the information of my companion, sufficiently accounted for it. ‘ Could you behold the

interior of these houses,’ said he, ‘ you would find scarcely one family of which the women are not in tears.’ At supper I could by no means prevail upon the good people to eat until I had finished; and although no meat was to be procured, yet what with bread, eggs, oil, garlick, and sallad, they made up for me a tolerable mess. My bed, as usual, was a pallet of straw, stretched in the corner of a large hay-loft, and I was again indebted to my trusty cloak for a covering.”

The plates that embellish this little volume, are exact representations of the Spanish costume in different provinces, and are in general strikingly characteristic, not only of the dress, but also of the features, of the various peasantry of Spain.

Mr. Semple is of opinion, (or rather, we should say, was at the time he wrote,) that Spain might yet be saved from the grasp of Buonaparte, though he has conquered or intimidated all the rest of Europe; provided that the resources of Spain and her ally, Great Britain, were effectually brought forth, and wisely directed. And he offers some hints for effecting this purpose, not certainly unworthy of consideration. In opposition to the reports of military officers, he maintains that the Spanish nation is sincerely and cordially attached to the English.

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*An Account of the Empire of Morocco, and the District of Suse: compiled from Miscellaneous Observations, made during a long Residence in, and various*



*rious Journeys through, these Countries. To which is added an accurate and interesting Account of Timbuctoo, the great Emporium of Central Africa. By James Grey Jackson, Esq. Illustrated with Engravings, 4to.*

THIS is a very interesting publication, and, if duly attended to, may be a very useful one. Mr. Jackson, in the prosecution of his business as a merchant, has resided for a long time among a people less known to Europeans than any other, with whom, for so many ages, we have had such constant intercourse, and has travelled all over a country, less known than any in Europe or in Asia, though within sight of Gibraltar. The observations which he has made himself, or collected from native travellers, respecting the interior of Africa, form a work of no ordinary value, in either a commercial or literary point of view.

In the eleventh chapter we have an account of the General Commerce of Marocco—Annual Imports and Exports of Mogodor—The Importance and Advantage of a trade with the empire of Marocco—Cause of its Decline—And the present state of our Relations with the Barbary Powers. Chapter thirteenth is taken up with the commercial relations of the empire of Marocco with Timbuctoo, and other districts of Soudan—Route of the Caravans to and from Soudan—City of Timbuctoo—The productive Gold Mines in its Vicinage—the Navigable Intercourse between Jinnie and Timbuctoo; and from the latter to Cairo in Egypt—the whole being collected from the most authentic and corroborating

testimonies of the guides of the caravans, itinerant merchants of Soudan, and other creditable sources of intelligence.

To these two chapters relating to commerce; we ought, perhaps, to add the seventh chapter, which gives an account of the population of the empire of Marocco, and of its sea-ports, and principal inland towns. Though it does not touch on commerce directly, it contains various facts, which may furnish no unimportant information, and perhaps suggest some useful hints to ingenious and enterprising merchants.

Mr. Jackson having given, in chapter eleven, an accurate account of the exports and imports of the port of Mogodor, during the years 1804, 1805, and the first six months of 1806, carefully extracted from the Imperial custom-house books, in a table occupying nineteen pages, makes the following important observations:—

“ By a careful perusal of the foregoing account of the exports from, and imports into, the port of Mogodor, the commercial reader will be enabled to form an accurate idea of the trade of that place: there are several things exported in such small quantities, that they cannot be reckoned as articles of trade, but rather as samples; but, being in the custom-house books, they are given here to make the account complete; they shew the produce of the country, and might, if the trade were duly encouraged and protected, form articles of considerable importance in a commercial view; but, with consuls, who are equally unacquainted with the language of  
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the country, and the manners, politics, and complexion of the court, we must not expect that the British merchant will be sufficiently encouraged to make considerable adventures to West Barbary; and hence one reason why the trade has of late years been in a great degree abandoned by us, and has fallen into the hands of a few Jews, subjects of the emperor.

“The French, aware of the importance of a trade which carries off manufactured goods of all kinds, and furnishes in return raw materials, were induced to attempt an establishment of considerable capital; but the British cruizers in the Mediterranean, rendering it almost impossible for their ships to sail to or from Marseilles, have lately obliged them to relinquish their enterprise for the present, though there can be no doubt, that in the event of a permanent peace, it will be resumed with additional vigour. The same causes have also compelled the other merchants, natives of countries now under the dominion of France, to remain almost entirely inactive, waiting impatiently for some change that may enable them to resume with some security their commercial negotiations; so that, with the exception of two or three houses, there is, at present, no European establishment of any consequence at Mogodor.

The commerce of Mogodor with America, during the years 1804 and 1805, was impeded by a dispute between that country and the emperor, which, however, has been amicably adjusted, and the trade is now resumed. Vessels going from Salem, Boston, and other parts of America, with East and West In-

dia produce to Mogodor, receive, in return, the various articles of Barbary produce; and by this means, the agents of the American merchants established at Mogodor are enabled to undersell us in all East and West India goods.

“A close connexion with the empire of Marocco is of the greatest importance to Great Britain both in a political and commercial point of view; for besides the various articles of trade already enumerated, it affords ample supplies of provisions; and if a friendly intercourse between the two nations were firmly established, we should never have any difficulty in victualling not only Gibraltar, but also all our different fleets which cruize in the Mediterranean, and on the northern coast of Africa, a resource which, in the present state of things, certainly merits the serious attention of this country. The advantages of a trade with this empire must be evident from what has been detailed in the preceding pages, where it will be seen that nearly the whole of the exports to Marocco consists of manufactured goods, and that the returns for these are entirely raw materials, many of which are essentially necessary in our manufactures. That the present trade is so inconsiderable, arises entirely from the little encouragement and support it meets with; for British subjects, finding they had to depend on their own exertions alone, for the protection and safety of their property embarked in this traffic, have for the most part abandoned it, and now it is falling into the hands of subjects of Marocco, established in England. This is the more to be regretted, as we have it



in our power, by proper representations, and a judicious negociation, to supply, through this channel, a great part of the interior of Africa with our superfluous manufactures, while we might receive in return many very valuable and useful articles, such as oil of olives, hides, skins, almonds, gums, wax, silver, and gold, in addition to which may be mentioned, oranges and lemons, of which a greater quantity might be procured from two ports in the empire, than is afforded by both Spain and Portugal. The oranges of Tetuan are the finest in the world, and are sold for eight drahms, or about three and sixpence per thousand. It may, perhaps, be objected by some, who have experienced difficulties in treating with the emperor, that he would not, probably, allow fruit to be exported: to this I answer, that it is possible, by proper means, to obtain almost any favour from a sovereign who is uncontrollable; it is not gold which rules his conduct, though some ingenious persons have imagined that to be the only means of procuring any thing from him: had this been the case, he would not have granted me the privilege of exporting mules to the West Indies at half the duty the French house of Messrs. Demellet and Sabatier, offered him. In short, nothing is wanting to secure a most extensive and lucrative trade with Marocco, but an established friendship between the two nations, strengthened by a mutual return of good offices and attentions. Indeed the present emperor, Muley Soliman, may be said to have made overtures of this nature; but from our impolicy, and inattention, added to the ignorance of the proper mode

of treating with him, these overtures have been neglected."

There are other chapters, as those concerning the culture, the mineral, animal and vegetable productions of Marocco, not certainly altogether unconnected with mercantile speculation: but they fall more properly under the head of literary and liberal entertainment. Of this division of the work we have given some specimens in our present volume, under heads of Characters, Natural History, and Miscellaneous Articles. To these, add the following:

"The Arabs going nearly in a state of nature, wearing nothing but a cloth or rag, to cover their nakedness, immediately strip their unhappy victims, and march them up the country barefooted, like themselves. The feet of Europeans, from their not being accustomed, like the Arabs, to this mode of travelling, soon begin to swell with the heat of the burning sand over which they pass; the Arab considering only his booty, does not give himself the trouble to inquire into the cause of this, but abstemious and unexhausted himself, he conceives his unfortunate captive will, by dint of fatigue and travelling, become so too. In these marches the Europeans suffer the pains of fatigue and hunger in a most dreadful degree; for the Arab will go fifty miles a day without tasting food, and at night will content himself with a little barley-meal mixed with cold water, miserable fare for an English seaman, who (to use the term that is applied to the richest men among the Arabs) eats meat every day.

"They carry the Christian captives about the desert, to the different



ferent markets to sell them; for they very soon discover that their habits of life render them altogether unserviceable, or very inferior to the black slaves, which they procure from Timbuctoo. After travelling three days to one market, five to another, nay, sometimes fourteen, they at length become objects of commercial speculation, and the itinerant Jew-traders, who wander about from Wedinoon to sell their wares, find means to barter for them tobacco, salt, a cloth garment, or any other thing, just as a combination of circumstances may offer, and then return to Wedinoon, with the purchase. If the Jew have a correspondent at Mogodor, he writes to him, that a ship had been wrecked, mentioning the flag or nation she belonged to, and requests him to inform the agent, or consul, of the nation of which the captain is a subject; in the mean-time flattering the poor men, that they will shortly be liberated and sent to Mogodor, where they will meet their countrymen. A long and tedious servitude, however, generally follows, for want of a regular fund at Mogodor, for the redemption of these people. The agent can do nothing but write to the consul-general at Tangier; this takes up nearly a month, before an answer is received, and the merchants at Mogodor, being so little protected by their respective governments, and having various immediate uses for their money, are very unwilling to advance for the European interest of five per cent: so that the time lost in writing to the government of the country to whom the unfortunate captives belong, the necessity of procuring the money for their purchase previous

to their emancipation, and various other circumstances, form impediments to their liberation. I knew an instance where a merchant had advanced the money for one of these captives, who, had his ransom not being paid, would have been obliged to return to the south, where he would have been sold or compelled to embrace the Mahomedan religion; for the British vice-consul had not the purchase-money; nor any orders to redeem him, having previously sent to the consul-general an account of the purchase of the rest of the crew. This man was delivered up by the merchant who had redeemed him to the British vice-consul, to whom he looked for payment: various applications were made to the consul-general, but the money was not paid two years afterwards, all applications to government having failed; a representation of the case was next made to a society in London, which has been established ever since the year 1724, for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary, which, after deliberating on the matter, agreed to pay the merchant the money he had advanced. The purchase-money in this case was, including the cost of clothes (for the man was naked when purchased) did not altogether amount to forty pounds; there was, however, so much trouble attending the accomplishment of the business, that no individual merchant has since ventured to make an advance on a similar security, for, not to mention the difficulty of recovering the principal at the expiration of a long period, the value of money is such at Mogodor, that merchants are unwilling to advance it at a low interest,



rest, six per cent per month being often paid for it. It is in this manner that the subjects of a great maritime power have been neglected in a country where, by adopting a few political regulations, all the hardships of bondage might be prevented."

"Whilst the Europeans remain in the hands of the Arabs and Jews, they are employed in various domestic services, such as bringing water, possibly the distance of nine or ten miles, to the habitation, and in collecting fire-wood. In performing these offices, their feet, being bare, and treading on the heated sand, become blistered and inflamed, the sandy particles penetrate into these blisters when broken, and irritate in such a manner as sometimes to cause mortification and death. The young lads, of which there are generally two or three in every ship's crew, are often seduced by the Arabs to become Mohammedans; in this case the Sheick, or chief of the duar, adopts him, and initiates him in the Koran, by sending him to the (Mdursa) seminary, where he learns to read the sacred volume, and is instructed in the pronunciation of the Arabic language; he is named after the Sheick who adopts him, after which an Arabian woman is offered to him as a wife; he marries, has a family, and becomes one of the clan, thus abandoning for ever his native country and connexions.

The state of domestic comfort enjoyed by Christians in West Barbary or Marocco, is far from being impeded by those degrading distinctions practised in Egypt and other Mohammedan countries, where they are not allowed to ride

on horses (the prophet's beast), to wear green (the prophet's colour), &c. &c.; here they may do either: they may even enter towns on horseback, a privilege, however, which was not granted till of late years: Mr. Chenier, the French consul, first broke through the degrading custom, for being opposed by the gate-keepers at Saffy, he drew his sword, and forced his entrance, adding, that no one should stop the representative of the King of France; and when I went to Agadeer, by order of the Sultan Muley Yezid, on my arriving at the gate, the Bashaw's son objected to my entering on horseback, alleging, that it was near a sanctuary, and that Christians had never been allowed to enter the gate on horseback; I immediately turned my horse, ordered the baggage to be put on board the ship from which I had just landed, and declared, that I would not reside in any town, where I was not on a footing with the Mooselmin; but the old Bashaw, El Hayanie, a man of ninety years of age, sent out two of his sons to request me to come back: 'Old customs,' said he, when I afterwards met him at the gate, 'are done away; we wish to see the place flourish with commerce, as in its former establishment; enter and go out on horseback whenever you please;' accordingly, ever since this circumstance, Christians (but not Jews) have been allowed to enter the town on horseback; they may ride about the country in safety, and amuse themselves in the sports of the field; they are not obliged to stop at the approach of a Bashaw or his family, or to alight till the great man has passed; it is expected that he salute him in his



his own country fashion, by taking off his hat, which, however, is considered by Mooselmin, unaccustomed to Christians, much in the same light that we should a man taking off his wig: for they go uncovered in the presence of the emperor, unless they have a red or Moorish cap on, which is a substitute for a wig, their heads being shaved."

"Those who have philosophy enough to confine their wants solely to what nature requires, would view the individual happiness of the people, who compose the caravans, with approbation. Their food, dress, and accommodation, are simple and natural; proscribed from the use of wine and intoxicating liquors, by their religion, and exhorted by its principles to temperance, they are commonly satisfied with a few nourishing dates, and a draft of water; and they will travel for weeks successively, without any other food; at other times, a little barley-mcal and cold water is the extent of their provision, when they undertake a journey of a few weeks across the desert; living in this abstemious manner, they never complain, but solace themselves with the hope of reaching their native country, singing occasionally during the journey, whenever they approach any habitation, or whenever the camels appear fatigued; these songs are usually sung in trio, and in the chorus all the camel-drivers who have a musical voice join; it is worthy observation, how much these songs renovate the camels, and the sympathy and time they keep, surpasses what any would imagine,

who had not heard them. In traversing the desert, they generally contrive to terminate the day's journey at l'Asaw, a term which they appropriate to our four o'clock, P. M. so that between that period and the setting sun, the tents are pitched, prayers said, and the (Lashaw) supper got ready; after which they sit round in a circle, and talk till sleep overcomes them, and next morning, at break of day, they proceed again on their journey.

"The Arabic language, as spoken by the camel-drivers, is peculiarly sweet and soft; the guttural and harsh letters are softened, and with all its energy and perspicuity, when pronounced by them, is as soft, and more sonorous, than the Italian; it approaches the ancient Korannick language, and has suffered but little alteration these twelve hundred years. The Arabs of Moraffra, and those of Woled Abusebah, frequently hold an extempore conversation in poetry, at which the women are adepts, and never fail to shew attention to those young Arabs, who excel in this intellectual and refined amusement."

"These slaves are treated very differently from the unhappy victims who used to be transported from the coast of Guinea, and our settlements on the Gambia, to the West India islands. After suffering those privations, which all who traverse the African desert must necessarily and equally submit to, masters, as well as servants and slaves, they are conveyed to Fas and Marocco, and after being exhibited in the sock, or public market-place, they are sold to the high-



est bidder, who carries them to his home, where, if found faithful, they are considered as members of the family, and allowed an intercourse with the (Horraht) free-born women of the household. Being in the daily habit of hearing the Arabic language spoken, they soon acquire a partial knowledge of it, and the Mohammedan religion, teaching the unity of God, they readily reject Paganism, and embrace Mohammedanism; their Mooselmin masters then instil into their vacant minds, ready to receive the first impression, the fundamental principles of the Mooselmin doctrine; the more intelligent learn to read and write, and afterwards acquire a partial knowledge of the Koran; and such as can read and understand one chapter, from that time procure their emancipation from slavery, and the master exults in having converted an infidel, and in full faith, expects favour from heaven for the action, and for having liberated a slave. When these people do not turn their minds to reading, and learning the principles of Mohammedanism, they generally obtain their freedom after eight or ten years servitude; for the more conscientious Mooselmin consider them as servants, and purchase them for about the same sum that they would pay in wages to a servant during the above period, at the expiration of which term, by giving them their liberty, they, according to their religious opinions, acquire a blessing from God, for having done an act, which a Mooselman considers more meritorious in the sight of Heaven, than the sacrifice of a goat, or even of a camel. This liberation is entirely voluntary

on the part of the owner; and I have known some slaves so attached to their masters from good treatment, that when they have been offered their liberty, they have actually refused it, preferring to continue in servitude. It should not, however, be supposed, that the Arabs and Moors are always inclined thus to liberate these degraded people; on the contrary, some of them, particularly the latter, are obdurate, and make an infamous traffic of them, by purchasing, and afterwards intermarrying them, for the purposes of propagation and of sale, when they are placed in the public market-place, and there turned about, and examined in order to ascertain their value."

The above extract, relating to the ruin of the French trade, and projects for the present, on the coast of Barbary, gives rise to two reflections:—1. It is consolatory to think that there are vast and rich portions of the globe to which the tyranny exercised over the continent of Europe cannot be extended, while a great power, hostile to the tyrant, is mistress of the seas—2. That the balance, that is, the freedom or political independency of continental Europe being lost, Great Britain should aim, by all means, at forming a new political balance, on a great scale, the balance of the world, by cultivating a commercial alliance with Asia, Africa, North America, and, if possible, and what seems mighty easy, South America. And we are taught, or rather reminded by Mr. Jackson, how much our commercial and political connection with the Barbary powers would be promoted by acquiring a thorough



thorough knowledge of their respective languages. For a complete and most satisfactory proof and illustration of this position, we must refer our readers to Mr. Jackson's eleventh chapter, from which we are constrained, by our limits, to make no other than the following extracts:

"When we recollect that the envoys to Marocco for the last century have been men almost wholly unacquainted with the manners, customs, and religious prejudices of the people, and ignorant of their language, we shall cease to be surprised that our connection with that empire has been so limited, and impeded by mutual misunderstanding of each other's sentiments, originating, but too often, in deficiency and inaccuracy of interpreters. What expectations can be indulged of terminating successfully negotiations with a prince, in conversing with whom some ignorant and illiterate interpreter, generally a Jew, and a devoted subject of the emperor, must be made the confidential servant of the party treating? Besides, every one acquainted with the nature of the government, and political principles of the court of Marocco, is well aware, that, even supposing it possible to procure a Jew, capable of interpreting accurately the English into Arabic, and *vice versa*, yet there are many expressions necessary for an envoy to use to the emperor, which no Jew in the country dare to utter on pain of losing his head; the general garrulity of these people, moreover, is such, that they are perhaps unworthy of being intrusted with any secret wherein the interest of a nation is concerned. Of this the emperor himself is con-

vinced, as was also his father, who frequently, during his reign, expressed his regret to Mr. A. Layton, that no English consul could be found capable of holding direct intercourse with him."

"In a conversation with the minister at Marocco for European affairs, his excellency asked me if, in the event of his master's writing to his majesty, the latter would be able to get the letter interpreted; I answered in the affirmative; and a very polite and friendly letter was afterwards written, which requested an answer; but it remained here in the secretary of state's office, without any attention being paid to its contents; a mark of disrespect which gave great offence to the emperor.

"It appears to me extraordinary, that a language which is spoken over a much greater extent of country than any other on earth—a language combining all the powers and energy of the Greek and Latin, should be so little understood, that an Arabic letter, written by the present Emperor of Marocco to the King of Great Britain, actually lay in the secretary of state's office some months without being translated. The circumstance coming to the knowledge of the chancellor of the exchequer (the right honourable Spencer Perceval) that gentleman expressed a wish to a friend of mine, to have a translation, and the letter was transmitted to me for that purpose. Doctor Buffe, who delivered it, assured me, it had been sent to one, if not both universities, and to the post-office, but that, either from a difference in the



punctuation of the characters, or in the language itself, no one could be found capable of rendering it into English. This statement, however unaccountable it may appear to many, was afterwards farther confirmed, by passports and other papers in African Arabic being sent to me for translations, the want of which had detained vessels in our ports, and caused merchants in London to suffer from a loss of markets."

An academy of commerce was instituted by the emperor Joseph II. at Vienna; at which academy the pupils were instructed in a variety of foreign languages, and in the art of drawing. Such an academy might be founded by the British government, without imposing any burthen on the public, at Malta. The whole property in this island, formerly belonging to the Knights of St. John, has devolved to the crown of Great Britain. This property might be converted into a fund for the support of proper masters, who could be procured from the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and a certain number of scholars. In this seminary young men might be trained up to act in the capacities of consuls, commercial interpreters, and agents, and as travellers under the patronage of literary and liberal individuals or societies, for the exploration of unknown regions, and the improvement of both natural and civil history. From the islands and the countries on the Mediterranean, as well as from Great Britain and Ireland, young

men, besides those on the foundation, might be attracted to the college of Malta, so finely situated for such a rendezvous, and the acquisition of the living languages facilitated by social converse among ingenious youths of different nations. If this project of a college at Malta should come under the eye, and meet with the approbation of Mr. Jackson, it would be well if he would take it up. There is no one we know of, better qualified to point out its advantages, and the arrangements proper for carrying it into execution.

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*State of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain for the Year 1809. By Gould Francis Leckie, Esq.*

THE grand political measure of opposing a kind of maritime empire to the overgrown, and still growing empire, of France, on the continent of Europe, touched on in our last article, is so ingeniously and ably recommended to the British government in the writings of Mr. Leckie, that we do not hesitate to give this small pamphlet a place among the books we have selected as favourable specimens of 1809. It exhibits a happy and rare union of patriotism, learning, genius, comprehensive views, and solid sense.\* The spirit and tendency of the pamphlet is briefly stated in the conclusion:

"From all that we have hitherto experienced of the views of Bonaparte, from his undertaking and

\* See also our account of his "Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, with a View to explain the Causes of the Disasters of the late and present Wars," in our ACCOUNT OF BOOKS, Vol. L. p. 267.



accomplishing what he promises, from his negotiations in Turkey and Persia, and the threat he has expressed of invading our Indian provinces, are we authorized to hold him so cheap as to feel no solicitude on the subject? We must by this time be satisfied that the means we have hitherto employed to oppose his ambition, are insufficient and nugatory; and our ministers cannot flatter themselves that by perseverance in their old maxims they can work effects contrary to those which they have over and over again experienced, and that they can still claim the confidence of the nation which they have so often disappointed.

“It is evident that the taking part with the old established governments, or the new ones that act on their principles, has only shewn our ministers that they deceive themselves, while they have overlooked, in every part of the world, those materials which Bonaparte has used, and of which they would not even deign to acknowledge the existence. Will they, after what every one knows of Turkey and Persia, disregard these facts, and take those broken and heterogeneous masses for homogeneous and integral states? Will they continue to act on this principle, and send troops and subsidies to those countries, without being conscious that they send them to the assistance of nobody, and to attain no object but disgrace? Are they so hardened in ignorance of facts, and stupidity to events, as to be totally unable to comprehend the elements of Bonaparte's progress? Are they determined to shut their eyes against that which every one sees, and to

defend themselves from the acknowledgment of their errors by invincible obstinacy? Are they determined to continue the war, while they reject the only obvious means by which it can be waged with success? Would it not be more consistent to recommend submission, than to deprive us both of the advantages resulting from war, and the tranquillity of peace? But they are entangled in difficulties from which they cannot extricate themselves. They see that peace and submission are synonymous terms. The bad success they have experienced makes them consider war as a dismal alternative. They have not candour enough to acknowledge their errors, and act on a better system; and they have just enough ambition to wish to keep their places. They are sensible of the disgrace which awaits their half-digested counsels, and the fear of shame has not sufficient influence over them, to induce them either to act on more rational principles, or to retire from situations to which they are unequal.

“Two lines of conduct are open before us—either we may submit to Bonaparte, and become a part of his immense empire, give up our laws and institutions, our personal freedom, the security of property, the dominion of the seas, the commerce of the world, and what is more than all, the high character, we have hitherto borne as a great people, or we must contend with him in earnest, and oppose the greatness of his projects, by the magnitude of our own. To continue blockading ports, taking possession of here and there a rock and a harbour, defending Spanish juntas and Sicilian tribunals,

and



and pursuing other partial objects which do not for a moment arrest the progress of the enemy, nor increase our own strength, is wasting our time and resources in a feverish attempt to put off the day of our destruction a little longer. Unless we become ambitious like our enemy, unless we follow the maxims we have so much enlarged upon, we must finally submit. We

have no alternative but to increase our own empire, or become a part of that of France."

If we could yield to our inclination, we would present to our readers the whole of this little treatise, without dread of being called to account by Mr. Leckie, whose views appear to be merely patriotic, for invading his literary property.



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